COLLEGE SERIES OF LATIN AUTHORS

TACITUS
ANNALS I-VI.

W. F. ALLEN

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EDITED BY

CLEMENT LAWRENCE SMITH AND TRACY PECK

THE *ANNALS* OF TACITUS, I.–VI.

W. F. ALLEN

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CORNELIUS TACITUS

TACITUS

THE ANNALS

BOOKS I.–VI.

EDITED, WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND INDEXES

BY

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PREFACE.

PROFESSOR ALLEN died very suddenly at his home in Madison, Wisconsin, December 9, 1889. The Introduction to this volume, the Latin text and the commentary were already in type, and now appear, in their characteristic features, essentially as he left them. The indexes were in manuscript and unfinished, but they have been completed in accordance with his intention.

Professor Allen's long and successful experience as a college teacher, his intimate acquaintance with Roman history, and the fascination which he felt in the study of Tacitus and of the character of Tiberius in particular, gave him exceptional qualifications for editing the Annals, and the work was intrusted to him with unusual confidence. His interest in the College Series had been intelligent and helpful, and the editors feel his death as a serious personal loss. In a wider view, his great attainments in several fields of research, his catholic tastes and interests, the openness and alertness of his mind, his joyous readiness in communicating his acquisitions, and the genuine modesty and nobility of his character made him a permanent honor to scholarship and to life.

The text of this volume is based upon that of Halm's fourth edition of Tacitus (Leipsic, 1882). Deviations from this standard consist largely in a closer adherence to the readings of the manuscript. The most important variants are discussed in the Appendix. The orthography of Halm's edition is that of the Medicean manuscript; for the purposes of this edition it has seemed better to adopt, though not with painful consistency, the best-established results of specialists in this field, —

notably, of Brambach. A full Index of Names and an Index to the Notes will, it is hoped, add to the usefulness of the book.

As the commentary assumes that the reader is at a somewhat advanced point in his Latin studies, little attention is paid to the commonplaces of grammar; on the other hand, considerable prominence is given to the idiosyncracies of Tacitus' Latinity, and to the changes which the language had undergone since the Ciceronian period. A leading aim in the commentary is to present a connected view of the character and reign of Tiberius, and to trace the constitutional and administrative changes which took place under that emperor. To make the view more complete, the lost portions of the fifth and sixth Books have been, in a measure, supplied by extracts from Dio Cassius, Suetonius, and Juvenal.

The long and concentrated study of Tacitus has accumulated a rich store of illustrative material that is now the common property of scholarship. This material has been freely used for the present edition; but special acknowledgment is due for aid derived from the editions of Furneaux (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1884), Nipperdey (8th edition, by Andresen, Berlin, 1884), Dräger (4th edition, Leipsic, 1882), and Pfitzner (Gotha, 1884), and also from Dräger's *Syntax und Stil des Tacitus* (3d ed., Leipsic, 1882), and Gerber and Greef's *Lexicon Taciteum* (*A–M.*, Leipsic, 1877–88). In the discussion of constitutional and antiquarian questions Mommsen's labors have been of great service; Marquardt and Madvig have also been frequently consulted. Indebtedness to other recent works and monographs is acknowledged at the pertinent points in the Introduction and the notes.

MARCH 17, 1890.

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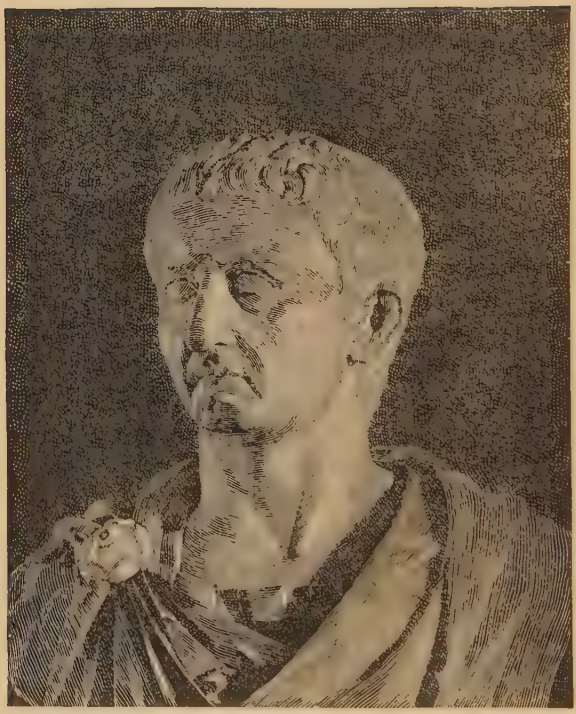


TIBERIUS.

INTRODUCTION.

Tacitus.

1. Very little is known of the life or personality of the historian Tacitus. Even his name is matter of doubt. He is commonly spoken of without prænomen, as Cornelius Tacitus. Sidonius Apollinaris, a Christian writer of the fifth century, calls him *Gaius*, and the same name is given by some manuscripts of inferior authority. The name *Publius*, however, contained in the best manuscript of his writings, the so-called First Medicean, is now generally accepted. As to his place of birth, it has been guessed to be Interamna, because this was the birthplace of the emperor Tacitus (A.D. 275–6), who claimed relationship with him.[1] The slighting tone, however, in which he mentions *municipali adultero* (IV. 3) and *oppidanum genus* (VI. 15), would make it more probable that he was a native of Rome. The date of his birth can be fixed with only an approach to certainty. His intimate friend, the younger Pliny, who was born A.D. 61 or 62, says (*Epp.* VII. 20) that they were *propemodum aequales;* adding, *adulescentulus, cum iam tu fama gloriaque floreres, te sequi . . . concupiscebam.* He was thus enough older than Pliny to be a man of established reputation when Pliny was a very young man, *adulescentulus;* a difference of age which can hardly have been less than eight or ten years. The year A.D. 54 is probably as late as we can place his birth. This date is also supported by the facts of his official career. He says of himself (*Hist.* I. 1) that his course of

[1] Cornelium Tacitum, scriptorem historiae Augustae, quod parentem suum eundem diceret, in omnibus bibliothecis collocari iussit. Flav. Vop., *Tac.* 10.

honors was under the three emperors Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian; it is known that he held the prætorship A.D. 88. As Vespasian died A.D. 79, it is not likely that he was less than twenty-five at this date, this being the earliest age at which the quæstorship, the first of the *honores*, could be held.

2. In the year 78 Tacitus married the daughter of the eminent soldier Agricola, whose life he afterwards wrote. After his prætorship in the year 88, he was absent from Rome for several years; it is conjectured that he held some governmental office during this interval, perhaps in Germany, where he may have gathered the materials for his work descriptive of that country. During his absence his father-in-law Agricola died. His own death was probably A.D. 116; as the description of the empire given in the *Annals* (*nunc rubrum ad mare patescit*, II. 61) corresponds to the condition of things in the last year of Trajan, who died in 117. This includes territories which were annexed to the empire by Trajan, A.D. 115, but immediately surrendered by his successor Hadrian.

3. The works of Tacitus are: —

(1) *Dialogus de Oratoribus*, a short treatise, in a studied Ciceronian style, so different from that of his later works that its authenticity has been a subject of doubt and controversy.

(2) *De vita Iulii Agricolae*, written A.D. 97 or 98: a masterpiece of biographical composition.

(3) *Germania*, or *De origine, situ, moribus ac populis Germanorum*, written in the year 98; our best source of information with regard to the ancient Germans.

(4) *Historiae*, a history of his own times, from the accession of Galba (69) to the death of Domitian (96). Of the fourteen books of this work there are extant the four first books and part of the fifth, embracing in part the events of the years 69 and 70.

(5) *Annales*,[1] entitled in the manuscript *Ab excessu divi*

[1] The title *Annales* appears to have been prefixed to the true title by Rhenanus, a scholar of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and then to

Augusti, serving as an introduction to the *Histories*, in the author's most mature style, and generally regarded as his masterpiece. It was in sixteen books, of which about one-third, the central portion of the work, is lost.

It may be estimated roughly that about one-third of the writings of Tacitus is extant.

4. The reputation of Tacitus during his own lifetime, both as an historian and an orator, was very high. Pliny says of him (II. 11, 17) that, when engaged in the prosecution of a cruel and unjust governor, he spoke *eloquentissime et, quod eximium orationi eius inest*, σεμνῶς, which last word we may render, 'in a stately, earnest style.' Again, in mentioning Tacitus as delivering the funeral oration at the death of the distinguished Verginius Rufus, he says (II. 1): *hic supremus felicitati eius cumulus accessit, laudator eloquentissimus*. In another letter (IX. 23) he tells of a conversation held by Tacitus with a chance acquaintance, who asked him after some talk on literary subjects, *Tacitus es an Plinius?* — a coupling of names which delighted Pliny exceedingly. But during the Middle Ages the name of Tacitus fell into oblivion, and his works seemed entirely lost. In the revival of learning some portions of his writings were rescued. In November, 1425, the distinguished scholar and discoverer of manuscripts, Poggio Bracciolini, received a letter from Germany in which was mentioned the discovery of *aliqua opera Cornelii Taciti nobis ignota*. But much correspondence and inquiry failed to bring the book, and Poggio died in 1459 without sight of the much desired treasure. Soon after, however, the manuscript, containing the *Dialogus*, the *Germania*, and a work of Suetonius, was brought to Italy. The *Agricola* was discovered at about the same time; but the original manuscripts disappeared shortly after being copied, so that of these smaller works of Tacitus we have nothing but fifteenth

have been used by itself through a misunderstanding. It may be noted that Tacitus himself (IV. 32, 1) speaks of the work as *annales*.

century transcripts. The extant portions of the larger works are contained in two manuscripts of the ninth, tenth, or eleventh century; one (the First Medicean) containing the four first books of the *Annals* with what remains of the fifth and sixth, the other (the Second Medicean) the remaining portion of the *Annals* (Books XI. to XVI.) with the *Histories*. These manuscripts were brought from Germany to Italy, and are now in the Medicean Library of Florence. The latter portion was printed in 1470; the earlier portion, that contained in the present edition, was brought to Rome in 1508, and printed by order of Pope Leo X. in 1515.

The Annals.

5. The form of the *Annals* is, as the name indicates, strictly chronological. The events of each year are told by themselves, so that any independent series of events can be read in connection only by taking in succession several detached passages; to this rule there are but one or two exceptions (*e.g.* VI. 31–37). As has been already said, the extant portions of the work consist of two distinct parts, separated by a gap of four books. This gap covers the reign of Caligula and most of that of Claudius (A.D. 37 to 54), while the two extant portions comprise the reigns of Tiberius and Nero respectively. The accounts of these two reigns are preserved nearly complete. The present edition contains the first part, the reign of Tiberius, comprising the first six books, of which, however, nearly the whole of the fifth book and perhaps a quarter of the sixth are missing. The missing portions contained the year 30 with the greater part of 29 and 31, the reign of Tiberius extending from A.D. 14 to 37. In biographical importance, for estimating the character of Tiberius, and understanding the puzzling events of the closing years of his reign, these lost parts of the work must have ranked among the very highest, for they contained an account of the destruction of the family of Germanicus and the downfall of Sejanus.

TIBERIUS.

6. It is from this history of the reign of Tiberius, supported as it is in most particulars by the testimony of Suetonius and Dio Cassius, that the accepted view of the character of this emperor, as a gloomy and suspicious tyrant, has been derived. This is the view presented by, I believe, all the historians who have treated of this period except Merivale, and by all the editors except Furneaux. Merivale and Furneaux, in part at least, reject the traditional view. Mommsen also, wherever he has occasion to speak of Tiberius, mentions him with respect, giving him the highest praise as a ruler and not condemning him severely as a man. The first attempt of any importance to vindicate the character of the emperor was made by Dr. Sievers in two Hamburg school programmes of 1850 and 1851. He was soon followed by Adolf Stahr, who, in a series of able works, has made himself the foremost German champion of Tiberius; the latest of these is *Tacitus' Geschichte der Regierung des Kaisers Tiberius, übersetzt und erklärt von Adolf Stahr* (Berlin, 1871). In the same line is *Tiberius und Tacitus von L. Freytag* (Berlin, 1870). Tiberius has also been defended in England by Prof. E. S. Beesly in *Catiline, Clodius, and Tiberius* (London, 1878); and in this country by Prof. Fred. Huidekoper, in a chapter of *Judaism at Rome* (New York, 1876).

7. The modern fashion of whitewashing the disreputable characters of history is one with which I have little sympathy, except so far as it must be admitted that no man is wholly bad, as no man is wholly good. Neither can I agree at all with those who would defend Tiberius by depreciating the motives of his historian. That Tacitus sympathized with Germanicus and Agrippina, as against Tiberius, is no doubt true; it was his right as a patriot and an historian to choose his side. That he constantly imputes to Tiberius sentiments and motives for which the narrative gives no evidence, thus carrying his preconceived theories and prejudices into the interpretation of historical

events, is a more serious charge against him, but one which we must admit to be true. But at the same time it must be acknowledged that he carries his prejudice only into the interpretation of historical facts, not into the statement of the facts themselves. His statements constantly afford a corrective to his judgments, and these statements have on the whole withstood all criticism in point of accuracy. An instructive illustration of this is afforded by the case of Gnæus Piso, Books II. and III. Tacitus appears himself to have believed that Piso was guilty of the death of Germanicus, and has at any rate by his language so completely impressed this belief upon the world, that most historians accept it as a matter of course; but his narration of the events affords absolutely no evidence for it.

8. The case of Tiberius differs from that of most "rehabilitations" of historical characters, in the fact that there was a distinct crisis in his life, which made him a tyrant, if he was one. If he had died in the year 29, after a reign of fifteen years, he would have come down to posterity as one of the best of the Roman emperors, — not a faultless man, nor a faultless ruler, but a wise, sagacious, and, on the whole, humane prince. It is just at this date that the work of his eulogist, Velleius Paterculus, closes; and the eulogy passed upon him by this writer is hardly stronger than the known facts up to that time warrant. Even Tacitus, in summing up his character (VI. 51), admits that down to the death of his mother in 29 he was *inter bona malaque mixtus*, and that he had succeeded in concealing his faults, *occultum ac subdolum fingendis virtutibus*, until the death of Drusus in 23.

9. The event, or rather the series of events, crowded into the years 29, 30, and 31, which formed a crisis in the life of the unhappy emperor, was the alleged conspiracy of Agrippina and her sons, rapidly followed by the discovery that the trusted Sejanus was false to him, and by the horrible revelation of the murder of his son Drusus by Sejanus in complicity with Livia, the wife of Drusus. Such a succession of blows as this might well

unsettle the moral nature of a young man; how is it with a man of seventy? Professor Beesly puts the case forcibly and conclusively, as against the imputed change in the character of Tiberius after assuming the purple at fifty-six, against the assumption of Tacitus that a man *egregius vita famaque, quoad privatus vel in imperiis sub Augusto fuit,* all at once became a hypocrite and a tyrant. "I would put it to you, have you in your own experience found that men come out in an entirely new character after fifty-six?" One can only say "no" to this question, for at fifty-six Tiberius was still in the prime of his powers. But it is not so certain that an old man of seventy, broken in body and spirit, betrayed, disappointed, morbidly brooding in solitude upon his wretchedness, knowing no one whom he could trust, that such a man may not have at least allowed the bad qualities which he had hitherto held in abeyance, to get the mastery over him. And this is what I believe to have been the case with Tiberius.

10. Tiberius was by nature cold, reserved, self-distrustful, stern, — characteristics not in themselves bad, but which can easily be mistaken for jealousy, suspiciousness, and harshness, and which indeed easily pass into these unamiable qualities. The innate liberality, justice, and integrity of his character were obscured in the eyes of superficial observers by these less attractive characteristics, especially when they were contrasted with the popular manners and sunny disposition of his brother Drusus and nephew Germanicus. It may readily be believed that the morbid tendencies of his nature were increased when, on the command of Augustus, he was obliged to put away his much-loved wife Vipsania and marry the haughty and licentious Julia, who disliked and despised him. In a fit of moody impatience and disgust he withdrew from the court, and lived in retirement several years at Rhodes; and this episode, too, may well have developed still further the unamiable side of his nature. And yet Augustus, alienated from him for a time, recalled him to Rome, and designated him as his successor

with marks of high confidence and even with terms of affection (*Vale iucundissime Tiberi, et feliciter rem gere*, Suet. *Tib.* 21), not without expressions, at the same time, which showed that he recognized in him dangerous elements of character. Tiberius himself seems to have been fully aware of the presence of these evil impulses in his nature, and shrank with what we have no right to call an insincere reluctance from the assumption of absolute power. And yet, during the fifteen years from his accession to his retirement at Capri, it is hard to point out a single act of his which was manifestly unjust and cruel. So well was the worse side of his nature kept under by his better qualities.

11. It is most unfortunate that we are left so much in the dark as to the occurrences of the three eventful years described in the lost chapters of the fifth and sixth books. All we can say is, that when we return to the lucid and eloquent narrative of the historian, the emperor seems like a different man. As to the charges of extreme debauchery, they may be passed over as unlikely or at least exaggerated. Such charges are generally brought against persons who live a secluded life, especially when they are unpopular for other reasons. But I do not see how it is possible to acquit him of the charge of cruelty and tyranny in these last years. It is easy enough to explain away, as Stahr does, individual instances, and to show that the list of known victims, spread over the space of six years, does not after all give a high average. But, after making all allowances, it seems impossible to avoid the conclusion, from the detailed accounts of the historians, and the incidental allusions of other writers, that these six years were a veritable reign of terror. Nor is it possible to vindicate the emperor by throwing the responsibility upon his ministers and the senate. What an absolute ruler permits he performs. The decay of literature at this time is significant. The punishment of Clutorius Priscus (III. 49) and Cremutius Cordus (IV. 34) may be excused, and perhaps justified; but it is none the less true that from this time the

free expression of thought is silenced, and creative literature is at an end.

12. The explanation of the change is, I believe, to be found in a morbid apprehension of danger by which his mind was at this time mastered. The plots against his life and crown and the stability of his household, — which he believed without question, whether on good grounds or not, — seem to have thrown him into an unreasoning panic, in which he struck wildly at all from whom his distempered fancy apprehended danger. His was a nature prone to panic, lacking in self-reliance and in moral courage. Suetonius calls him *praetrepidus* (*Tib.* 63), and gives several examples of this quality. His own expression, in description of his situation, *lupum se auribus tenere* (Suet. *Tib.* 25) is well known, and helps to explain his vacillation in accepting the throne. Suetonius tells us further (*Tib.* 65) that, after the conspiracy of Sejanus, *per novem menses non egressus est villa quae vocatur Iovis*.

13. Tacitus, like the champions of Tiberius at the present day, finds it impossible to believe that his character really changed in his last years; but while his defenders account for the apparent change by denying the stories to his discredit, the historian explains it by declaring him to have been during all his previous life a hypocrite. This theory is harder of belief than either of the others. It is not easy to believe that these stories of cruelty and tyranny are false or exaggerated; it is not easy to believe that a man's character is radically changed at the age of seventy; but hardest of all is it to believe that his real character was concealed under a cloak of hypocrisy until this age, and that then for the first time he showed himself as he really was. It is not necessary, however, to suppose that his character was radically changed, but its unamiable side may have received a sudden and abnormal development from the shocks given to his moral nature. Not so sudden, however, but that we can trace his deterioration for some years before he became thoroughly demoralized. Tacitus himself, accurate in the observa-

tion of facts, although unsound and prejudiced in explaining them, marks clearly enough (VI. 51) the stages of this deterioration.

14. If we read impartially the account of the treason trials under Tiberius, it is plain that Libo in the second book, Silanus in the third, and even Cremutius Cordus and Sabinus in the fourth, were justly punished; while in the miserable affair of Piso the emperor acted with dignity and moderation. But from the death of Drusus (IV. 8, A.D. 23) we mark a gradual change; the emperor is no less just, and perhaps no less merciful, but appears suspicious and ungenerous towards the family of Germanicus (IV. 12), and gradually develops moodiness and bitterness of temper. This is especially apparent after he was made acquainted with the lampoons of Votienus (A.D. 25, IV. 42), which appear to have wounded deeply his proud and sensitive nature. The breach with Agrippina the next year (IV. 53), joined with the solicitations of Sejanus, prompted him to withdraw into that sullen seclusion with which his name is most familiarly associated. But even now, while we cannot acquit him of undue suspiciousness and cruelty, he cannot, at least until after the fall of Sejanus, be charged with positive injustice; his victims appear to have been guilty, even if their punishment was excessive. This deterioration of character showed itself also in other acts. In the early years of his reign he would not have been a party to the trick by which the condemnation of Sabinus was secured (IV. 68); his interference with the action of the senate (VI. 3) is not after the model of his conduct on assuming the throne (see I. 25); his greediness for gain (VI. 19) is in painful contrast with his earlier freedom from covetousness (II. 48; III. 18); while his violent and public abuse of Agrippina and her son Drusus (VI. 25, 24) shows the total loss of the dignified reticence which had once characterized him. Even the infamous delator Fulcinius Trio could charge upon him, *fluxam senio mentem* (VI. 38), and the words attributed to Arruntius, *cum Tiberius post tantam rerum experientiam vi*

dominationis convulsus et mutatus sit (VI. 48), are no doubt a truthful expression of the way his change in character and administration struck a contemporary.

15. The attitude of Tiberius towards the *Delations*, or criminal informations brought by individuals, throws a very instructive light upon his character. With these delations are associated the worst abuses of the worst periods of the empire, and they are especially notorious under Tiberius and Domitian. The treason trials of the empire, in their wilful disregard of motives, and their straining to derive condemnatory evidence from indifferent actions or incidents, were as fertile a source of injustice as the trials for constructive treason which have at various times disgraced the administration of English law.[1] Their worst feature, however, was after all not the oppressive procedure of the trial, but the encouragement given to private animosity or greed, through the practice of allowing prosecutions to be inaugurated by private individuals, who were to receive a certain proportion of the fines and confiscations as their reward. That Tiberius insisted strongly upon the necessity of employing and rewarding delations by private persons (I. 72, IV. 30), has been a leading reproach against him. It is not always noticed, however, that he gave his reason for this, in the fact that the delations were an essential part of the machinery for criminal justice, and that without them crimes would go unpunished. In truth, the fault was a fundamental one in the Roman judicial system, and the real short-coming of Tiberius was, not in putting in execution the existing machinery, but in not devising some more efficient machinery.

16. The Roman system of criminal justice, having its source in a time which confused the distinction between public and private wrongs, made no provision for bringing malefactors to justice except in the voluntary activity of individuals. There was no public prosecutor. During the Republic the tribunes of

[1] On this subject see Dürr, *Die Majestätsprocesse unter dem Kaiser Tiberius*. Heilbronn programme, 1879–80.

the plebs served to a certain extent as prosecuting officers in offences of a political character; but ordinary crimes, and, after the establishment of the *quaestiones perpetuae* by Sulla, all classes of crimes, were left to the interest or public spirit of individuals. If individuals did not take them up, they went unpunished. Hence the dangerous resource of inviting individuals to search out and indict criminals, by rewarding them in case of conviction; the result of which was that delation in cases of treason became a regular profession. Tiberius, who, as Merivale points out (Vol. IV. p. 130, chap. 44), was very much of a pedant, and who lacked the originality of mind to devise any substitute for this procedure of the Republic, seems to have believed that the only security for justice was to carry out the laws with the utmost rigor, but to mitigate their severity after conviction by the liberal exercise of his power of pardoning or of commuting sentences (II. 50; III. 18, 51, 69; IV. 30, 66), and by reproving or punishing delators who should be actuated by malice or rapacity (III. 19, 56; IV. 31, 36; VI. 30). We note during his first years a constant effort to moderate the severity to which the senate was disposed. In the last part of his reign he seldom showed this merciful or forgiving spirit, and the mischiefs which are inherent in the system of delations had full scope.

The Roman Empire.

17. The Roman Empire at the accession of Tiberius embraced all the lands in the circuit of the Mediterranean Sea except Mauretania, Thrace, Lycia, and Rhodes. Cappadocia was added to the empire during the reign of Tiberius; these other countries, together with Britain, under Caligula and Claudius. The empire was sharply divided into two portions, — the ruling part, or Rome (now extended so as to comprise the whole of Italy, as well as the Roman colonies and *municipia* outside of Italy), and the subject part, the provinces. The provinces, twenty-eight in number, were administered by gov-

ernors sent from Rome with absolute authority over all provincials; it is to be understood, however, that within the borders of nearly every province there were not only communities of Roman citizens, but also cities and principalities which had retained their nominal independence as allies of the Roman people, and that neither of these classes was in law subject to the governor. During the reign of Tiberius the number of provinces was increased to thirty by the annexation of Cappadocia, and the division of Germany into Upper and Lower. Of the twenty-eight provinces, eleven were governed, after the method of the Republic, by proconsuls commissioned by the senate; one, Egypt, was in strictness of speech not a province at all, but a kingdom, of which the emperor was king; the other sixteen were placed under the immediate government of the emperor, who administered them by deputies, *legati*, clothed with complete governmental authority, as his representatives, or by fiscal agents, *procuratores*.

18. The following is a classified list of the provinces at the death of Augustus: —

A. Senatorial Provinces.

I. Governed by *proconsules consulares.*

1. **Asia**, the richest and most important of the senatorial provinces, comprising the western coast of Asia Minor, having on its east the provinces of Bithynia, Galatia, and Pamphylia, and the free federal republic of Lycia. The island of Rhodes was also an independent republic.

2. **Africa**, comprising also a portion of Numidia, conquered by Julius Cæsar. This was the only one of the senatorial provinces which had troops regularly stationed in it. It had one legion, and during the insurrection of Tacfarinas (Books II. and III.) received another.

II. Governed by *proconsules praetorii*

3. **Bithynia.**
4. **Cyprus.**
5. **Creta et Cyrene.**
6. **Achaia**: Greece proper, including Thessaly and Epirus.

7. **Macedonia**: extending west to the Adriatic, and north to the mountains separating it from Moesia.

8. **Sicilia.**

9. **Sardinia et Corsica.**

10. **Gallia Narbonensis**: extending from the Alps to the Pyrenees, and embracing the valley of the Rhone.

11. **Baetica**: southern Spain, formerly known as *Hispania Ulterior.*

B. Imperial Provinces.

I. Governed by *legati consulares.*

12. **Syria**: including at this time Judæa; extending from the Mediterranean to the Euphrates.

13. **Moesia**: the country between the Danube and the Hæmus Mountains (Balkan).

14. **Pannonia**: the region west of the great bend of the Danube.

15. **Illyricum**: afterwards known as Dalmatia, the country upon the eastern coast of the Adriatic.

16. **Germania**: stretching from the Rhine to the Elbe. The defeat of Varus had forced the Romans to evacuate most of this territory, and it was now placed with the *Tres Galliae* under Germanicus. It was divided into two military districts, which were afterwards erected into the independent provinces of *Germania Superior* and *Inferior*, with their headquarters at Moguntiacum (*Mentz*) and Colonia Agrippina (*Cologne*).

17. **Tarraconensis**: the northern half of Spain, formerly known as *Hispania Citerior.*

II. Governed by *legati praetorii.*

18. **Cilicia.** Usually at this time under the governor of Syria.

19. **Pamphylia.**

20. **Galatia.**

21. **Aquitania.** — 22. **Gallia Lugdunensis.** — 23. **Gallia Belgica.** These three provinces, known as the *Tres Galliae*, had been conquered by Julius Cæsar, and were now, together with Germany, placed under the command of Germanicus.

24. **Lusitania**: the modern Portugal.

III. Governed by *procuratores*, of equestrian rank.

25. **Noricum.**

26. **Raetia**, including Vindelicia.

27. **Alpes maritimae**: a small district on the coast, between Italy and Gallia Narbonensis.

IV. Governed by a *praefectus*.

28. **Aegyptus**: really ranking as a kingdom, of which the emperor was king.

19. The power in virtue of which the emperor was invested with the government of his provinces was the *imperium proconsulare*, which was conferred upon him at the beginning of his reign, and carried with it full military and judicial authority. In the last century of the Republic the consuls, during their term of office, were required to remain in Rome (that is, Italy), within the limits of which they were forbidden to exercise any but civil authority; they could not command armies or pass sentence of death in Italy unless by express permission of the senate. But when, after the expiration of their terms of office, they went into the provinces as proconsuls, the full *imperium* revived, and they governed the provinces with the irresponsible authority of kings. The dignity of consul, therefore, and the consular power, when conferred upon the emperor, gave him only the exercise of civil administration. The proconsular power enabled him to command armies and administer criminal justice in all parts of the empire except Italy. All the armies of the empire were under his sole rule; for the so-called senatorial provinces were the old, well-ordered parts of the empire, where no troops were required, except in the province of Africa, the proconsul of which had a single legion put at his disposal by the emperor. The title of the emperor, as invested with proconsular power, and thus exercising sole military authority, was *imperator*, emperor.

20. The Roman legions were stationed exclusively in the provinces, and the proconsular *imperium* was properly limited to the provinces, although the presence of a large body-guard, the prætorian cohorts, in Italy, and in the reign of Tiberius concentrated in Rome, gave the emperor practically as real a military authority in Italy as in the provinces. The emperor held the consulship from time to time like other citizens; but his civil authority was regularly exercised in virtue of the

tribunicia potestas, which was conferred upon him for life, and gave him the powers of the tribunate without the limitations to which this magistracy was subject. The tribunician power, making his person sacred, giving him an unlimited right to prohibit the actions of other magistrates, and making him in a peculiar sense the representative of the people, was the consummation of his authority, being always bestowed after the proconsular power. As *pontifex maximus* too he possessed the entire control of the organized religion of the state, and the essential powers of the censorship were placed in his hands under the title *regimen morum*. The title which described the emperor as the possessor of this bundle of powers, military and civil, was *princeps*,[1] prince; and this is the term usually employed by Tacitus.

21. All the powers thus gathered in the hands of the prince were recognized powers of Roman magistrates. The Empire as a system of government did not, in its first years, contain a single principle which had not already existed under the Republic. What was novel was the combining of all these powers in the hands of one man as a permanent possession. The prince was a magistrate, created by law, and amenable to law; the new magistracy fitted perfectly into the republican scheme. But it was an assemblage of powers so extraordinary and controlling that its possessor was in practice raised far above every other person or body of persons in the state. (See the interesting letter of Tiberius, III. 53.) It may be compared to the dictatorship of the early Republic, which consisted in the bestowal of extraordinary power upon one man, to meet an extraordinary crisis. The crisis had now become chronic, and the dictatorship was made permanent. (See Seeley's first lecture on Roman Imperialism.)

[1] This title of prince is usually associated with the republican dignity of *princeps senatus*. According to Mommsen, however (*Römisches Staatsrecht*, II. 734), he was rather chief of the citizens, *der gewichtigste und angesehenste Bürger;* the title *princeps senatus* was never given to the emperor until the time of Pertinax (id., III. 971).

22. Besides the emperor, there was no real possessor of power except the senate. The people, the ultimate source of authority in the Republic, were stripped of all effective share in the government; the emperor, by virtue of his tribunician power, may be regarded as embodying in himself the popular element of the constitution. The elections of magistrates were now mostly transferred to the senate (I. 15), while the edicts of the princeps and, by degrees, the ordinances of the senate acquired the force of law. The constitution of the empire is described by Mommsen as a *Dyarchy*, in which the powers of government were shared between the senate and the emperor. But in a partnership like this, in which the exclusive military power and supreme administrative authority were vested in one of the two partners, nothing could prevent absolute power from eventually centring in his hands — a result which was hastened by the servility and obsequiousness of the senate. It was a real monarchy, although obscured under the forms of a republic.

23. As in the Republic, the magistrates were the organs of the senate, being now in a considerable part appointed by that body. The administrative authority of the emperor within the city was exercised through a body of officers, *praefecti* and *curatores*, appointed by him and responsible solely to him; and it followed as a matter of course that these officers soon crowded the regular magistrates out of the chief part of their functions. Two of these præfects by the nature of their duties became the leading officers in the state; the *praefectus praetorio*, who, as commander of the body-guard, exercised chief military authority in Italy; and the *praefectus urbi*, who, in the reign of Tiberius, was the chief municipal officer. The præfect of the city exercised criminal justice in the name of the emperor, concurrently with the *quaestiones perpetuae*, presided over by the prætors; but his authority was not long in superseding the *quaestiones*, which before the end of the second century had disappeared entirely. The prætors who exercised

civil jurisdiction, the *urbanus* and *peregrinus*, continued for a while to perform the same functions; the others attended to financial matters, or presided over the games. It was important that the magistracies should be regularly filled in order that there might be a sufficient number of *consulares* and *praetorii* to hold proconsulships and other offices held only by persons of this rank. But all the magistracies became more and more merely formal and nominal. Tiberius is more than once spoken of by Mommsen as the one who brought the monarchy to completion — *der Vollender der Monarchie.* He received as a perpetual grant the *imperium* which Augustus received only for ten years at a time; he systematically maintained and enlarged the privileges of the senate, and its share in the government; while he as systematically ignored the powers of the popular assemblies, and reduced the republican magistracies to a mere shadow.

24. Wholly independent of the powers of the emperor was the divinity with which his office was invested. This is something entirely different from the consecration which converts a king of England into "his sacred majesty"; nor was it in any way connected with the sanctity that attached to his person in virtue of his tribunician power. It was an outgrowth of that sense of the immanence of deity which led the ancients to recognize the action of a divine spirit, *numen*, in every object and operation of nature; which regarded the entrance upon the future life as the assumption of a divine nature (see Cic. *Cat. Mai.* 22, 81). Great and noble souls were by this acquisition of divinity placed directly among the greater gods, under the title of demigods and heroes: so it was with Hercules and with Romulus (Hor. *Od.* III. 3), and with Julius Cæsar, to whom a temple was erected immediately after his death. As this was not a change of nature, but only the passage into a new phase of life, it was not hard to accept the beneficent ruler while living upon the earth as a present god — *deus, deus ille, Menalca!* And as the native religion of Rome had now

lost much of its vitality, it is not strange that the worship of Augustus rapidly became the most wide-spread and popular cult within the bounds of the empire. Augustus, during his lifetime, shrank from a thorough-going acceptance of the divine honors offered to him, and required them to be associated with the Genius of Rome. After his death his worship was celebrated without stint or reserve. Tiberius furthered the worship of Augustus in every way; but his sober good sense and clearness of vision made him impatient at any effort to bring himself or any other living members of the family within the sacred group. His successors were less diffident, and even as early as Caligula we meet with the grossest and most shameless assertions of divinity.

25. The sacred character thus described belonged to the ruler as such, as incorporating in himself the dignity and sanctity of the State. Of a different nature was the formal apotheosis, resting upon a decree of the senate, by which the deceased prince was not merely recognized as a divine being, but was elevated to a place among the celestial gods. To those who had received this honor the title *divus* was given, and it is to be noticed that a sense of propriety withheld it from all who were plainly unworthy of it. Of the emperors of the first century it was bestowed only upon Julius, Augustus, Claudius (on the whole a worthy prince, although there may have been here a touch of sarcasm), Vespasian and Titus; also upon some female members of their families. Each consecrated emperor had his flamen or special priest, and for their worship special colleges were organized. The first establishment of such a college is described in the present work (I. 54); its members, at first called *Sodales Augustales*, were known as *Augustales Claudiales* after the cult of the emperor Claudius was joined with that of Augustus.[1] The worship of the emperor rapidly spread in the provinces, and became the centre of organized

[1] Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverfassung*, III. 451.

provincial life. In this cult Rome was regularly associated with Augustus, and no very nice distinction appears to have been made between *divus Augustus* and the reigning emperor, who also was lawfully known as Augustus.[1]

26. It was a matter of course that some of the sacredness of the present deity attached to the members of his family. Augustus, as adopted son of Julius Cæsar, called himself *Divi filius;* and it may be that here is found in part the explanation of the contempt which Julia, daughter of Augustus, felt for her husband Tiberius (I. 53), for Tiberius was not as yet adopted into the imperial family.

The relations between the several members of this family are shown in the table on page xxix. The following (besides Tiberius) appear prominently in the Annals:

a. **Livia**, the mother of the emperor, was a woman of great personal beauty, and an ambitious, domineering spirit; apparently not one who would scruple long at any means to secure her ends. She exercised a great ascendency over her husband, and expected to exercise the same over her son; and nothing in the history of Tiberius is more noteworthy than the effort he made to preserve the due balance between the dutiful affection for his mother, characteristic of Roman family life, and his determination to keep the reins of government in his own hands (see I. 72; II. 34; III. 17. 64; IV. 57; V. 1).

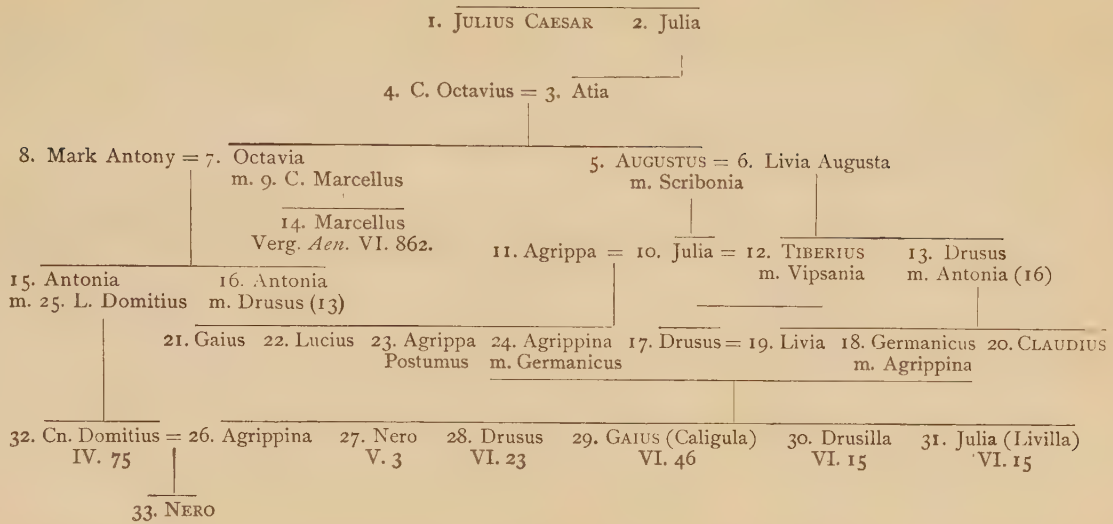
b. **Germanicus**, son of Drusus, and adopted by his uncle Tiberius. A brave, honorable man, of genial temper and great personal popularity. A good but not a great commander. His early death prevents us from knowing with certainty what his capacities were.

c. **Drusus**, son of Tiberius, a man of strong will and the capacity to command. He, too, died young, and his death is one of the most pathetic incidents in the narration. If he had lived, it seems certain that he would have been an able and energetic ruler; but the sternness of temper which in Tiberius developed into cruelty only at the very close of his life, was a predominant characteristic of his son from the first, and would probably have made him a tyrant.

d. **Agrippina**, daughter of Marcus Agrippa and Julia, and wife of Germanicus. A woman of high spirit and ambition, and of unblemished personal character. It is impossible for us to know whether her ambition

[1] Guiraud, *Les assemblées provinciales dans l'empire romain.*

Genealogical Table of the Imperial Family.



really carried her to the point of treason, but Tiberius believed it did, and her life ended in disappointment and misery.

e. **Antonia Minor**, daughter of Mark Antony, the triumvir, and Octavia, sister of Augustus; wife of the elder Drusus and mother of Germanicus. By personal beauty, dignity and purity of character, and an abstinence from intrigue which distinguished her from Livia and Agrippina, she deserves to rank as perhaps the noblest example of her age of a typical Roman matron.

f. Of the children of Germanicus and Agrippina we know too little to judge, except of the infamous Caligula and Agrippina. Nero, the eldest, would seem to have been relatively free from the vices of the others; but he was guilty of great indiscretion (IV. 59), was implicated in his mother's treason (or suspicion of treason), and perished untimely.

The Language and Style of Tacitus.

27. The student who passes abruptly from the writings of the classical age to those of Tacitus, finds himself dealing with a vocabulary and forms of speech very different from those to which he is used. The new author seems very difficult at first, and indeed his writings can never be called easy. But to a greater degree than in most authors it is found that the difficulties consist in peculiarities of style, which soon become familiar, and cease to give trouble. These peculiarities of Tacitus belong partly to his age, but are chiefly characteristics of his own style.

28. The Latinity of the so-called Silver Age presents no more contrasts with that of the Augustan Age than may be expected in the case of any healthy language in the same space of time. There were about one hundred and fifty years between Cicero and Tacitus, a longer distance of time than that which separates us from Burke, Johnson, and Gibbon. And the change in the language, as shown by a comparison of Cicero with Quintilian or the younger Pliny, was certainly no greater than the English language has suffered in this interval. And the change has been very much of the same general character, — a change in the direction of simplicity and naturalness. The elaborate periods of Cicero may be compared to the ponderous and

sonorous sentences of Johnson; the easy flow of Quintilian to the lucidity and elegance of Prescott. The style of the Silver Age was more colloquial — men wrote more as they talked; just as is the case with the English of the present day, as compared with that of a century ago.

29. But along with this revolution in the structural features of style, there were changes in vocabulary and syntax which partially obscure the result just pointed out, by cultivating forms of expression and construction which lacked the simple dignity of earlier writers. In other terms, while the flow of words followed a more natural order, corresponding more closely to the natural order of thought, the diction became more strained and artificial. There was of course a constant flux in the vocabulary — old words were dropped and new ones adopted. The acquisitions were from two principal sources: the Greek language, and the usages of the poets; and from these sources were derived not only new words and new meanings of old words, but, although not so abundantly, new forms of construction. The expressions borrowed from the Greek stand in the Latinity of the Silver Age about as the contributions of French and German stand in the English language, partly assimilated, partly still regarded with a certain degree of suspicion. It is the influence of the poets that is chiefly seen in these writers, especially in Tacitus. It is to be noted that all the Latin poets of high merit and great popularity are later than Cicero — later, at least, than the period in which he formed his style. Their influence was marked upon Livy, who was almost their contemporary: upon Tacitus it was powerful. The same tendency towards a figurative and brilliant style was fostered by the political situation.[1] Except in the courts of law there was no longer any genuine debate, and of course no genuine oratory. The student was trained on artificial rhetorical exercises, which

[1] Si antiquum sermonem nostro comparemus, paene iam quidquid loquimur figura est, ut . . . incumbere 'illi,' non 'in illum.' (Quint. IX. 3. 1.)

— as there was no substance of political discussion — necessarily took shape in florid verbiage.

30. As to syntactical changes, it is enough to quote Dräger's remark in relation to the history of the Latin language, that "in the course of nearly eight hundred years it experienced relatively slight changes in its grammatical construction." A few such changes will be pointed out in the notes.

31. The larger part of the peculiarities of Tacitus are his own, not those of his age. He has the characteristics of his age, but they are so inconspicuous in comparison with his individual characteristics as to be almost obscured; he is hardly less strongly contrasted with Pliny and Quintilian than with Cicero and Sallust. If his style does not appear simple and colloquial like theirs, it is because he carried into it not the characteristics of every-day life and conversation, but the qualities of the forensic orator. Furneaux remarks: "The special qualities of his style are no doubt due, in no small measure, to his professional career. As the first forensic orator of the day, we might assume that he had perfected such gifts as were prescribed to a pleader by the prevailing fashion; and he has himself described to us the difference between the rolling periods of Ciceronian eloquence and the style demanded in his own age, when jury and listeners soon wearied of a long harangue, were impatient of the speaker's preamble, and recalled him peremptorily from a digression."

32. This suggestion does not confine itself to his literary style alone, but to his style of thought and manner of presenting his theme. When we consider that Tacitus was not a literary man, but an advocate by profession, we understand better the tone of partisanship which we meet in so many parts of his work. Tacitus was as far removed as possible from the objective standard of historical composition which rules at the present day. He did not consider it his duty in controverted points to present both sides impartially, but to present his own side; and when his own mind was made up, he could not see

that the facts, as he gave them himself, did not, as we can see now, always prove his point. In this, as we have said, there appears no trace of insincerity, no attempt to conceal or distort the facts. But his conception of the duties of an historian was that of his own age, different from ours. I cannot agree with the special defenders of Tiberius, who act as if the only way to vindicate their hero was to impugn the motives of his historian. Tacitus no doubt formed his opinions from a conscientious study of the evidence, even if his judgment may have been warped by his preconceived ideas. But this once done, he ceases to act as a judge, and appears as an advocate, urging his case with an intensity of conviction and a burning eloquence that have seldom been surpassed. He writes as an advocate, but as one who appeals, not as one who aims to convince.

33. He is not in any sense of the word a philosophical historian, even in the sense of tracing the relations of cause and effect in the field of political and domestic affairs. He is not to be classed with Thucydides or Sallust; as great, perhaps, but not of the same order. It is as a painter with words that he excels. No historian surpasses him, perhaps none equals him, in the graphic power of depicting a scene or an action in few words; and when to this picturesqueness we have added the intensity of feeling, the ethical passion, that dominates him, we have a writer who, for instructiveness and tonic power, has no rival, certainly in Roman literature. These qualities make him the most dramatic of historians, the most powerful in the delineation of character. To quote Macaulay[1]: "In the delineation of character Tacitus is unrivalled among historians, and has very few superiors among dramatists and novelists. By a delineation of character we do not mean the practice of drawing up epigrammatic catalogues of good and bad qualities, and appending them to the names of eminent men. No writer, indeed, has done this more skilfully than Tacitus; but this is not his peculiar glory. All the persons who occupy a large

[1] *Essay on History.*

space in his works have an individuality of character which seems to pervade all their words and actions. We know them as if we had lived with them."

34. This dominant characteristic as an historian serves to explain one of his most conspicuous characteristics of style, — fondness for poetical words and phrases, and especially his close relation to Vergil. Vergil, too, was a writer of a lofty ethical tone, and was evidently a favorite with Tacitus, who, as has been often pointed out, copies freely his phrases and turns of speech. So marked is his predilection for poetical words and phrases, that it is hard to say whether his style borrows more from the poets or from the habits of speech of the forensic orator. On the whole, it is only in his diction that he has borrowed from the poets; his abruptness and compression of style, his sententiousness and earnestness, are qualities that he has brought from the court-room. This explains a tenderness of feeling which often goes to the length of sentimentality; in treating of Tiberius, for example, he persistently depicts stern justice as harshness, economy as niggardliness (II. 38), modesty as meanness of spirit (IV. 38), and a peaceful and self-contained policy as a degenerate temper (II. 26; IV. 32).

35. The grammatical and stylistic peculiarities of Tacitus are for the most part such as show the influence of the poets on the working of a poetic temperament. If, as has been said above, the student who passes from Cicero to Tacitus meets with much that is strange and difficult, the student of Vergil finds himself often on familiar ground. Most of these peculiarities will be pointed out in the notes; but it will be of service to enumerate here a few of the most striking and characteristic of them, passing over in general those which may be called regular if unusual forms of expression. It should be noted that most of the usages here pointed out are rather *characteristics* than *peculiarities* of Tacitus; that is, they are found also in other writers, but are especially common with him.

a. The fondness for abstract nouns, whether as substitutes

for concrete, or in the plural, thus turning them into concretes. This is one of the usages which mark most distinctly the transition to modern turns of expression; for one of the chief points of difference between the ancients and moderns consists in the choice of concrete and abstract forms of speech; *e.g.* nonanus, *sc.* miles, *the soldiers of the ninth legion*, I. 30. 4; matrimonia ac pecunias hostium, *the wives and moneys of the enemy*, II. 13. 3; qui infamias subiere, *who underwent infamy* [on different occasions], IV. 33. 4.

Sometimes, on the other hand, Tacitus uses a concrete expression where we should expect an abstract; *e.g.* specie recusantis, *with a show of rejecting*, I. 3. 2, where the participle serves the purpose of a gerund.

b. The use of simple verbs where the prose writers employed compounds is especially characteristic of the *Annals*. The greater precision of the compounds fitted them for the uses of prose speech, while the poets, whom Tacitus here imitates, appear to have found a certain freedom and picturesqueness in the simple forms: *e.g.* posuit for proposuit, *put forth*, I. 7. 5; versa for eversa, *overturned*, II. 42. 4; firmabat for confirmabat, *strengthened*, I. 71. 5.

Compound verbs are often used with an accusative where the rule would require a preposition or a dative; *e.g.* pugnam aut vincula elapsi, *having escaped from battle or prison*, I. 61. 6.

c. Also borrowed from the poets is the frequent omission of the copula. A characteristic illustration of this is found in the second chapter of the first book, where *postquam* is followed by *arma* [*erant*], *oppressus* [*est*] and *reliquus* [*erat*].

d. The construction of the partitive genitive is carried to a great length, particularly as depending upon abstract nouns or the neuter (usually plural) of adjectives used abstractly, and even masculine and feminine adjectives; *e.g.* uligines paludum, *marshy swamps*, I. 17. 5; subiecta vallium, *the valleys below*, I. 65. 1; (but prominentia montium, *the spurs of the mountains*, II. 16, 2;) tacita suspicionum, *silent suspicions*, IV. 41. 1;

lubrico paludum, *in the slippery marsh*, I. 65. 6 ; levis cohortium, *the light cohorts*, III. 39. 1.

e. The genitive of reference with adjectives is very common ; *e.g.* furandi melior, *better in pilfering*, III. 74. 1 ; occultos consilii, *reticent about plans*, VI. 36. 3.

f. Tacitus shares with the poets a fondness for the dative case, especially the dative of service or purpose (very common in the gerundive), of agency, and the dative as substituted for *ad* with the accusative ; thus we find it not infrequently as end of motion ; *e.g.* Gaius Caesar componendae Armeniae deligitur, *Gaius Caesar is selected to put in order the affairs of Armenia*, II. 4. 2 ; qui tributo aderant, *who had come for tribute*, IV. 72. 5 ; claris scriptoribus, *by renowned writers*, I. 1. 4 ; centurionem morti deposcit, *it* [the legion] *demands the centurion to put him to death*, I. 23. 6 ; altius coniectantibus, *in the eye of those who would see under the surface*, I. 32. 7 ; paci firmator, *confirmer of peace*, II. 46. 6.

g. Purpose or effect is also frequently expressed by an accusative in apposition with a clause of action ; *e.g.* manus intentantes, causam discordiae, *threatening with their hands, a cause of discord*, I. 27. 1.

h. The use of the accusative, ablative, and locative to express local relations of rest or of motion to or from a place, used regularly only with towns and small islands, is extended by the poets and by Tacitus to the largest islands, and even to countries, and other names of places ; *e.g.* remeantem Armenia, *on his way home from Armenia*, I. 3. 3 ; Aegyptum proficiscitur, *he proceeds to Egypt*, II. 59. 1 ; campo aut litore, *on plain or shore*, IV. 74. 6.

i. In the use of prepositions his fondness for figurative expressions is very marked ; *e.g. apud* for *cum*, and in the sense of 'in' ; *inter* like an ablative absolute or a clause ; *citra* for *sine* (not in the *Annals*) ; *circa* and *super*, meaning "in respect to" ; *per*, to denote manner ; *iuxta*, to denote resemblance ; *in*, to express purpose or result ; *e.g.* apud Nolam, *at*

Nola, I. 5. 5; inter temulentos, *while they were drunk*, I. 50. 7; per ferociam, *impatiently*, II. 17. 1; in speciem ac terrorem, *for display and terror*, II. 6. 3; circa bonas artes, *in respect to good practices*, XI. 15. 1.

He is also fond of rare prepositions (in the *Annals*, however, only *simul*), and of placing the preposition after the word which it governs (*anastrophe*); *e.g.* Magnetibus simul, *together with the Magnesians*, IV. 55. 3.

j. In respect to conjunctions, his principal peculiarity is the frequency of *asyndeton; e.g.* clamore telis, *by shouts and weapons*, IV. 48. 4; socios regna, *allied nations and kings*, III. 55. 3.

Notice, too, the fondness for such variety in combination as: Tiberii Gaique et Claudii ac Neronis, *of Tiberius, Gaius, Claudius, and Nero*, I. 1. 5.

Other usages of conjunctions unfamiliar to the student of earlier Latin are *donec*, (until), and *quamquam*, almost invariably with the subjunctive; *quamquam* also without a finite verb; *quamvis* equivalent to *quamquam; quotiens* (whenever); *quatenus*, equivalent to *quoniam; tamquam* and similar particles to express an alleged reason; *perinde quam; e.g.* quamquam multi cecidissent, *although many had fallen*, IV. 73. 6; (but quamquam id quoque dictum est, *although that too was said*, I. 76. 7;) donec detererrentur, *until they were deterred*, I. 1. 4; (but donec fama eadem tulit, *until the same report brought word*, I. 5. 6;) quamquam exercitu contracto, *although his army had been got together*, I. 48. 1; quamvis domus delaberetur, *although the house was falling*, II. 38. 10; tamquam auctus liberis Drusus domum Germanici magis urgueret, *because* [as they said] *the birth of children to Drusus was another blow to the house of Germanicus*, II. 84. 3; quotiens oculos ad multitudinem rettulerant, *whenever they turned their eyes to the crowd*, I. 25. 2.

k. The historical infinitive, though not peculiar to Tacitus, is found very abundantly in his writings; he sometimes uses it

even in subordinate temporal clauses; *e.g.* Ubi Artabanus minitari, *when Artabanus threatened*, II. 4. 4.

He is very fond of stringing a number of historical infinitives, one after another, in the way of enumeration; *e.g.* lascivire miles, discordare, pessimi cuiusque sermonibus praebere aures, etc., *the soldiers fell into lawlessness and disorder, lent their ears to the talk of every mischief-maker, etc.*, I. 16. 3.

l. The complementary infinitive is common after verbs and adjectives where earlier prose writers would have used a subordinate clause or a gerund; *e.g.* perfringere nisi, *attempting to burst through*, I. 64. 1; dato sacerdotibus . . . vera discernere, *the priests being authorized to distinguish the genuine*, VI. 12. 4.

m. In clauses of comparison he commonly omits the correlative *eo* or *tanto*, and often uses a positive instead of a comparative in one or both of the clauses; *e.g.* claris maioribus quam vetustis, *ancestors rather distinguished than ancient*, IV. 61. 1; quanto incautius efferverat, paenitentia patiens, *the more indiscreetly he had boiled over with rage, the more patient when his anger was over*, I. 74. 7.

n. In the gerund and gerundive there is great freedom in the use of the genitive; *e.g.* cognoscendae antiquitatis, *for the purpose of studying antiquity*, II. 59. 1; tuendae libertatis et firmandae concordiae, *for the purpose of protecting liberty and establishing harmony*, III. 27. 1.

o. There is great freedom also in the use of the participle, especially in the ablative neuter, used absolutely with a word understood, or with a clause or phrase; *e.g.* concedente, *sc.* eo, *with his permission*, VI. 16. 5; addito acutiorem esse, *adding that it was sharper*, I. 35. 6.

Another common construction is the omission, in ablative absolute, of the subject when it is antecedent to a relative; *e.g.* provisis quae tempus monebat, *having made provision of such things as the exigency demanded*, I. 5. 6.

p. Very characteristic also, and conducive to brevity, is the

use of the participles (principally in perfect passive), both absolute and agreeing with the subject, to connect one clause with another, sometimes co-ordinated in sense with an infinitive, where the English would use a succession of verbs; *e.g.* posito triumviri nomine consulem se ferens . . . insurgere paulatim, *he laid aside the title of triumvir, appeared as consul, and gradually rose in power*, I. 2. 1; Quintilium Varum . . . cernere . . . visus est, non tamen obsecutus et manum intendentis reppulisse, *it appeared to him that he saw Quintilius Varus, but yet did not follow him, and repelled the hand which he stretched out to him*, I. 65. 2.

q. The combination of a substantive with a participle, adjective, or other substantive, where the English would use an abstract or verbal noun, or a clause, is found in Livy and other historians, but is peculiarly common in Tacitus; *e.g.* cum occisus dictator Caesar aliis pessimum, aliis pulcherrimum facinus videretur, *when some thought the slaying of the dictator Cæsar a wicked, others a noble deed*, I. 8. 7; exemplum atrox, reus pater, accusator filius, *a horrible incident — that a father was on trial, his son the accuser*, IV. 28. 1.

r. Nothing is more characteristic of Tacitus than the neglect of concinnity, or uniformity and parallelism of construction. While the early writers regularly aimed to express co-ordinate ideas by similar expressions, Tacitus, in his morbid straining after variety, appears on the other hand to have purposely avoided uniformity of expression; *e.g.* per acies aut proscriptione, *in battle or by proscription*, I. 2. 1; dextro lateri . . . in laevum, *on the right and left flank*, I. 64. 8; censuit comitia habenda utque legionum legati iam tum praetores destinarentur, *he proposed that the election should be held and that the commanders of the legions should be immediately appointed to the prætorship*, II. 36. 1; plebe valida vel cum patres pollerent, *when the plebs or the Senate was strong*, IV. 33. 2.

s. As purely Greek or poetic constructions may be instanced: immotum fixumque Tiberio fuit, *it was immovably fixed in the*

mind of Tiberius, I. 47. 1; ut quibusque bellum invitis aut cupientibus erat, *according as each was opposed to war or desired it*, I. 59. 1; falsa exterritum, *terrified without reason*, IV. 28. 3; minor quadringentorum milium, *less than* 400,000, IV. 63. 2. See also *b*, *c*, *f*, *h*.

t. Many words are used only by Tacitus, and others only by him in a certain meaning, *e.g.* finire, *die*, VI. 50. 9; inturbidus, *undisturbed*, III. 52. 1; circumflui, *surrounded by*, VI. 37. 4.

As the style of Tacitus exaggerates all the characteristics of the Latinity of the Silver Age, so his style in the *Annals*, his latest work, pushes his own peculiarities to their extreme. It is in this work that his harshness and crabbedness of style are found in their fullest development. Some sentences seem like mere strings of disconnected words, the relation of which to one another can only be discovered by assiduous study and analysis. The *Annals* stands to the *Dialogus*, in respect to style, very much as Carlyle's *Frederick the Great* to his *Life of Sterling*.

CORNELII TACITI

AB EXCESSU DIVI AUGUSTI

LIBRI I.–VI.

ARGUMENT OF BOOK I.

A.D. 14; SEX. POMPEIUS, SEX. APPULEIUS, Coss.

1–15. Introductory.

1. Plan of composition. 2, 3. Establishment of the Empire. 4. Its condition. 5. Death of Augustus. 6. Of Agrippa Postumus. 7. Accession of Tiberius. 8. Will and funeral of Augustus. 9, 10. Opinions as to Augustus. 11–13. Negotiations with Tiberius. 14. Honors to Livia. 14, 15. Change in manner of elections.

16–30. Mutiny of the Pannonian Legions.

16. Uprising of the soldiers. 17, 18. Their complaints and demands. 19. Embassy to Rome. 20, 21. Mutiny at Nauportus. 22, 23. Violence of the mutineers. 24, 25. Arrival of Drusus. 26–27. Continued disturbances. 28. Eclipse of the moon. 29, 30. Suppression of the mutiny.

31–49. Mutiny of the German Legions.

31, 32. Uprising and complaints. 33. Germanicus. 34, 35. His arrival and discourse. 36, 37. Concessions to the mutineers. 38. Mutiny among the Chauci. 39. Violence of the mutineers. 40, 41. Departure of Agrippina. 42, 43. Speech of Germanicus. 44, 45. End of the mutiny. 46, 47. Sentiments in Rome. 48, 49. Punishment of the mutiny.

50, 51. Expedition against the Marsi. 52. Action of Tiberius. 53. Death of Julia. 54. Honors to Augustus.

A.D. 15; DRUSUS CAESAR, C. NORBANUS, Coss.

55–71. First campaign of Germanicus.

55. Arminius and Segestes. 56. Expedition against the Chatti. 57, 58. Rescue of Segestes. 59. Uprising of the Germans. 60. Expedition against the Bructeri. 61, 62. Visit to the battle-field in the Teutoburg Forest. 63. Skirmish with the Cherusci. 63, 64. Homeward march of Cæcina. Attack by the Cherusci. 65–67. Night assault upon the camp. 68. Repulse of the Germans. 69. Activity of Agrippina. 70, 71. Return of Germanicus.

72–74. Revival of law of *maiestas*. 75. Intervention of Tiberius in the courts of law. 76. Flood of the Tiber. Character of Drusus. 77. Disturbances in the theatre. 78. Temple to Augustus in Tarraco. 79. Measures for relieving the floods of the Tiber. 80. Province of Mœsia. 81. Consular elections.

CORNELII TACITI

AB EXCESSU DIVI AUGUSTI

LIBER I.

Urbem Romam a principio reges habuere; libertatem et consulatum L. Brutus instituit. Dictaturae ad tempus sumebantur; neque decemviralis potestas ultra biennium, neque tribunorum militum consulare ius diu valuit. Non Cinnae, non Sullae longa dominatio; et

1. **Urbem . . . habuere**: these words form a hexameter verse. Such verses, occurring in prose, were considered faulty by the ancients; nevertheless, the measured rhythm of this sentence affords a stately and worthy introduction to the great history. Livy, too, began with a rhythmical passage, — *facturusne operae pretium sim* — and Quintilian (IX. 4. 74) remarks that he could not have changed the order of these words without weakening the sentence.

libertatem et consulatum: the republic, the second period of Roman history, extending from B.C. 509 to the establishment of the *principatus* by Augustus, B.C. 27. The following magistracies are named as temporary interruptions of the *libertas et consulatus*.

2. **ad tempus**, *temporarily* (not to exceed six months); that is, to meet special emergencies. Notice the force of the imperfect, **sumebantur**.

ultra biennium: in fact, the Decemvirs held their office for more than two years and a half (from May 15, B.C. 451, to Dec. 13, 449). Only two years, however, were legitimate rule, *potestas*. The third year Livy calls them *privati pro decemviris*, and adds *regnum haud dubie videri* (III. 38).

consulare ius: the office of military tribune with consular power is first mentioned B.C. 445; from this time until B.C. 408 tribunes alternated irregularly with consuls; from B.C. 408 until 367 military tribunes were elected every year except two, when there were consuls, and five years in which no magistrates were elected.

3. **Cinnae . . . Sullae**: Cinna was consul four years in succession, B.C. 87 to 84; Sulla was made perpetual dictator B.C. 82, and laid down his office in 79. The word **dominatio**, used to designate their despotic authority, is contrasted with the constitutional **potestas** of the

Pompei Crassique potentia cito in Caesarem, Lepidi atque Antonii arma in Augustum cessere, qui cuncta discordiis civilibus fessa nomine principis sub imperium
4 accepit. Sed veteris populi Romani prospera vel adversa claris scriptoribus memorata sunt; temporibusque Augusti dicendis non defuere decora ingenia, donec
5 gliscente adulatione deterrerentur. Tiberii Gaique et Claudii ac Neronis res, florentibus ipsis ob metum falsae, postquam occiderant, recentibus odiis compositae sunt.
6 Inde consilium mihi pauca de Augusto et extrema

decemvirs and **ius** of the military tribunes, as well as with the personal **potentia** of the first triumvirate, the irregular military power, **arma**, of the second, and the legally recognized military authority, **imperium**, of the empire. No doubt, also, Tacitus, here as elsewhere, sought to avoid tautology by the use of synonymous terms.

potentia . . . arma: the so-called triumvirate of Pompey, Crassus, and Cæsar (B.C. 60) was simply a coalition of party-leaders, which established a **potentia** resting upon the personal ability or influence of its members: this power shortly fell to Cæsar. The Second Triumvirate, of Lepidus, Antonius, and Cæsar (Octavianus), was a commission *rei publicae constituendae* formally established by law, Nov. 27, B.C. 43, for a period of five years. It was then extended by the triumvirs by their own authority for five years longer, after which time, civil war having broken out between them, they continued their commands without formal authority. Lepidus was forced to submit to Cæsar B.C. 36; Antony, in 31.

nomine principis: this is the correct name of the new dignity established B.C. 27, when Cæsar (Octavianus) laid down his extraordinary powers, received the name of *Augustus*, and entered upon his new office. See 9. 6: *non regno tamen neque dictatura, sed principis nomine, constitutam rem publicam.*

4. **sed**: there is an ellipsis here: (these early times deserve an historian,) but they have already received worthy treatment.

veteris . . . adversa: the times of the kingdom and the republic.

claris scriptoribus: Intr. 35 *f.*

temporibus . . . dicendis: dative after **defuere**.

decora ingenia: especially Livy, whose history ended at the death of Drusus, B.C. 9. Also Asinius Pollio, Cremutius Cordus (IV. 34), and others.

deterrerentur: Intr. 35 *j.*

5. **Tiberii**, etc.: these are the reigns embraced in the present work — heretofore they have received no impartial treatment.

que . . . et . . . ac: an arbitrary confusion in the use of the conjunctions, common in Tacitus. Intr. 35 *j.*

falsae, *which had been falsified.*

recentibus odiis, *while the hatred against them was fresh.*

6. **pauca . . . et extrema**: a few of the closing events only, because the greater part of his reign had

tradere, mox Tiberii principatum et cetera, sine ira et studio, quorum causas procul habeo.

Postquam Bruto et Cassio caesis nulla iam pub- 2
lica arma, Pompeius apud Siciliam oppressus, exutoque Lepido, interfecto Antonio ne Iulianis quidem partibus nisi Caesar dux reliquus, posito triumviri nomine

already found worthy historians. **et** is here emphatic: *and those, too, the last.*

cetera, *the rest, i.e.* the events which followed, ending with the death of Nero, at which point the *Histories* of Tacitus begin.

ira et studio: prejudice, either against or for.

2. postquam, etc.: in this long and involved sentence the principal verbs are the historical infinitives **insurgere** and **trahere**; the force of the **postquam** continues through **reliquus** [**erat**], and **ferens** agrees with the subject (understood) of **insurgere**, referring to Cæsar. Notice also the characteristic use of the participle to express the relation of a subordinate clause (Intr. 35 *o*), the omission of the copula (id. *r*), and the constant change of construction (id. *r*).

Bruto et Cassio caesis, etc.: Brutus and Cassius slew themselves after their defeat at Philippi, B.C. 42; Sextus Pompeius was defeated at Mylæ, near Sicily (**apud Siciliam**), B.C. 36, and soon after put to death; the same year Lepidus was deprived of all power, but was suffered to live in private life, still holding the dignity of *pontifex maximus*, until B.C. 12, when he died. The two remaining triumvirs soon fell out; Mark Antony was defeated at Actium, B.C. 31, and the next year put himself to death.

nulla . . . arma: this was the end of the republic, — the younger Pompey fought for himself rather than for the Senate. "*Ce ne furent plus les soldats de la république, mais de Sylla, de Marius, de Pompée, de César.*" Montesquieu, *Considérations.*

ne Iulianis quidem partibus: the leaders of the opposite party — Brutus, Cassius, the Pompeys — had perished before. Now, by the death of Antony, the party of Cæsar, too, was reduced to a single leader.

Caesar: Gaius Octavius (the emperor Augustus), great-nephew of Julius Cæsar, was adopted by him, and took his name, Gaius Julius Cæsar. To distinguish him from his great-uncle, he is commonly known as Octavianus; in his own time, however, he was simply Gaius Cæsar.

posito triumviri nomine: see note on *potentia*, 1. 3. Augustus never formally laid down his authority until B.C. 27. He was triumvir from 42 to 33, consul in the year 31, and every year after until 23. For the year 32, therefore, he had no legal authority, unless as triumvir. Mommsen, therefore (*Staatsrecht*, II. 676), concludes that he continued to act as triumvir after the second term had expired, and that it was only by an afterthought that, in the *Monumentum Ancyranum* (4. 1) he says, συνεχέσιν ἔτεσιν δέκα (*cf.* Sueton. *Oct.* 27; *triumviratum rei publicae constituendae per decem annos administravit*). According to Mommsen, an officer appointed for revising the constitution was not held to any term: certainly Antony did not lay down his office at the

consulem se ferens et ad tuendam plebem tribunicio iure contentum, ubi militem donis, populum annona, cunctos dulcedine otii pellexit, insurgere paulatim, munia senatus magistratuum legum in se trahere, nullo adversante, cum ferocissimi per acies aut proscriptione cecidissent, ceteri nobilium, quanto quis servitio promp-

end of 33, and was never accused of usurpation for it.

The office was created, in conformity with an ancient custom of vesting full constitutive as well as governmental powers in a single man or a board, for the purpose of regulating the constitution after the disorders of civil war, and this purpose was expressed in the title *triumvir rei publicae constituendae*. In like manner Sulla, after the first civil war, B.C. 82, was made *dictator rei publicae constituendae*. As a matter of course, the triumvirs received the full imperium.

consulem se ferens: implying a certain ostentation in the use of the republican name.

tribunicio iure: Intr. 20. The tribunician authority (*summi fastigii vocabulum*, III. 56) was given to him B.C. 36. This was the foundation of his office upon its civil side, as the pro-consular power was upon the military side. By it the person of the emperor was made inviolable, *sacrosanctus*, and through the *ius auxili*, which was the starting-point of the power of the tribunes, he was the formal representative and defender of the common people, thus continuing the traditions of the Gracchi, Marius, and Cæsar. This office also gave authority to convoke the Senate and the Comitia.

contentum: he rejected the titles of king and dictator.

donis: bounties in money and land. (See note on *divisiones agrorum*, 10. 1.) The bounties in land were in the form of military colonies, of which he planted twenty-eight in Italy, and others in ten provinces, enumerated in the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, 5. 35. In money he bestowed (*in colonis militum meorum*), one thousand sesterces apiece upon about 120,000 men, id. 3. 17.

annona: this refers, says Furneaux, "not to the regular corn dole [which he reduced from 200,000 to 150,000] . . . but to the careful organization of the supply from Egypt and elsewhere, and to special distributions, gratuitous or at a price below cost, in times of scarcity." He says (*Mon. Anc.* 3. 10): *Consul undecimum* [B.C. 23] *duodecim frumentationes frumento privatim coempto emensus sum*. Suetonius says (*Oct.* 41): *Frumentum . . . saepe levissimo, interdum nullo pretio admensus est.*

senatus, etc.: the asyndeton is common in such enumerations.

legum: *i.e.* through his edicts as magistrate, and similar decrees.

proscriptione: of the Second Triumvirate, after the death of Cæsar. Cicero lost his life in these proscriptions. Notice how fond Tacitus is of coupling together different constructions: **per acies aut proscriptione** (Intr. 35 *r*). Each form has a special fitness in its own case, as frequently elsewhere.

nobilium: Cicero would probably have said **nobiles** (Intr. 35 *d*).

quanto quis: the correlative **tanto magis** is omitted, as frequently in Tacitus.

servitio: = *ad servitium*, which

tior, opibus et honoribus extollerentur ac novis ex rebus aucti tuta et praesentia quam vetera et periculosa mallent. Neque provinciae illum rerum statum abnuebant, 2
suspecto senatus populique imperio ob certamina potentium et avaritiam magistratuum, invalido legum auxilio, quae vi, ambitu, postremo pecunia turbabantur. Cete- 3
rum Augustus subsidia dominationi Claudium Marcellum sororis filium admodum adulescentem pontificatu et curuli aedilitate, M. Agrippam, ignobilem loco, bonum militia et victoriae socium, geminatis consulatibus extulit, mox defuncto Marcello generum sumpsit; Tiberium

would be more regular (Intr. 35 *f*).

novis ex rebus: from the change in government; *novae res* = "revolution."

tuta, etc., *the present with its safety to the past with its perils.*

2. **neque provinciae**: it has been often remarked that the rule of the emperors, even the most tyrannical, was more endurable to the provincials than the practically irresponsible government of the magistrates of the republic. See 76. 4: *Achaiam ac Macedoniam onera deprecantis levari in praesens proconsulari imperio tradique Caesari placuit.*

suspecto, *regarded with dislike.*

legum: the law which established (B.C. 149) the *quaestio rerum repetundarum*, or court for the trial of extortion in the provinces, and the various laws passed afterwards, to reorganize the court and define its powers. Their efficacy was disturbed by the causes here mentioned.

ambitu, *intrigue*, lit., a 'going around,' personal canvassing, which easily passed into bribery, here referred to by **pecunia**.

3. ceterum expresses here, as often, merely a transition from a digression back to the main theme.

subsidia: the appositive to express purpose, = *ut subsidia essent.*

dominationi: Intr. 35 *f.*

sororis: *i.e.* Octavia. This is the Marcellus addressed by Vergil (*Aen.* VI. 862 ff.) — *tu Marcellus eris.* He died in the year of his ædileship, B.C. 23, at the age of twenty. See table, Intr. 26.

pontificatu, etc.: these ablatives are construed with **extulit**, as instrument.

ignobilem: the origin of Agrippa was so humble that he chose to drop his father's name Vipsanius, as not being that of any well-known gens. The inscription on the Pantheon, erected by him, reads: *M. Agrippa L. f. cos. tertium fecit.* See Freeman, *Methods of Historical Study*, p. 245.

geminatis: he was consul two years in succession, B.C. 28 and 27, a very unusual thing under the empire for any person but the emperor himself.

generum: he married Julia, the daughter of Augustus. See table, Intr. 26.

Neronem et Claudium Drusum privignos imperatoriis
2 nominibus auxit, integra etiam tum domo sua. Nam genitos Agrippa Gaium ac Lucium in familiam Caesarum induxerat, necdum posita puerili praetexta principes iuventutis appellari, destinari consules specie recusantis
3 flagrantissime cupiverat. Ut Agrippa vita concessit, Lucium Caesarem euntem ad Hispaniensis exercitus, Gaium remeantem Armenia et vulnere invalidum mors fato propera vel novercae Liviae dolus abstulit, Drusoque pridem exstincto Nero solus e privignis erat, illuc cuncta vergere: filius, collega imperii, consors tribuni-

privignos: they were sons of his wife Livia, by her former husband. For all these relationships, see Table, Intr. 26.

imperatoriis nominibus: the emperors assumed the title *Imperator* as a prænomen; the use here indicated, however, is that of the republic, as an appellation bestowed after victory. Both Tiberius and Drusus carried on successful campaigns in Germany, and the use of this title by them is attested by inscriptions.

2. **nam** explains **integra**: his own house consisted of his grandchildren, Gaius and Lucius; but even during their lifetime he heaped these honors upon his stepsons.

in familiam induxerat: by the regular form of adoption; *per assem et libram emptos a patre Agrippa*, Suet. *Oct.* 64, — a remarkable illustration of the survival of primitive forms.

praetexta: the *toga praetexta*, with a purple stripe about its border, was worn by curule magistrates, and also by boys until they assumed the *toga virilis* at about the age of sixteen.

principes iuventutis: as he himself was *princeps* of the state (not merely *princeps senatus*, as is often stated, see Intr. 20), so the acknowledged heir to the throne was made **princeps iuventutis**, a merely honorary title, carrying with it no duties or privileges. Momm. *Röm. St.* II. 1047.

destinari: *i.e.* to take effect at a future time, — *post quinquennium;* as to the fact, Augustus says (*Mon. Ancyr.* 14): *Gaium et Lucium Caesares honoris mei caussa senatus populusque Romanus annum quintum et decimum agentis consules designavit, ut eum magistratum inirent post quinquennium.*

recusantis: this use of the present participle in the genitive, agreeing with a noun understood, is common in Tacitus, where a gerund would be more regular; *e.g. momenta ipsa deficientis, Agr.* 43. Intr. 35 *a*.

3. **Armenia**: Intr. 35 *h*.

Liviae dolus: there is no doubt that Livia was very ambitious, as well for her son as for herself, and perhaps she was not incapable of this crime. Lucius died A.D. 2; Gaius, A.D. 4.

illuc = *ad eum*.

filius, etc.: these express the for-

ciae potestatis adsumitur, omnisque per exercitus ostentatur, non obscuris, ut antea, matris artibus, sed palam hortatu. Nam senem Augustum devinxerat adeo uti 4
nepotem unicum, Agrippam Postumum, in insulam Planasiam proiecerit, rudem sane bonarum artium et robore corporis stolide ferocem, nullius tamen flagitii compertum. At hercule Germanicum Druso ortum octo apud 5
Rhenum legionibus imposuit adscirique per adoptionem a Tiberio iussit, quamquam esset in domo Tiberii filius iuvenis, sed quo pluribus munimentis insisteret.

Bellum ea tempestate nullum nisi adversus Germanos 6
supererat, abolendae magis infamiae ob amissum cum Quintilio Varo exercitum quam cupidine proferendi

mal acts by which Tiberius was designated as successor to the throne. He was adopted A.D 4, after the death of Gaius, on which occasion he appears to have laid aside his gentile name (Claudius), as was regularly done by the early emperors. His dignity as crown prince is, like that of the emperor himself, summed up in his association in the proconsular and tribunician powers. The *potestas tribunicia* was granted to him B.C. 6, was renewed on occasion of his adoption, and given for life A.D. 14. The *imperium proconsulare*, was probably conferred B.C. 8 (Momm. *Röm. St.* II. 1051).

omnis . . . ostentatur: there appears to have been no formal presentation of him to the armies as destined to the succession; the reference is to his commands in Germany and Pannonia.

palam hortatu: her designs were no longer concealed.

4. **Agrippam Postumum**: son of Agrippa and Julia, daughter of Augustus; for his fate, see chap. 6.

Planasiam: *Pianosa*, near Elba.

5. **Druso**: the younger brother of Tiberius, and like him a distinguished commander; he died B.C. 9.

octo legiones: four in Upper, four in Lower Germany. The authority of Germanicus extended over all these, the special commanders of the two armies being placed under him; see chap. 31 and Intr. 18. B. 16. and 23.

esset: Intr. 35 *j*.

filius iuvenis: the younger Drusus, son of Tiberius, now about twenty-seven years of age; he and Germanicus were now legally brothers. The age of *iuventus*, following *adulescentia*, extended from about twenty-five to forty-five.

pluribus munimentis: in order to lessen the danger of a vacancy on the throne; *non legiones, non classes perinde firma imperio munimenta quam numerum liberorum, Hist.* IV. 52.

6. **abolendae infamiae**: Intr. 35 *n*.

cum Quintilio Varo: the famous defeat of Varus by Arminius in the Teutoburg forest, A.D. 9. See chap. 60. This set a limit to the advance of the Romans into Germany, or

7 imperii aut dignum ob praemium. Domi res tranquillae, eadem magistratuum vocabula; iuniores post Actiacam victoriam, etiam senes plerique inter bella civium nati: quotus quisque reliquus, qui rem publicam
4 vidisset! Igitur verso civitatis statu nihil usquam prisci et integri moris: omnes exuta aequalitate iussa principis aspectare, nulla in praesens formidine, dum
2 Augustus aetate validus seque et domum et pacem sustentavit. Postquam provecta iam senectus aegro et corpore fatigabatur, aderatque finis et spes novae, pauci bona libertatis in cassum disserere, plures bellum pave-
3 scere, alii cupere. Pars multo maxima imminentis dominos variis rumoribus differebant: trucem Agrippam et ignominia accensum non aetate neque rerum experientia tantae moli parem; Tiberium Neronem maturum annis, spectatum bello, sed vetere atque insita Claudiae fami-

rather obliged them to withdraw to the frontier of the Rhine.

cupidine proferendi imperii: Augustus laid it down as a *praeceptum imperii* not to advance the boundaries of the empire; *consilium coercendi intra terminos imperii*, II. 7. In fact Tiberius put an end to hostilities after three years of no material success.

7. **eadem**: *i.e.* the same as under the republic.

post Actiacam pugnam: the battle of Actium, B.C. 31, in which Octavius defeated Antony. This was the end of the civil wars; the republic had perished already. See note on *publica arma*, 2. 1.

rem publicam: *i.e.* in its concrete meaning, *the republic*.

4. statu, *constitution*.

prisci et: a closer coupling than if *neque* had been used — *the good old customs*; see similar instance in 70. 5. We have here a terse and vigorous description of the changes in temper and feeling as the monarchy was established.

2. **provecta senectus**: Augustus was seventy-seven years old at the time of his death.

et (corpore) = *etiam*.

aderat, *was at hand*.

spes novae: *i.e.* as to what would happen after the death of the emperor.

disserere: this word in Tacitus very often governs the accusative.

3. **differebant**: made the subject of disparaging talk, *picked to pieces* (**dis-** in composition having the meaning *asunder*).

aetate: Agrippa was twenty-six, Tiberius, fifty-six.

spectatum bello: he had carried on war with great distinction, and had celebrated triumphs over the Pannonians (B.C. 9), the Germans (B.C. 7), the Illyrians, Panno-

liae superbia, multaque indicia saevitiae, quamquam premantur, erumpere. Hunc et prima ab infantia eductum 4
in domo regnatrice; congestos iuveni consulatus triumphos; ne iis quidem annis, quibus Rhodi specie secessus exsul egerit, aliquid quam iram et simulationem et secretas lubidines meditatum. Accedere matrem muliebri 5
impotentia: serviendum feminae duobusque insuper adu-

nians, Dalmatians, and Germans (A.D. 12).

superbia: ablative of characteristic. This was an inborn trait of the Claudian gens. When, however, Suetonius proceeds (*Tib.* 2) to say *Claudios omnes . . . optimates assertoresque unicos dignitatis ac potentiae patriciorum semper fuisse*, it may be questioned whether the tradition is in accordance with historical fact. Mommsen (see Appendix to Vol. I. of his Roman History) shows that this family was peculiarly free from bondage to tradition, and was, on the other hand, prone to innovation; that its members were "the predecessors of the Gracchi and of Cæsar. In this respect the Claudii were justly called to ascend, in combination with the Julian house, the imperial throne, and even on that throne they did not wholly forget the traditional policy of their clan; for it is only in the light of this traditional policy that we can rightly understand why Tiberius and Claudius declined the title of *Imperator*, and various similar traits."

premantur, *suppressed, kept concealed;* the verb takes the time of the supposed speakers; as belonging to the indirect discourse, it would properly be in the imperfect.

4. **eductum**, *educated; educatum* would be the word properly used.

consulatus: B.C. 13 and 7.

triumphos: see note on **spectatum bello**.

Rhodi: this city was, until the time of Claudius, nominally independent of Rome. Tiberius was therefore, during his residence at Rhodes, legally outside of the bounds of the empire.

iis . . . annis: B.C. 6 to A.D. 2; this was in appearance a voluntary retirement, but as he was not permitted by Augustus to return, he was to all intents and purposes an exile; *remansit ergo Rhodi contra voluntatem* (Suet. *Tib.* 12). The cause of this retirement is not certain. Tacitus, chap. 53, attributes it to the infidelities of his wife Julia, daughter of Augustus. Suetonius hints the same, but says that Tiberius himself gave as a reason the fear of exciting the jealousy of Gaius and Lucius Cæsar; *nihil aliud secessu devitasse se quam aemulationis cum Gaio Lucioque suspicionem.* Velleius (II. 99) gives essentially the same reason; *ne fulgor suus orientium iuvenum obstaret initiis.* His position at court was certainly a difficult and embarrassing one.

aliquid: see App. I.

5. **impotentia**, *imperious temper;* cf. V. 1, *mater impotens, uxor facilis.* The idea is 'powerless to control one's self.'

duobus adulescentibus: Germanicus and Drusus.

lescentibus, qui rem publicam interim premant, quandoque distrahant.

5 Haec atque talia agitantibus gravescere valetudo Au-
2 gusti, et quidam scelus uxoris suspectabant. Quippe rumor incesserat, paucos ante menses Augustum, electis consciis et comite uno Fabio Maximo, Planasiam vectum
3 ad visendum Agrippam; multas illic utrimque lacrimas et signa caritatis, spemque ex eo fore ut iuvenis penatibus avi redderetur; quod Maximum uxori Marciae ape-
4 ruisse, illam Liviae. Gnarum id Caesari; neque multo post exstincto Maximo, dubium an quaesita morte, auditos in funere eius Marciae gemitus semet incusantis,
5 quod causa exitii marito fuisset. Utcumque se ea res habuit, vixdum ingressus Illyricum Tiberius properis matris litteris accitur; neque satis compertum est, spi-

quandoque distrahant: *i.e.* in their disputes for the succession, when Tiberius should have died. As a matter of fact, the two princes lived in the closest intimacy and affection, and both died before Tiberius. **quandoque** = *aliquando.*

5. agitantibus: Intr. 35 *o.* Some editors take it as a dative of reference, — also a construction very characteristic of this writer. Intr. 35 *f.*

scelus uxoris: the current story was that she put poison in some figs still hanging on the tree, which he then plucked and ate.

3. **ex eo**: construed with **spem (fuisse)**.

Marciae: she was a cousin of the emperor, her mother Atia being a sister of his mother.

4. **gnarum** = *notum*: a frequent usage in Tacitus.

dubium an, *perhaps*; Tacitus is very fond of parenthetical expressions of this kind.

quaesita (*sc.* **a se**), *voluntary.*

5. **utcumque se ea res habuit**: the whole story is very improbable, considering the age and infirmity of Augustus, and the suspicious watchfulness of Livia.

Illyricum: this province, occupying the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea, had been extended by the wars of Tiberius (B.C. 12–9) so as to include the valleys of the Save and Drave, by which an easy passage conducted from the Adriatic into the valley of the Danube; it was now divided into Upper Illyricum, or Pannonia, and Lower Illyricum, or Dalmatia. The latter was afterwards extended to the Danube. The name Illyricum was, in the later empire, given to a præfecture, or governmental district, embracing part of Mœsia, together with Macedonia and Greece.

spirantem: Suetonius says (*Tib.* 21) that he found him still alive, *fuitque una secreto per totum diem.* So also Velleius, II. 123. 3; Dio (LVI. 31) follows Tacitus.

rantem adhuc Augustum apud urbem Nolam an exanimem reppererit. Acribus namque custodiis domum et 6
vias saepserat Livia, laetique interdum nuntii vulgabantur, donec provisis quae tempus monebat simul excessisse Augustum et rerum potiri Neronem fama eadem tulit.

Primum facinus novi principatus fuit Postumi Agrip- 6
pae caedes, quem ignarum inermumque quamvis firmatus
animo centurio aegre confecit. Nihil de ea re Tibe- 2
rius apud senatum disseruit; patris iussa simulabat, quibus praescripsisset tribuno custodiae adposito, ne cunctaretur Agrippam morte adficere, quandoque ipse supremum diem explevisset. Multa sine dubio saevaque 3
Augustus de moribus adulescentis questus, ut exsilium eius senatus consulto sanciretur perfecerat; ceterum in nullius umquam suorum necem duravit, neque mortem nepoti pro securitate privigni inlatam credibile erat. Propius vero Tiberium ac Liviam, illum metu, hanc 4

apul, *in.* Intr. 35 *i.*

Nolam: an important city in Campania.

6. **namque**: this word regularly begins a sentence, but is used as an enclitic (like *enim*) in the poets and the later historians.

provisis quae: Intr. 35 *o.*

6. caedes: according to Suetonius (*Tib.* 22), this murder too was effected before the announcement of the death of the emperor.

aegre confecit: this appears to refer to the determined resistance of the vigorous young man (cf. *robore corporis*, 3. 4). According to Suetonius his death warrant was first read to him.

2. **patris iussa**: Suetonius says that it was doubtful whether it was Augustus that issued the orders or Livia; and, if she, whether it was with the knowledge of Tiberius or not.

custodiae: best taken as dative of the end, — *placed over him as a guard.*

quandoque, *as soon as* — properly *whenever.*

3. **saeva questus**: according to Suetonius (*Oct.* 65), he spoke of him and the two Julias — his daughter and her daughter — as *tres vomicas ac tria carcinomata sua.*

duravit, *hardened himself.*

propius vero: we have seen that Suetonius partly confirms Tiberius' own statement, that the act was ordered by Augustus; but the most probable theory is that the responsibility was assumed by Livia, and that Tiberius was obliged to acquiesce in a crime committed for his benefit.

novercalibus odiis, suspecti et invisi iuvenis caedem festi-
5 navisse. Nuntianti centurioni, ut mos militiae, factum
esse quod imperasset, neque imperasse sese et rationem
6 facti reddendam apud senatum respondit. Quod post-
quam Sallustius Crispus particeps secretorum (is ad
tribunum miserat codicillos) comperit, metuens ne reus
subderetur, iuxta periculoso ficta seu vera promeret,
monuit Liviam ne arcana domus, ne consilia amicorum,
ministeria militum vulgarentur, neve Tiberius vim prin-
cipatus resolveret cuncta ad senatum vocando; eam
condicionem esse imperandi, ut non aliter ratio constet
quam si uni reddatur.

7 At Romae ruere in servitium consules patres eques.
2 Quanto quis inlustrior, tanto magis falsi ac festinan-
tes, vultuque composito, ne laeti excessu principis neu
tristiores primordio, lacrimas gaudium questus adula-
3 tionem miscebant. Sex. Pompeius et Sex. Appuleius
consules primi in verba Tiberii Caesaris iuravere, apudque

5. **centurioni**: according to Suetonius, it was a tribune, probably the one who had given the orders to the centurion. The answer of Tiberius is given by Suetonius in almost the same words.

6. **Sallustius**: a great-nephew of the historian, adopted by him as his heir; see III. 30.

subderetur: in this compound of **sub** lies the idea that the charge would have been false.

periculoso: ablative, the subject being the clause that follows.

seu: the first **seu** is omitted, an omission common in Tacitus.

ut non, etc.: under the present system of government there could be no divided responsibility; to bring the matter before the senate as Tiberius proposed would put an end to his authority (**vim principatus resolveret**). In **ratio constat**, etc. (cf. *rationem reddendam* 5), there is an allusion to the auditing of accounts (Furneaux).

7. eques: collective, the equestrian order.

2. **laeti**, *cheerful; sc. essent*. The thing to be avoided was of course the appearance rather than the reality of gladness.

primordio: the accession of Tiberius.

3. **primi**: as chief magistrates, they took the oath independently; after which the prefects, who were not magistrates in the strict sense of the term, but officers of the emperor, took it at their hands (**apud eos**).

in verba iuravere: this is the form of the military oath of the republic; it was taken personally to the possessor of the *imperium*—

eos Seius Strabo et C. Turranius, ille praetoriarum cohortium praefectus, hic annonae ; mox senatus milesque et populus. Nam Tiberius cuncta per consules incipiebat, 4 tamquam vetere re publica et ambiguus imperandi ; ne edictum quidem, quo patres in curiam vocabat, 5

and that was, under the empire, solely the emperor. It was therefore equivalent to an oath of allegiance to him as supreme ruler. It was now exacted once a year, and was moreover extended to all classes — **senatus milesque et populus**. See chap. 34; also Momm. *Röm. St.* II. 749.

Seius Strabo: the father of Sejanus, who was afterwards associated with him in this office.

The prætorian præfect, *praefectus praetorio*, at first merely commander of the emperor's body-guard, was afterwards the most powerful officer in the state. The prætorian cohorts were nine in number, each of a thousand men commanded by a tribune, the whole body being regularly commanded by two præfects (at this time only one). Three of these cohorts were stationed in the city, the rest in other parts of Italy; but Sejanus concentrated the whole body in a fortified camp just outside the city walls. This prætorian camp served as a fortress to keep the city in subjection.

annonae: the office of *praefectus annonae* was established in the last part of the reign of Augustus; the date is not certainly known. The first incumbent was Gaius Turranius, who was still holding the office, A.D. 48 (XI. 31). As the title *præfect* implies, he had no independent authority, but was only the representative of the emperor, who in person had the *cura annonae*, as well as the *imperium* over the whole empire (Momm. *Röm. St.* II. 966). The *praefectus annonae* was taken from the equestrian order, and appointed for an indefinite term; at this time his office ranked as the first of the equestrian dignities, but it afterwards stood third in rank among these (Hirschfeld, *Untersuchungen*, p. 135). His duties were to provide the markets of the capital with grain and other necessaries, and to oversee the sailors, bakers, etc., who performed the labor in detail.

The *praefectus praetorio* and *praefectus annonae* were, in the early empire, the highest regular offices under the emperor; that of *praefectus urbi* being at this time only occasional; see VI. 11.

4. **incipiebat**: the use of the imperfect here is not to denote customary action (*was in the habit of beginning*), but to describe his policy at this time, when he had not yet in strictness of speech begun to reign, following the Latin usage of expressing by a verb what the English expresses by an abstract noun (Intr. 35 *a*), — *at this time he did all these things through the consuls*, the regular constitutional channels. Whatever he did himself he did by virtue of the tribunician and proconsular powers, which he already possessed.

vetere re publica: not ablative absolute, but of circumstance, — as if the republic were still in existence.

ambiguus imperandi, *as if he had not yet made up his mind to accept the imperium.*

5. **edictum**: every magistrate had the right of issuing *edicta* or proclamations, and the tribunes had

nisi tribuniciae potestatis praescriptione posuit sub Au-
6 gusto acceptae. Verba edicti fuere pauca et sensu permodesto: de honoribus parentis consulturum, neque abscedere a corpore idque unum ex publicis muneribus
7 usurpare. Sed defuncto Augusto signum praetoriis cohortibus ut imperator dederat; excubiae arma cetera aulae; miles in forum, miles in curiam comitabatur.
8 Litteras ad exercitus tamquam adepto principatu misit, nusquam cunctabundus nisi cum in senatu loqueretur.
9 Causa praecipua ex formidine, ne Germanicus, in cuius manu tot legiones, immensa sociorum auxilia, mirus apud populum favor, habere imperium quam exspectare
10 mallet. Dabat et famae, ut vocatus electusque potius a

the right of summoning the senate. Tiberius therefore called the senate together by virtue of his tribunician power (see note on chap. 2); his proconsular imperium did not give him this right.

posuit: for *proposuit;* Intr. 35 *b*.

6. **neque abscedere**: he owed this service to his adoptive father.

id: relates to **de . . . consulturum**; this duty he took upon himself.

7. **signum**: the military password.

ut imperator: having the proconsular *imperium;* see note to *filius*, 3. 3.

cetera aulae, *everything else that belongs to a court.*

8. **cunctabundus**, *showing hesitation.*

loqueretur: for this subjunctive of repeated action, common in the post-classical writers; see A. and G. § 309. *b*.

9. **causa praecipua**: he wished by this show of hesitation to force the senate to a formal offer of the throne; armed with this legal authority, he would be freed from fear on account of the popularity or military force of Germanicus. In the meantime he promptly exercised the powers which he already possessed. With the words **nam Tiberius** Tacitus begins to describe the hesitation and apparent reluctance of Tiberius to assume any new title or power; he already having the tribunician power and the *imperium*. With **sed defuncto**, etc., he shows that in spite of this hesitation to assume new powers, he exercised his old powers promptly and vigorously, and thus was *princeps* in all but name; the reason for both is the fear of Germanicus.

tot legiones: see note to chap. 3. 5. These eight legions made about 40,000 men, to whom must be added fully as many auxiliaries.

exspectare: as adopted son and successor; see 3. 5.

10. **dabat et famae**, *he had regard also*, etc.; *i.e.* his dignity and reputation required that he should assume the purple by a constitutional grant, and not by an informal act, which would have the look of usurpation.

re publica videretur quam per uxorium ambitum et senili
adoptione inrepsisse. Postea cognitum est ad introspi- 11
ciendas etiam procerum voluntates inductam dubitationem; nam verba vultus in crimen detorquens recondebat.

Nihil primo senatus die agi passus nisi de supremis 8
Augusti, cuius testamentum inlatum per virgines Vestae
Tiberium et Liviam heredes habuit. Livia in fami- 2
liam Iuliam nomenque Augustum adsumebatur; in
spem secundam nepotes pronepotesque, tertio gradu
primores civitatis scripserat, plerosque invisos sibi, sed
iactantia gloriaque ad posteros. Legata non ultra civilem 3
modum, nisi quod populo et plebi quadringentiens triciens

uxorium, etc.: the influence exerted upon the aged Augustus by his wife Livia.

11. **inductam**, *put on, assumed.*

verba, vultus: of others.

recondebat, *store up, lay up*, as a grudge. Tacitus' explanation of facts and imputation of motives must not be accepted as of equal authority with his statements of fact. (Intr. 13.) Hesitation and indecision were prominent traits of character in Tiberius, and may perhaps afford a sufficient explanation of his demeanor on this occasion.

8. per virgines Vestae: it was common to deposit wills, treaties, etc., in temples, and especially with the Vestal virgins. Cæsar's will was deposited with them.

heredes: Tiberius two thirds, *ex parte dimidia et sextante*, Livia one third, as we learn from Suetonius, *Oct.* 101.

2. **Augustum**: an adjective. From this time she is regularly known as Augusta.

in spem secundam = *secundos heredes*: Drusus, son of Tiberius, one-third, Germanicus and his male children *ex partibus reliquis*. This appointment of second and third heirs was to take effect only in default of first heirs, or in case the first heirs should fail to qualify, *cernere*; for the heir had the option of declining the inheritance.

primores: *sc. quosdam*. Suetonius says *propinquos amicosque complures*.

gloria, *love of glory*.

3. **civilem**: becoming a private citizen.

quadringentiens triciens quinquiens: this is given by Suetonius as two separate legacies, *legavit populo Romano quadringenties, tribubus tricies quinquies sestertium* (*Oct.* 101), **tribubus** being used by him as equivalent to Tacitus' **plebi**. This is usually explained as meaning that **quadringentiens** [*sc.* **centena milia sestertium**] = $2,000,000 went into the treasury, while **triciens quinquiens**, $175,000, was distributed *viritim*. It is hard to understand, if this is the case, why Tacitus should give them as one legacy; moreover, three and a half million sesterces divided among the 200,000 persons entitled to gratuities would make the paltry sum of 17½ sesterces = 87½ cents apiece, while it is known from Dio Cassius

quinquiens, praetoriarum cohortium militibus singula nummum milia, *urbanis quingenos*, legionariis aut cohortibus civium Romanorum trecenos nummos viritim dedit.
4 Tum consultatum de honoribus; ex quis maxime in-

(LVII. 14) that the sum actually received by each beneficiary was 260 sesterces = $13.00 — too great a discrepancy, even if we are to suppose that Tiberius added something from his own purse. We must assume, therefore, with Marquardt (*Röm. Staatsverw.* II. 126) that the whole amount was distributed *viritim*, and find the distinction between *populus* and *plebs* [*tribubus*] in the peculiar organization of the tribes for alimentary donations during the empire. At this period, as Mommsen says (*Röm. Staatsv.* III. 1. 445), "wherever the Tribes appear as corporations, it is of this *plebs frumentaria*," consisting of a limited number of persons, chiefly freedmen, membership being a special and personal privilege. The tribes, as thus organized (not to be confounded with the voting tribes), continued in existence into the fourth century. Note that, the number of tribes being 35, the legacy of 3,500,000 sesterces made 100,000 sesterces to each. The sesterce (*sestertius*) was a coin, originally of silver, but under the empire of copper, of the value of a little over four cents; the *denarius* was four sesterces. The *sestertium* was not a coin, but a value of 1000 sesterces. In payment of large sums gold was of course used (the *aureus* was of the value of 100 sesterces); but, as the ratio of gold to silver has since risen about one third (from about 12:1 to 16:1), it follows that the present value of the sesterce in gold is over five cents. As all these values are approximate, we will follow Mommsen's practice, and reckon the sesterce at five cents. When values are given with numeral adverbs, as in this passage, we are to understand *centena milia sestertium*.

praetoriarum cohortium, etc.: the largess to the soldiers agrees with the statements of Suetonius and Dio Cassius (LVI. 32), except that the text of Tacitus omits the five hundred sesterces apiece to the soldiers of the city cohorts (**urbanis quingenos**), and mentions the cohorts of Roman citizens, omitted by the other two. The present value of these sums was about $50 apiece to the prætorians, $25 to the *urbani*, and $15 to the members of the citizen cohorts.

urbanis: the city cohorts were three in number, one thousand men in each. They belonged to the guard of the capital, and were numbered X., XI., and XII., as if belonging with the prætorian cohorts; they were, however, under the command, not of the prætorian præfect, but of the *praefectus urbi*. See App. I.

cohortibus civium Romanorum: these were cohorts of volunteers, 32 in number, raised in Italy, while the legions were regularly recruited in the provinces. They ranked with the legionary cohorts, although not assigned to any legion, and thus received the same donation. For this reason, probably, they are not mentioned by Suetonius and Dio.

4. **de honoribus**: see last chapter, *de honoribus parentis consulturum*.

insignes: *sc. honores*, object of **censuere**. See App. I.

signes ut porta triumphali duceretur funus, Gallus Asinius, ut legum latarum tituli, victarum ab eo gentium vocabula anteferrentur, L. Arruntius censuere. Addebat 5
Messalla Valerius renovandum per annos sacramentum in nomen Tiberii; interrogatusque a Tiberio, num se mandante eam sententiam prompsisset, sponte dixisse respondit, neque in iis quae ad rem publicam pertinerent consilio nisi suo usurum, vel cum periculo offensionis: ea sola species adulandi supererat. Conclamant patres 6
corpus ad rogum umeris senatorum ferendum. Remisit Caesar adroganti moderatione, populumque edicto monuit ne, ut quondam nimiis studiis funus divi Iulii turbassent, ita Augustum in foro potius quam in campo Martis, sede destinata, cremari vellent. Die funeris milites velut prae- 7
sidio stetere, multum inridentibus qui ipsi viderant quique a parentibus acceperant diem illum crudi adhuc servitii et libertatis improspere repetitae, cum occisus dictator Caesar aliis pessimum, aliis pulcherrimum fa-

porta triumphali: this gate is usually asserted to have been between the Capitoline and the Tiber. Jordan, however (*Topographie der Stadt Rom.* I. p. 240, n. 76) holds that it was a mere *fornix* or arch, on the Campus Martius.

Gallus Asinius: a son of the eminent orator Asinius Pollio. The practice of putting the *cognomen* before the *nomen* was common under the empire. In this case the *praenomen* was regularly omitted.

latarum: *sc. ab Augusto.*

5. **interrogatusque**, etc.: Tiberius steadily declined ostentatious and adulatory honors, at least in the early years of his reign.

ea: the show of independence.

6. **umeris senatorum**: Sulla was the first who received this honor.

remisit, *excused* (cf. III. 55. 1). This does not mean that he prohibited it, and we learn from Suetonius and Dio that the proposition was carried out.

turbassent: the speech of Mark Antony at Cæsar's funeral so fired the people that they broke to pieces the benches, and burned the body of Cæsar in the forum.

sede destinata: Augustus had built a mausoleum for himself and his family upon the Campus Martius, the remains of which may be still seen. It was a circular building, and was surrounded with pleasure grounds: *inter Flaminiam viam ripamque Tiberis . . .; circumiectasque silvas et ambulationes in usum populi iam tum publicarat.* Suet. *Oct.* 100. [lute.

7. **inridentibus**: ablative absolute.

occisus dictator: Intr. 35 *q.*

cinus videretur: nunc senem principem, longa potentia, provisis etiam heredum in rem publicam opibus, auxilio scilicet militari tuendum, ut sepultura eius quieta foret.
9 Multus hinc ipso de Augusto sermo, plerisque vana mirantibus, quod idem dies accepti quondam imperii princeps et vitae supremus, quod Nolae in domo et cubiculo in quo pater eius Octavius vitam finivisset.
2 Numerus etiam consulatuum celebrabatur, quo Valerium Corvum et C. Marium simul aequaverat, continuata per septem et triginta annos tribunicia potestas, nomen imperatoris semel atque viciens partum aliaque honorum
3 multiplicata aut nova. At apud prudentes vita eius varie
4 extollebatur arguebaturve. Hi pietate erga parentem et necessitudine rei publicae, in qua nullus tunc legibus locus, ad arma civilia actum, quae neque parari possent

in rem publicam: the heirs were provided with means to maintain their usurped authority.

9. vana mirantibus: the idle commenting upon coincidences.

idem dies: Aug. 19 [= a. d. xiv. Kal. Sept.]. His first consulship (as *consul suffectus* after the death of Hirtius and Pansa) began Aug. 19, B.C. 43; he had, however, received by a special vote of the Senate early in the same year, the *imperium pro praetore simul cum consulibus* (*Mon. Anc.* ch. 1. 5). This *imperium pro praetore* was inferior to the consular *imperium*, so that his exercise of full authority began with his consulship on the date assigned. Some late writers reckoned the reign of Augustus from this event, and the present passage may perhaps be taken to show that Tacitus so understood it, although he does not speak of the *imperium* as continuous. According to Mommsen (*Hermes*, Vol. XVII., 1882, p. 638), this was the interpretation of Augustus himself, as shown in his calendar of festivals.

2. simul aequaverat: he had held the consulship thirteen times, Valerius Corvus six times, Marius seven times.

septem et triginta annos: more exactly thirty-six years and two months, from June 27, B.C. 23.

nomen imperatoris: this refers to the usage of the republic, when a commander was saluted as *imperator* by his soldiers after a victory. These victories of Augustus were of course for the most part gained by his officers, but acting under his *imperium*. The first of these twenty-one occasions was probably after the victory at Philippi, B.C. 42.

honorum: Intr. 35 *d*.

4. hi: sc. *dicebant*. The opposing views are introduced by **dicebatur contra** in the next chapter.

parentem: Julius Cæsar, his father by adoption, whose death he avenged.

neque haberi per bonas artes. Multa Antonio, dum in- 5
terfectores patris ulcisceretur, multa Lepido concessisse. Postquam hic socordia senuerit, ille per libidines pessum datus sit, non aliud discordantis patriae remedium fuisse quam *ut* ab uno regeretur. Non regno tamen neque dic- 6
tatura, sed principis nomine constitutam rem publicam; mari Oceano aut amnibus longinquis saeptum imperium; legiones provincias classes, cuncta inter se conexa; ius apud cives, modestiam apud socios; urbem ipsam magnifico ornatu; pauca admodum vi tractata, quo ceteris quies esset.

Dicebatur contra: pietatem erga parentem et tempora 10
rei publicae obtentui sumpta; ceterum cupidine dominandi concitos per largitionem veteranos, paratum ab adulescente privato exercitum, corruptas consulis legiones, simulatam Pompeianarum gratiam partium; mox

5. **concessisse**: Suetonius says, on the other hand (*Oct.* 27): *restitit aliquamdiu collegis, ne qua fieret proscriptio, sed inceptam utroque acerbius exercuit.*

6. **principis**: see note on *nomine principis*, 1. 3, and Intr. 20. He selected by preference a civil title, and one having associations with the republic. Sulla and Cæsar had been perpetual dictator, and the title of king was very offensive to the Romans. The advice of Mæcenas to avoid the title of king is well known.

amnibus longinquis: the Rhine, Danube, and Euphrates.

saeptum: *i.e.* from the rest of the world. It was the policy of Augustus to define the empire by fixed and, where possible, natural boundaries.

conexa: this refers to the efficient postal system of the empire.

magnifico ornatu: he had repaired eighty-two temples, and built numerous others, besides theatres, aqueducts, etc. He boasted that he had found Rome of brick and left it of marble.

10. tempora, *exigencies.*

ceterum, *but in reality.*

largitionem: Cicero says (*ad Att.* XVI. 8. 1) *quingenos denarios dat;* this would be about $100 apiece.

paratum . . . exercitum: he says himself (*Mon. Anc.* chap. 1) *annos undeviginti natus exercitum privato consilio et privata impensa comparavi.* This was after the death of Julius Cæsar, when the young Octavius first sided with the Senate (**simulatam Pompeianarum gratiam partium**) and gained over Antony's troops; after which he treacherously united with Antony, and formed the triumvirate with him and Lepidus.

consulis: *i.e.* Antonii; his legions revolted to Octavius.

ubi decreto patrum fasces et ius praetoris invaserit, caesis Hirtio et Pansa, — sive hostis illos, seu Pansam venenum vulneri adfusum, sui milites Hirtium et machinator doli Caesar abstulerat, — utriusque copias occupavisse; extortum invito senatu consulatum, armaque quae in Antonium acceperit contra rem publicam versa; proscriptionem civium, divisiones agrorum, ne ipsis
2 quidem qui fecere laudatas. Sane Cassii et Brutorum exitus paternis inimicitiis datos, quamquam fas sit privata odia publicis utilitatibus remittere; sed Pompeium imagine pacis, sed Lepidum specie amicitiae deceptos; post Antonium, Tarentino Brundisinoque foedere et nuptiis sororis illectum, subdolae adfinitatis poenas

ius praetoris: the prætorian power, carrying with it the authority to command troops, was bestowed upon him by the Senate; Cic. *Phil.* v. 17. 46. It was strictly an unconstitutional act, Momm. *Röm. Staatsrecht*, II. p. 621.

invaserit, *entered upon, = got possession of*, containing the idea of usurpation.

caesis: at the battle of Mutina, March 13. The suspicion here expressed (**seu Pansam**, etc.) is alluded to by Suetonius (*Oct.* 11): *Pansae quidem adeo suspecta mors fuit ut Glyco medicus custoditus sit, quasi venenum vulneri indidisset.*

invito senatu: probably dative. According to Suetonius (*Oct.* 26) it was demanded *nomine exercitus;* his messenger, the centurion Cornelius, pointing to his sword, said, *hic faciet, si vos non feceritis.*

proscriptionem: each of the triumvirs made out a list of those whom he wished put to death; the list was then posted, *proscriptum*, and whoever would might kill them.

divisiones agrorum: after the victory of Philippi, B.C. 42, grants of land were made to the veterans, *municipalibus agris* (Suet. *Oct.* 13); according to the same authority, the veterans were much dissatisfied, for which reason some have proposed to change **fecere** into *cepere*. These were the grants referred to in Vergil's first eclogue.

2. **sane**: concessive, *it is true*.

Brutorum: *i.e.* Marcus and Decimus.

quamquam, *and yet*. Their death was an act of vengeance, which, however, might well have been spared on public grounds.

Pompeium, etc.: the terms agreed upon with Sextus Pompeius at the treaty of Misenum, B.C. 39, were not fulfilled. The allusion to Lepidus refers to his being gradually crowded out of his authority, rather than to any specific act of bad faith.

post: here an adverb. This relates in time only to **poenas exsolvisse**, as the treaties here mentioned came before the overthrow of Pompeius and Lepidus, both of which events took place B.C. 36.

sororis: Antony married Octa-

morte exsolvisse. Pacem sine dubio post haec, verum 3
cruentam: Lollianas Varianasque clades, interfectos
Romae Varrones Egnatios Iulos. Nec domesticis ab- 4
stinebatur: abducta Neroni uxor et consulti per ludi-
brium pontifices, an concepto necdum edito partu rite
nuberet; Vedii Pollionis luxus; postremo Livia gravis
in rem publicam mater, gravis domui Caesarum noverca.
Nihil deorum honoribus relictum, cum se templis et 5
effigie numinum per flamines et sacerdotes coli vellet.

via, sister of Octavianus, but afterwards deserted her for Cleopatra, queen of Egypt. The marriage was arranged in the treaty of Brundisium, B.C. 40, which by reason of this association is mentioned after that of Tarentum, which took place in 37.

3. **clades**: both of these were in Germany: the defeat of Lollius, B.C. 16; that of Varus with great loss (the famous battle of the Teutoburg forest, against Arminius, 60. 5), A.D. 9.

interfectos: there does not appear to have been any just ground for censure in these acts. The plural, **Varrones**, etc., is used to indicate that these are only instances. Varro and Egnatius were put to death for conspiracy, B.C. 23 (or 22) and 19 respectively; Iulus (a son of Mark Antony), for adultery with Julia, was obliged to put himself to death, B.C. 2.

4. **abducta . . . uxor**: Livia, mother (by Nero) of Tiberius and Drusus, and, as Tacitus represents, **gravis mater** to the state, upon which she imposed her son Tiberius as ruler; and **gravis noverca** to the house of Cæsar, being suspected of causing the death of the young princes Gaius and Lucius.

Vedii Pollionis: see App. I. This Vedius Pollio, a friend of Augustus, used to throw his condemned slaves to the lampreys in his fishpond. His immense house was torn down by his heir, Augustus, and the Livian portico constructed in its place, *quia luxuria visa nocere sua*, Ovid, *Fast.* VI. 644. See Seneca, *de Ira*. III. 40.

5. **se coli**: the craving of Augustus for divine honors, ascribed to him here, appears to be shown also by inscriptions. "According to all appearance, the worship of the living ruler, making its appearance simultaneously throughout Italy, was, if not directly instigated by him, at least expressly authorized." (Mommsen, *Hermes*, XVII. p. 641. See also 'The Caesareum at Alexandria' by Prof. A. C. Merriam, Trans. of Am. Phil. Ass., 1883.) Tiberius constantly refused it (Intr. 24). Augustus, too, in the city, according to Suetonius (*Oct.* 52), declined it: *nam in urbe quidem pertinacissime abstinuit hoc honore;* and in the provinces insisted upon being associated with the goddess Roma, *communi suo Romaeque nomine.* This cult became the leading religion of the provinces, as is abundantly shown by inscriptions; being in each city in the hands of a college of priests called Augustales (Intr. 24).

per flamines: the *flamen* was a

6 Ne Tiberium quidem caritate aut rei publicae cura successorem adscitum, sed quoniam arrogantiam saevitiamque eius introspexerit, comparatione deterrima sibi
7 gloriam quaesivisse. Etenim Augustus paucis ante annis, cum Tiberio tribunciam potestatem a patribus rursum postularet, quamquam honora oratione, quaedam de habitu cultuque et institutis eius iecerat, quae velut excusando exprobraret.

8 Ceterum sepultura more perfecta templum et caeles-
11 tes religiones decernuntur. Versae inde ad Tiberium preces. Et ille varie disserebat de magnitudine imperii,
2 sua modestia. Solam divi Augusti mentem tantae molis capacem; se in partem curarum ab illo vocatum experiendo didicisse quam arduum, quam subiectum fortunae
3 regendi cuncta onus. Proinde in civitate tot illustribus viris subnixa non ad unum omnia deferrent; plures

priest of a special deity or a special cult.

7. **tribuniciam potestatem**: the tribunician power was granted to the emperor by a vote of the people, upon recommendation of the Senate; to a colleague, however, as in the case of Tiberius, it was granted directly by the prince, according to the rules of cooptation, but usually after consulting the Senate. *Collegam sibi cooptavit.* (Suet. *Oct.* 27.) Momm. *Röm. St.* II. 1058.

habitu, cultu, institutis: referring respectively to body, dress, and manners. According to Suetonius (*Tib.* 68), Augustus said of him *naturae vitia esse non animi.* The description of Suetonius represents him as of stern countenance, and sparing in speech — *adducto fere vultu, plerumque tacitus.* His busts and statues show him to have been handsome and dignified, but with a peculiarly compressed mouth, in which suspicion and cruelty might lurk. See frontispiece.

quamquam: Intr. 35.*j*.

8. **ceterum**, *now*, or *however:* expressing a return from a digression to the main subject.

templum: this was erected by Livia upon the Palatine.

decernuntur: this vote was passed Sept. 17. Augustus was now ranked among the greater gods: an inscription cited by Marquardt (*Röm. Staatsverw.* III. 443) reads: *Iuppiter optimus maximus ac divus Augustus ceterique omnes di immortales.* See Intr. 25.

11. 3. **non**: instead of **ne**, in order to qualify **ad unum**, by way of contrast to **plures**. He seems to have had in mind some such scheme as that actually adopted by Diocletian, three hundred years later, of a division of the sovereign power between two or three colleagues of equal dignity; not, as in the case

facilius munia rei publicae sociatis laboribus exsecuturos. Plus in oratione tali dignitatis quam fidei erat; Tiberio- 4
que etiam in rebus, quas non occuleret, seu natura sive adsuetudine, suspensa semper et obscura verba; tunc vero nitenti ut sensus suos penitus abderet, in incertum et ambiguum magis implicabantur. At patres, quibus 5
unus metus, si intellegere viderentur, in questus lacrimas vota effundi; ad deos, ad effigiem Augusti, ad genua ipsius manus tendere, cum proferri libellum recitarique iussit. Opes publicae continebantur, quantum 6
civium sociorumque in armis, quot classes regna provinciae, tributa aut vectigalia, et necessitates ac largitiones. Quae cuncta sua manu perscripserat Augustus, addi- 7
deratque consilium coercendi intra terminos imperii, incertum metu an per invidiam.

of the consuls, with precisely equal powers, but with specially defined functions. See the next chapter.

4. **occuleret**: subjunctive of characteristic.

magis: *sc.* even than usual.

5. **intellegere**, *see through him.*

cum: introducing a positive statement of time, nearly equivalent to *and then.* A. & G. 325 *b.*

libellum: this schedule (*breviarium totius imperii*) was one of three papers which were deposited by Augustus, together with his testament, with the vestal virgins (Suet. *Oct.* 101). A second contained directions for his burial, the third contained *indicem rerum a se gestarum, quem vellet incidi in aeneis tabulis, quae ante Mausoleum statuerentur,* of which the well-known *Monumentum Ancyranum* is a copy. Dio (LVI. 33) adds τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς χρημάτων; also, that there was a fourth paper, containing rules and directions of government.

6. **civium sociorumque**: legionary troops and auxiliaries.

regna: probably countries like Cappadocia and Mauretania, still in name independent kingdoms, although ready to be incorporated in the empire as soon as the occasion should come. Perhaps in this class is comprised Egypt, which, although a part of the empire, was never reduced into the form of a province, but was governed directly by the emperor as a kingdom (Intr. 18. 28).

tributa . . . vectigalia: the **tributa** were levied directly upon the provinces, the **vectigalia** were indirect taxes, such as *portoria* (customs-duties) and *decumae* (tithes). See Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsv.* II 178 n.

necessitates ac largitiones: necessary expenses and donations.

7. **terminos**: the present boundaries. This rule of policy is mentioned by Dio among the contents of the fourth document.

per invidiam: that none of his

12 Inter quae senatu ad infimas obtestationes procumbente, dixit forte Tiberius se, ut non toti rei publicae parem, ita quaecumque pars sibi mandaretur, eius tute-
2 lam suscepturum. Tum Asinius Gallus: 'Interrogo' inquit, 'Caesar, quam partem rei publicae mandari tibi
3 velis.' Perculsus improvisa interrogatione paulum reticuit; dein collecto animo respondit nequaquam decorum pudori suo legere aliquid aut evitare ex eo, cui in uni-
4 versum excusari mallet. Rursum Gallus (etenim vultu offensionem coniectaverat) non idcirco interrogatum ait, ut divideret quae separari nequirent, sed ut sua confessione argueretur, unum esse rei publicae corpus atque
5 unius animo regendum. Addidit laudem de Augusto, Tiberiumque ipsum victoriarum suarum quaeque in
6 toga per tot annos egregie fecisset admonuit. Nec ideo iram eius lenivit, pridem invisus, tamquam, ducta in matrimonium Vipsania M. Agrippae filia, quae quon-

successors might surpass him in power and glory.

12. dixit forte, *dropped the remark*, casually, as it were.

ut . . . ita, *although . . . yet.*

quaecumque pars: according to Dio Cassius (LVII. 2), he suggested a division into three parts — Rome and Italy, the armies, and the subject provinces, οἱ λοιποὶ ὑπήκοοι. This was a division based upon historical relations. Rome, including Italy, stood to the provinces in the time of the republic, as governor to governed, while the provinces themselves were divided by Augustus into the two classes here described — those which required a military force (the imperial provinces), and those which did not (the senatorial).

3. **collecto animo,** *recovering his presence of mind.*

nequaquam . . . mallet: Dio makes his reply to have been that it was unbecoming that the one who made the division should also select his share, τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ νέμειν τι καὶ αἱρεῖσθαι.

cui: governed by **excusari,** a rare but perfectly natural construction (Intr. 35 *f*).

5. **in toga:** contrasted with **victoriarum** (Intr. 35 *r*). The toga, the distinctive Roman garment (*gens togata*), was only worn by citizens in their civil capacity, and is, therefore, regularly used to contrast peaceful with warlike relations.

6. **ideo,** *thereby;* that is, by this excuse.

tamquam, *on the ground that*, a common use in late writers (Intr. 35 *j*).

Vipsania: daughter of Agrippa. Her mother was daughter of Cicero's friend Atticus. Her divorce, which was for political reasons, was a

dam Tiberii uxor fuerat, plus quam civilia agitaret, Pollionisque Asinii patris ferociam retineret. Post quae 13
L. Arruntius haud multum discrepans a Galli oratione perinde offendit, quamquam Tiberio nulla vetus in Arruntium ira; sed divitem, promptum, artibus egregiis et pari fama publice, suspectabat. Quippe Augustus 2
supremis sermonibus cum tractaret, quinam adipisci principem locum suffecturi abnuerent aut impares vellent vel idem possent cuperentque, M'. Lepidum dixerat capacem sed aspernantem, Gallum Asinium avidum et minorem, L. Arruntium non indignum et, si casus daretur, ausurum. De prioribus consentitur, pro Arruntio 3
quidam Cn. Pisonem tradidere; omnesque praeter Lepidum variis mox criminibus struente Tiberio circumventi

great grief to Tiberius. Suetonius (*Tib.* 7) calls her Agrippina, and relates this incident: *semel omnino ex occursu visam adeo contentis et umentibus oculis prosecutus est, ut custoditum sit ne umquam in conspectum eius posthac veniret.*

civilia: this marriage, like the proposition of Sejanus to marry Livia (IV. 39) betrayed an ambition beyond a private station.

Pollionis Asinii: the distinguished orator and man of letters. See Verg. *Ecl.* 4, and Hor. *Od.* II. 1.

ferociam, *high spirit.* Pollio, although he submitted himself to the imperial rule, never accepted it cordially, but displayed an independence of spirit, sometimes amounting to opposition. Pliny (*N.H.*, XXXVI. 4, 10) calls him *acris vehementiae.* For the son's character, see the next chapter.

13. L. Arruntius: a leading statesman of the time; his death by his own act is related VI. 48.

divitem, etc.; these adjectives, agreeing with the object of **suspectabat**, express reason, *because he was rich*, etc.

2. **suffecturi**, *although they would be equal to it.*

idem: plural.

vel: Intr. 35 *r.*

M'. Lepidum: probably grandson of the triumvir, invariably spoken of by Tacitus with the highest respect; on occasion of his death (VI. 27), he says, *de cuius moderatione atque sapientia . . . satis conlocavi.*

3. **Cn. Pisonem**: a man *ingenio violentum et obsequii ignarum* (II. 43). His grandfather was *legatus* of Pompey in his eastern wars. He is represented as a bitter enemy of Germanicus, and was suspected of having poisoned him; the accusation, whether true or not, was the cause of his own death (III. 15).

omnesque . . . circumventi sunt: Gallus was in some way implicated in the affair of Sejanus, and was put to death, or put himself to

4 sunt. Etiam Q. Haterius et Mamercus Scaurus suspicacem animum perstrinxere, Haterius cum dixisset 'Quo usque patieris, Caesar, non adesse caput rei publicae?' Scaurus quia dixerat spem esse ex eo non irritas fore senatus preces, quod relationi consulum iure tribuniciae
5 potestatis non intercessisset. In Haterium statim invectus est; Scaurum, cui implacabilius irascebatur, silentio
6 tramisit. Fessusque clamore omnium, expostulatione singulorum flexit paulatim, non ut fateretur suscipi a
7 se imperium, sed ut negare et rogari desineret. Constat Haterium, cum deprecandi causa Palatium introisset ambulantisque Tiberii genua advolveretur, prope a militibus interfectum, quia Tiberius casu an manibus eius

death (VI. 23). The death of Arruntius, on the other hand, Tacitus admits to have been due to the enmity of Macro, and perhaps not even known to the emperor (VI. 47). The death of Piso was the result of an open criminal prosecution; the charge of Tacitus is, therefore, without foundation, unless, perhaps, in relation to Gallus.

4. **Q. Haterius**: a distinguished orator (IV. 61), but of a mean nature; **Mamercus Scaurus**, *insignis nobilitate et orandis causis, vita probrosus* (VI. 29). The character of the man sufficiently explains Tiberius' displeasure.

relationi: the technical term for the action of the magistrate in bringing business before the Senate; as the act of a magistrate it could be forbidden by the tribunes.

quod non intercessisset: the *relatio* here in question was in reference to a law investing Tiberius with the dignity of *princeps*. As he already had the proconsular *imperium* and the tribunician power, in which two powers were summed up the military and civil authority of the imperial office, the law on this occasion had the effect of formally placing in his hands the headship of the state. A portion of the corresponding law for Vespasian is extant.

5. **implacabilius**: because his words implied that he did not believe Tiberius to be sincere in his opposition.

6. **flexit**: *magis ratione quam honore victus est*, Vell. II. 124.

7. **Palatium**: originally identical with *Palatinus*, as the name of the hill. Augustus built a splendid house here, and the name of the hill became especially associated with the imperial residence, which hence became known as *palatium*. From this the word 'palace' has passed into most modern languages.

genua: *advolvo* is properly followed by the dative, but compound verbs regularly construed with other cases are frequently used by Tacitus with the accusative.

an: the ellipsis of *dubium est utrum* had become so common that an now merely expresses an alternative.

impeditus prociderat. Neque tamen periculo talis viri mitigatus est, donec Haterius Augustam oraret eiusque curatissimis precibus protegeretur.

Multa patrum et in Augustam adulatio. Alii pa- 14 2
rentem, alii matrem patriae appellandam, plerique ut nomini Caesaris adscriberetur 'Iuliae filius' censebant. Ille moderandos feminarum honores dictitans eademque 3
se temperantia usurum in iis quae sibi tribuerentur, ceterum anxius invidia et muliebre fastigium in deminutionem sui accipiens ne lictorem quidem ei decerni passus est aramque adoptionis et alia huiusce modi prohibuit. At Germanico Caesari proconsulare imperium petivit, 4
missique legati qui deferrent, simul maestitiam eius ob excessum Augusti solarentur. Quo minus idem pro 5
Druso postularetur, ea causa quod designatus consul Drusus praesensque erat.

prociderat: this is probably the incident related by Suetonius (*Tib.* 27) to illustrate Tiberius' hatred of flattery: . . . *consularem satisfacientem sibi, ac per genua orare conantem, ita suffugerit, ut caderet supinus.*

14. 2. **alii . . . censebant**: neglect of concinnity (Intr. 35 *r*).

Iuliae filius: an appellation which in earlier times would have sounded grotesque in Roman ears.

3. **moderandos**: so Suetonius (*Tib.* 50), *admonuit maioribus nec feminae convenientibus negotiis abstineret.* Livia was an intriguing woman, and, no doubt, like many modern queen mothers, would have liked to rule in her son's name. On several occasions he gave way to her; generally Tiberius showed himself firm in repressing such ambition, *velut partes sibi aequas potentiae vindicantem* (Intr. 26 *a*).

eademque, etc.: this assertion is evidently sincere; Tacitus (IV. 37. 2) calls him *validus spernendis honoribus.* See Intr. 24, and III. 47. 5.

lictorem: the vestal virgins were accompanied in public by lictors, but there were no precedents for these symbols of empire to accompany a private woman. Livia had, however, a lictor when officiating as priestess of Augustus, and afterwards two lictors were granted by the Senate to the younger Agrippina (XIII. 2).

aram adoptionis: *i.e.* to commemorate her adoption by Augustus; see 8. 2. Such altars were not unusual, and implied no personal sacredness.

4. **Germanico Caesari**: see 3. 5.

proconsulare imperium: this was granted by the Senate. Its possession made him the colleague of the emperor, and designated him as successor: see Momm. *Röm. St.*

6 Candidatos praeturae duodecim nominavit, numerum ab Augusto traditum; et hortante senatu ut augeret, 15 iure iurando obstrinxit se non excessurum. Tum primum e campo comitia ad patres translata sunt; nam ad eam diem, etsi potissima arbitrio principis, quaedam 2 tamen studiis tribuum fiebant. Neque populus ademptum ius questus est nisi inani rumore, et senatus largitionibus ac precibus sordidis exsolutus libens tenuit,

II. 1051. He had not yet received the tribunician power.

5. **designatus consul**: this is usually explained as meaning that, as *consul designatus*, he must have voted first in his own case. Furneaux, however, is of opinion that this objection might have been waived (cf. III. 22. 6), and that the real reason was that the proconsular *imperium*, which belonged exclusively to the provinces, would for any but the prince himself have been inconsistent with the purely civic office of consul, which he was to hold the next year.

6. **candidatos duodecim . . . nominavit**: this was the whole number of prætors to be elected; and, as this *nomination* is contrasted with the absolute right of appointing (*commendation*) four prætors, *sine repulsa et ambitu*, described a few lines below, it follows that it had in law only the force of testing qualifications and admitting to candidacy. That the presiding magistrate, the consul, had exactly the same power, of admitting to candidacy, is shown (in relation to the consulship) by 81. 3: *posse et alios profiteri*: of course, however, a nomination by the emperor was in most cases equivalent to an election. The proposition of the Senate that he should nominate more than twelve (**ut augeret**) would really have the effect of limiting the emperor's power, inasmuch as there would then be an actual selection from among his candidates.

obstrinxit: used absolutely — *bound himself;* cf. IV. 31. 5, and **flexit**, 13. 6.

15. e campo . . . translata sunt: this refers only to the election of prætors; the consuls continued in form to be elected by the people at least until the time of Vespasian. (Momm. *Röm. St.* II. 865.) Velleius (II. 124) speaks of this as *ordinatio comitiorum, quam manu sua scriptam divus Augustus reliquerat.* The place for holding the comitia was the Campus Martius. Velleius (II. 126) says of this: *revocata in forum fides, summota e foro seditio, ambitio campo, discordia curia.*

potissima, *the most important:* although the elections were free, Augustus made use of nomination where he thought fit.

tribuum: *i.e.* the people as organized in tribes. It will be remembered that the tribal organization was not confined to the tribal assemblies, but that the centuries also were grouped by tribes in the reformed *comitia centuriata*, as re-organized between the First and Second Punic Wars. Suetonius says of Augustus (*Oct.* 56), *ferebat et ipse suffragium in tribubus, ut unus e populo.*

2. **senatus**: because all the important magistracies must be held by

moderante Tiberio ne plures quam quattuor candidatos commendaret, sine repulsa et ambitu designandos.

Inter quae tribuni plebei petivere ut proprio sumptu 3
ederent ludos, qui de nomine Augusti fastis additi Augustales vocarentur. Sed decreta pecunia ex aera- 4
rio, utque per circum triumphali veste uterentur; curru vehi haud permissum. Mox celebratio annua ad prae- 5
torem translata cui inter cives et peregrinos iurisdictio evenisset.

Hic rerum urbanarum status erat, cum Pannonicas **16**
legiones seditio incessit, nullis novis causis, nisi quod

senators, who had heretofore been obliged to canvass for votes (**largitionibus ac precibus sordidis**).

tenuit: *sc.* **ius**.

plures . . . candidatos: *sc. praeturae.* These were called *candidati Caesaris.* The *commendatio sine repulsa et ambitu* was equivalent to an appointment, and grew out of the formal and official *suffragatio,* or personal canvassing of the republic. Augustus had continued the republican form of *suffragatio: tribus cum candidatis suis circumibat, supplicabatque more sollemni* (Suet. *Oct.* 56). Velleius (II. 124) relates an interesting fact, in relation to this commendation: *mihi fratrique meo, candidatis Caesaris . . . destinari praetoribus contigit, consecutis, ut neque post nos quemquam divus Augustus, neque ante nos Caesar commendaret Tiberius.*

3. **Augustales**: these games had been celebrated from time to time Oct. 12 by order of the senate, but were now made annual and extended so as to last from Oct. 3 to 12, thus coming between the Great or Roman Games in September, and the Plebeian Games in November. The cult of Augustus in the city was distinct from, although closely connected with, that in the provinces, mentioned 10. 5. As is stated in the note on that passage, Augustus refused to have it established in the city during his lifetime. It now became one of the principal forms of worship, and a powerful instrument in the maintenance of the imperial authority (Intr. 24).

vocarentur: subjunctive, as being part of their request.

4. **decreta pecunia**: to carry on the games at their own expense would have gained them too much popularity. Notice the **ut** clause depending upon *decretum*, implied in **decreta**.

triumphali veste: the *toga picta*, embroidered with gold, and the *tunica palmata,* embroidered with palm leaves in gold.

curru vehi: this honor belonged to the prætors, to whom the tribunes were inferior in dignity.

praetorem cui, etc.: commonly known as *praetor peregrinus,* a term which is not found in classic authors.

evenisset: the pluperfect tense here represents the future perfect indicative of the direct discourse.

16. Pannonicas: Pannonia, or *Illyricum superius*, conquered by

mutatus princeps licentiam turbarum et ex civili bello
2 spem praemiorum ostendebat. Castris aestivis tres
simul legiones habebantur, praesidente Iunio Blaeso,
qui fine Augusti et initiis Tiberii auditis ob iustitium
3 aut gaudium intermiserat solita munia. Eo principio
lascivire miles, discordare, pessimi cuiusque sermonibus
praebere aures, denique luxum et otium cupere, disciplinam et laborem aspernari.

4 Erat in castris Percennius quidam, dux olim theatralium operarum, dein gregarius miles, procax lingua et
5 miscere coetus histrionali studio doctus. Is imperitos
animos et quaenam post Augustum militiae condicio
ambigentes impellere paulatim nocturnis colloquiis aut
flexo in vesperam die et dilapsis melioribus deterrimum
17 quemque congregare. Postremo promptis iam et aliis
seditionis ministris velut contionabundus interrogabat,

Tiberius (12–9 B.C.), and organized as a province a few years later, comprised at this time the country upon the rivers Drave and Save. It was afterwards extended north to the great bend of the Danube below Vienna, and was always one of the most important provinces from a military point of view. Between the three legions posted here and the eight legions upon the Rhine (that is, in the provinces of Rætia and Noricum), there were no troops except a few scattered garrisons of auxiliaries. The mutiny in Pannonia, therefore, followed by that of the German legions, threatened to strip the entire northern frontier of its defences.

mutatus princeps: Intr. 35 *q*.

2. **castris aestivis**: this was in the open country, a *castra stativa* at Poetovio (*Pettau*), on the Drave. (Mommsen, *Provinces of the Roman Empire*, I. p. 26.) When they went into winter quarters (30. 3), it was within the walls of the town.

tres legiones: the VIII. (*Augusta*), IX. (*Hispana*), and XV. (*Apollinaris*).

Iunio Blaeso: uncle of Sejanus, and a very capable officer.

iustitium, *mourning*: originally a closing of the courts of justice for any public cause. As a public mourning was a principal occasion of such interruption, the word came in the time of the empire to mean this exclusively.

4. **operarum**: hired applauders, *claqueurs*. In Pliny (*Ep.* VII. 24), their service is itself called *theatralis opera*.

5. **dilapsis**, etc., *when the better minded had scattered* to their tents.

17. aliis . . . ministris: others besides himself, as agents of sedition.

cur paucis centurionibus, paucioribus tribunis in modum servorum oboedirent. Quando ausuros exposcere reme- 2
dia, nisi novum et nutantem adhuc principem precibus vel armis adirent? Satis per tot annos ignavia pecca 3
tum, quod tricena aut quadragena stipendia senes et plerique truncato ex vulneribus corpore tolerent. Ne 4
dimissis quidem finem esse militiae, sed apud vexillum tendentes alio vocabulo eosdem labores perferre. Ac si 5
quis tot casus vita superaverit, trahi adhuc diversas in terras, ubi per nomen agrorum uligines paludum vel inculta montium accipiant. Enimvero militiam ipsam 6
gravem infructuosam: denis in diem assibus animam et corpus aestimari; hinc vestem arma tentoria, hinc saevitiam centurionum et vacationes munerum redimi. At hercule verbera et vulnera, duram hiemem, exercitas 7
aestates, bellum atrox aut sterilem pacem sempiterna.

paucis, etc.: there were six tribunes and sixty centurions to a legion.

3. **ignavia peccatum**: they had lost their rights by their own negligence.

tricena aut quadragena: the regular time of service for legionaries was twenty years; for prætorians, sixteen. At the end of this time they were entitled to honorable dismissal, *honesta missio*, with a bounty; but they were generally obliged, even after this discharge (**dimissis**), to continue in service as a privileged body of veterans, *veterani*, — known also as *vexillarii* (**apud vexillum**) from the standards, *vexilla*, to which each corps was attached.

4. **eosdem labores**: this is an exaggeration, for they were exempted from the heaviest duties, such as foraging, trenching, etc.

5. **adhuc** = *insuper*.

per nomen agrorum: the grants of land made to veterans at their discharge by way of bounty. The distance and worthlessness of these lands, they asserted, made the bounty more of a burden than a benefit to them, and they would have preferred bounties in cash, such as had formerly been given (**isdem in castris praemium pecunia solveretur**).

uligines paludum: Intr. 35 *d*.

6. **denis assibus**: the *as* was worth about a cent.

vestem arma tentoria: *sc. emi*, implied in **redimi** by a kind of zeugma. These the soldier was obliged to purchase out of his pay; food he seems to have received.

vacationes munerum, *furloughs*. **redimi** is used in a different sense with the two subjects, — *buying off* the cruelty by *buying* furloughs; cf. *Hist.* I. 46: *locupletissimus quisque miles labore ac*

8 Nec aliud levamentum quam si certis sub legibus militia iniretur, ut singulos denarios mererent, sextus decimus stipendii annus finem adferret, ne ultra sub vexillis tenerentur, sed isdem in castris praemium pecunia solvere-
9 tur. An praetorias cohortes, quae binos denarios acceperint, quae post sedecim annos penatibus suis reddantur,
10 plus periculorum suscipere? Non obtrectari a se urbanas excubias; sibi tamen apud horridas gentes e con-
18 tuberniis hostem aspici. Adstrepebat vulgus, diversis incitamentis, hi verberum notas, illi canitiem, plurimi
2 detrita tegmina et nudum corpus exprobrantes. Postremo eo furoris venere ut tres legiones miscere in unam
3 agitaverint. Depulsi aemulatione, quia suae quisque

saevitia fatigari, donec vacationem emeret.

8. **certis . . . legibus**, *well-defined conditions.*

singulos denarios: their pay (see above) was ten asses a day. The *as* was a copper coin; the *denarius* was originally a silver coin, as its name implies, worth ten asses; see note on *quadringentiens*, 8. 3. In the time of the Second Punic War the standard of the copper currency was lowered, so that it took sixteen asses to make a denarius; but the silver currency remained unaltered, so that now the *as* was worth about one cent, and the *denarius* nearly twenty cents.

sextus decimus stipendii annus: this had formerly been the term of service for the legionaries, as it still was for the prætorians.

9. **binos denarios**: the pay of the prætorians was legally double that of the legionaries; but by paying them in silver, while the legionaries were paid in copper, their pay was really more than three times as great — two *denarii* being nearly forty cents, while *deni asses* were only ten cents. The not unreasonable demand of the mutineers was the reduction of their term of service to its former length, payment according to the spirit of the law, cash bounties promptly paid, and the abolition or regulation of the nominally voluntary service after discharge.

10. **non obtrectari**, etc.: ironical — they have no disposition to belittle the hardships of service in the city.

e contuberniis, etc.: *i.e.* were before their very eyes.

18. exprobrantes, *displaying, by way of reproach.*

2. **eo**, *to that point* or *degree.* The genitive after adverbs of place is common in the writers after Cicero.

miscere in unam: this would have been to destroy all discipline and organization: see 34. 4, where the first act of Germanicus was to order the mutineers *discedere in manipulos.* The object of the move was probably like that of a round-robin, to avoid individual responsibility.

legioni eum honorem quaerebant, alio vertunt atque una tres aquilas et signa cohortium locant ; simul congerunt 4
caespites, exstruunt tribunal quo magis conspicua sedes foret.

Properantibus Blaesus advenit, increpabatque ac re- 5
tinebat singulos, clamitans : 'Mea potius caede imbuite manus ; leviore flagitio legatum interficietis quam ab imperatore desciscitis. Aut incolumis fidem legionum reti- 6
nebo, aut iugulatus paenitentiam accelerabo.' Aggeraba- 19
tur nihilo minus caespes, iamque pectori usque accreverat, cum tandem pervicacia victi inceptum omisere. Blae- 2
sus multa dicendi arte non per seditionem et turbas desideria militum ad Caesarem ferenda ait, neque veteres

3. **eum honorem**: *i.e.* of being *the one* — retaining its individual organization, absorbing the other legions into itself, and giving its name to the united body.

alio: *i.e.* have recourse to another plan.

tres aquilas, etc.: the silver eagle was made by Marius the standard of each legion. Besides this each maniple had a *signum*. It has been questioned whether a cohort had a separate standard, and the present passage has been explained as meaning the three manipular standards of the several cohorts. Cæsar, however (*B. G.* II. 25), says: *quartae cohortis . . . signifero interfecto, signo amisso*, which seems to prove that the cohort had a standard and standard-bearer of its own.

4. **tribunal**: this was a raised platform used in Rome by the prætors and other magistrates for the administration of justice. As the consul and military tribunes exercised judicial power, there was a tribunal in every camp made of turf, which was used also for the purpose of addressing the soldiers; this was in the middle of the camp, at the left of the general's tent, *praetorium*. On this occasion the soldiers seem to have erected a new tribunal, probably in the middle of their own quarters.

sedes: the place where they collected their standards.

5. **properantibus**: best taken as dative.

leviore flagitio, etc.: a very condensed expression, — *It will be a lighter fault for you to*, etc.

legatum, *commander : i.e.* Blaesus. As governor of the province, and commander of its forces, his full title was *legatus Augusti pro praetore*, 'deputy of the emperor with prætorian powers' (Intr. 17).

19. aggerabatur: the manuscript reads **aggerebatur**, a much weaker expression: moreover, the compound, according to the usual orthography of the manuscript, should be **adgerebatur**.

2. **multa . . . arte**: ablative of quality.

veteres: *i.e.* in the time of the Republic.

ab imperatoribus priscis neque ipsos a divo Augusto tam nova petivisse; et parum in tempore incipientes
3 principis curas onerari. Si tamen tenderent in pace temptare quae ne civilium quidem bellorum victores expostulaverint, cur contra morem obsequii, contra fas disciplinae vim meditentur? Decernerent legatos seque
4 coram mandata darent. Acclamavere ut filius Blaesi tribunus legatione ea fungeretur peteretque militibus missionem ab sedecim annis; cetera mandaturos, ubi prima provenissent.

5 Profecto iuvene modicum otium; sed superbire miles, quod filius legati orator publicae causae satis ostenderet necessitate expressa quae per modestiam non obtinuis-
20 sent. Interea manipuli ante coeptam seditionem Nauportum missi ob itinera et pontes et alios usus, postquam turbatum in castris accepere, vexilla convellunt direptisque proximis vicis ipsoque Nauporto, quod muni-

parum in tempore, *very inopportunely*.

3. **tenderent, meditentur**: this change to present time in indirect discourse is common in Tacitus. Dräger attributes it to a desire to avoid similarity of ending; Pfitzner, to the effort of the writer to place himself in imagination in the time of the occurrence, — a more probable explanation.

se coram, *in his presence* — as a regular, orderly delegation.

mandata, *their message*.

4. **ut . . . fungeretur**: hortatory subjunctive in indirect discourse.

ab sedecim annis, *after sixteen years* of service.

5. **filius . . . orator**, *the fact that*, etc. (Intr. 35 *q*).

expressa, *extorted*, agrees with the antecedent implied in **quae**.

20. Nauportum: *Ober Laybach* in Carniola. Lying upon the upper waters of the Save, it occupied the entrance to the province of Pannonia.

turbatum: *sc.* **esse**; object of **accepere**.

vexilla: bodies of troops detached on special service had as their standards *vexilla*, made of cloth, instead of metal *signa*, used in the legion. These standards were fixed in the ground, and to pull them up, *convellere*, was the signal for moving.

municipii instar: the *municipium* was a town which had received Roman citizenship, still retaining the management of its own local concerns. This municipal organization was gradually extended from Italy into the provinces; but as Pannonia had been only recently organized as a province (A.D. 10), the town in question had not yet received municipal privileges, al-

cipii instar erat, retinentis centuriones irrisu et contumeliis, postremo verberibus insectantur, praecipua in Aufidienum Rufum praefectum castrorum ira, quem dereptum vehiculo sarcinis gravant aguntque primo in agmine, per ludibrium rogitantes an tam immensa onera, tam longa itinera libenter ferret. Quippe Rufus diu 2
manipularis, dein centurio, mox castris praefectus, antiquam duramque militiam revocabat, vetus operis ac laboris et eo immitior, quia toleraverat. Horum ad- 21
ventu redintegratur seditio, et vagi circumiecta populabantur. Blaesus paucos, maxime praeda onustos, ad 2
terrorem ceterorum affici verberibus, claudi carcere iubet; nam etiam tum legato a centurionibus et optimo quoque manipularium parebatur. Illi obniti trahentibus, 3

though large enough for this purpose (**municipii instar**), and probably having a *forum*, or market-place, and Roman inhabitants. After being pillaged on this occasion, Nauportus never recovered its prosperity, and the colony of Emona, *Laybach*, shortly afterwards founded about fifteen miles to the northeast, prospered at its expense.

retinentis: conative, *attempting to restrain them.*

praefectum castrorum: *praefectus* is not the title of any special magistrate or officer, but is a general term for any officer, civil or military, appointed in charge of a special service, as a centurion or tribune placed in command of a camp, a detachment, a body of cavalry or of auxiliaries. The *praefectus castrorum* was appointed from among the *primipilares*, or chief centurions, with powers similar to those of a quartermaster. After the time of Domitian there was one for each legion, and he afterwards became the regular commander of the legion in place of the *legatus*. Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung*, II. 443. The word is here a substantive, governing the genitive; below it is used with its participial construction, governing the dative.

primo in agmine, *at the front of the column.*

onera: the regular load of the common soldier was sixty pounds; the day's march, twenty miles.

2. **manipularis**: a common soldier, member of a maniple. There were thirty maniples in a legion, each commanded by two centurions.

centurio: the centurions, like our non-commissioned officers, were taken from the ranks, and rarely reached any higher grade. The tribunes were taken from the aristocratic classes.

vetus operis, *an old hand at the work* (Intr. 35 *e*). Cf. *scientiae caerimoniarumque vetus* VI. 12. 2, and *vetus regnandi*, VI. 44. 1.

21. 2. **etiam tum**: afterwards the mutiny reached such a height that the centurions had to flee for their lives.

3. **illi**: those who were arrested.

prensare circumstantium genua, ciere modo nomina singulorum, modo centuriam quisque cuius manipularis erat, cohortem, legionem, eadem omnibus imminere cla-
4 mitantes. Simul probra in legatum cumulant, caelum ac deos obtestantur, nihil reliqui faciunt quo minus invidiam misericordiam metum et iras permoverent.
5 Accurritur ab universis, et carcere effracto solvunt vincula desertoresque ac rerum capitalium damnatos sibi iam miscent.

22 Flagrantior inde vis, plures seditioni duces. Et Vibulenus quidam gregarius miles, ante tribunal Blaesi adlevatus circumstantium umeris, apud turbatos et quid pararet intentos 'Vos quidem' inquit 'his innocentibus et miserrimis lucem et spiritum reddidistis: sed quis fratri meo vitam, quis fratrem mihi reddit? quem missum ad vos a Germanico exercitu de communibus commodis nocte proxima iugulavit per gladiatores suos,
2 quos in exitium militum habet atque armat. Responde, Blaese, ubi cadaver abieceris: ne hostes quidem sepul-
3 tura invident. Cum osculis, cum lacrimis dolorem meum

nomina singulorum, *individuals by name*, contrasted with **centuriam**, which was appealed to as a body.

quisque: taken with the subject of **ciere**: **cuius** relates to **centuriam**, *each man on the century to which he belonged*. The more usual order would be **cuius quisque**.

4. **nihil reliqui faciunt**, *leave nothing undone*.

5. **universis**, *all in a body*.

iam, *already*: *i.e.* they have reached this point of demoralization.

22. tribunal Blaesi: the regular tribunal of the camp, not that constructed by the mutineers (18.4).

turbatos, *intermingled*, as a mob.

quid pararet: depending upon the idea of inquiring implied in **intentos**, *watching eagerly to see*.

a Germanico exercitu: a lucky guess of Vibulenus; the German army had revolted, although he could not have heard of it.

gladiatores: bodies of gladiators were kept by governors of provinces for purposes of entertainment and display.

2. **sepultura**: ablative of specification or possibly of separation, after the idea of withholding implied in **invident**, *grudge*. We should expect also a dative of the person; but the construction here found is common in writers of this period.

implevero, me quoque trucidari iube, dum interfectos nullum ob scelus, sed quia utilitati legionum consulebamus, hi sepeliant.' Incendebat haec fletu et pectus **23** atque os manibus verberans. Mox disiectis quorum 2 per umeros sustinebatur, praeceps et singulorum pedibus advolutus tantum consternationis invidiaeque concivit, ut pars militum gladiatores qui e servitio Blaesi erant, pars ceteram eiusdem familiam vincirent, alii ad quaerendum corpus effunderentur. Ac ni propere neque 3 corpus ullum reperiri et servos adhibitis cruciatibus abnuere caedem, neque illi fuisse umquam fratrem pernotuisset, haud multum ab exitio legati aberant. Tribu- 4 nos tamen ac praefectum castrorum extrusere, sarcinae fugientium direptae, et centurio Lucilius interficitur, cui militaribus facetiis vocabulum 'Cedo alteram' indiderant, quia fracta vite in tergo militis alteram clara voce ac rursus aliam poscebat. Ceteros latebrae tex- 5 ere, uno retento Clemente Iulio, qui perferendis militum mandatis habebatur idoneus ob promptum ingenium. Quin ipsae inter se legiones octava et quinta 6

3. **interfectos**: himself and his brother.

hi: his fellow-soldiers.

23. incendebat, etc.: the tears and other expressions of grief added fire to his words; "incendiary talk."

fletu . . . verberans: Intr. 35 *r.*

2. **disiectis**: agrees with **iis** understood, antecedent of **quorum**. He pushed apart the men on whose shoulders he was standing, and dropped to the ground.

pedibus advolutus: cf. 13. 7.

familiam, *body of slaves.*

3. **aberant**: the indicative of apodosis is joined with the pluperfect subjunctive of protasis, to indicate that the action was actually begun, and on the point of being completed. So with *parabant*, 6.

4. **vocabulum**, *nickname.*

Cedo alteram: *sc.* **vitem**, *Give-us-another*; the old imperative, common in colloquial language.

vite: branches of vine were used in the army for flogging Roman citizens; cudgels, for other soldiers. Livy says of Scipio at Numantia: *si Romanus esset, vitibus, si extraneus, fustibus cecidit* (*Ep.* 57). The vine-stick was the badge of the centurion's office.

poscebat: it was his habit.

5. **perferendis . . . mandatis**: dative with **idoneus**, a post-Augustan usage. See 26. 1.

decima ferrum parabant, dum centurionem cognomento Sirpicum illa morti deposcit, quintadecumani tuentur, ni miles nonanus preces et adversum aspernantis minas interiecisset.

24 Haec audita quamquam abstrusum et tristissima quaeque maxime occultantem Tiberium perpulere, ut Drusum filium cum primoribus civitatis duabusque praetoriis cohortibus mitteret, nullis satis certis mandatis, ex
2 re consulturum. Et cohortes delecto milite supra soli-
3 tum firmatae. Additur magna pars praetoriani equitis et robora Germanorum, qui tum custodes imperatori aderant; simul praetorii praefectus Aelius Seianus, collega Straboni patri suo datus, magna apud Tiberium auctoritate, rector iuveni et ceteris periculorum praemiorumque ostentator.

4 Druso propinquanti quasi per officium obviae fuere legiones, non laetae, ut adsolet, neque insignibus fulgentes, sed illuvie deformi et vultu, quamquam maesti-

6. **cognomento**, *by name* (not a nickname).

morti: Intr. 35 *f.*

24. quamquam: Intr. 35 *j.*

abstrusum, *reserved.*

praetoriis cohortibus: see note on Seius Strabo, 7. 3.

2. **delecto milite**: *i.e.* out of the other prætorian cohorts.

3. **praetoriani equitis**: a *turma equitum* was attached to each century of these prætorians.

robora Germanorum: these were mounted guards composed of German mercenaries. Augustus dismissed them after the defeat of Varus; perhaps he recalled them into service, or this may have been done by Tiberius.

Aelius Seianus: he succeeded his father as prætorian præfect, and ruled the empire for several years in the name of Tiberius. See IV. 1 ff, and, for his death, the passage from Dio, which follows Book V.

iuveni: depending upon **rector**, where the genitive might be expected. **imperatori** and **ceteris** are in a similar construction. (Intr. 35 *f.*)

ceteris: *i.e.* the soldiers; **periculorum**: *i.e.* punishments, in case they should misbehave. The context seems to show that it is the prætorians, not the legionaries, that are referred to.

4. **quasi per officium**, *as if to show him honor*, relating to what follows. This was, nevertheless, nothing but their duty as soldiers.

insignibus: decorations and badges of individual soldiers.

inluvie deformi et vultu . . . propiores: Intr. 35 *r.*

tiam imitarentur, contumaciae propiores. Postquam 25
vallum introiit, portas stationibus firmant, globos armatorum certis castrorum locis opperiri iubent; ceteri tribunal ingenti agmine circumveniunt. Stabat Drusus 2
silentium manu poscens. Illi quotiens oculos ad multitudinem rettulerant, vocibus truculentis strepere, rursum viso Caesare trepidare; murmur incertum, atrox clamor et repente quies; diversis animorum motibus pavebant terrebantque. Tandem interrupto tumultu 3
litteras patris recitat, in quis perscriptum erat praecipuam ipsi fortissimarum legionum curam, quibuscum plurima bella toleravisset; ubi primum a luctu requiesset animus, acturum apud patres de postulatis eorum; misisse interim filium, ut sine cunctatione concederet quae statim tribui possent; cetera senatui servanda, quem neque gratiae neque severitatis expertem haberi par esset.

Responsum est a contione, mandata Clementi centu- 26
rioni quae perferret. Is orditur de missione a sedecim 2
annis, de praemiis finitae militiae, ut denarius diurnum stipendium foret, ne veterani sub vexillo haberentur.

imitarentur: subj. after **quam-quam** (Intr. 35 *j*).

contumaciae propiores: really in a spirit of defiance manifested in their looks.

25. firmant and **iubent**: the mutineers. The prætorians were kept out (cf. 30. 1).

2. **stabat**: emphatic and picturesque from its position. A statue in the Louvre, in the attitude here described, is believed by Stahr to represent Drusus on this occasion.

illi: the ringleaders who stood in front.

3. **plurima bella**: Tiberius had conquered Pannonia in four campaigns (B.C. 12–9), and had afterwards, with Germanicus, suppressed a formidable insurrection there and in Dalmatia, known as the Batonian War (A.D. 6–9), *gravissimum omnium externorum bellorum post Punica*, Suet. *Tib.* 16.

senatui: Tiberius, as we have seen, was careful to observe the forms and maintain the still surviving powers of the Republic; it belonged to the Senate to reward and to punish (**neque gratiae neque severitatis expertem haberi**).

26. 2. **orditur**: in relation to these demands see notes to chap. 17.

Ad ea Drusus cum arbitrium senatus et patris obtende-
3 ret, clamore turbatur. Cur venisset, neque augendis militum stipendiis neque adlevandis laboribus, denique nulla bene faciendi licentia? at hercule verbera et necem
4 cunctis permitti. Tiberium olim nomine Augusti desideria legionum frustrari solitum: easdem artes Drusum
5 rettulisse. Numquamne ad se nisi filios familiarum venturos? Novum id plane quod imperator sola militis
6 commoda ad senatum reiciat. Eundem ergo senatum consulendum, quotiens supplicia aut proelia indicantur; an praemia sub dominis, poenas sine arbitro esse?
27 Postremo deserunt tribunal, ut quis praetorianorum militum amicorumve Caesaris occurreret, manus intentantes, causam discordiae et initium armorum, maxime infensi

arbitrium . . . obtenderet: *i.e.* gave as an excuse for not acting the fact that the decision lay with them.

3. **necem cunctis permitti**: not strictly true, of course, for the death penalty could be inflicted only by the *legatus*, exercising the emperor's *imperium*.

olim: when he was their commander.

4. **rettulisse**, *repeated*. It was the same old trick, never to send a representative who had the power to redress grievances.

5. **filios familiarum**: the technical term to describe sons who were *in potestate patris*, which condition continued during the life of the father, unless relaxed by an act of emancipation. There is, therefore, a tone of bitter contempt — not only the son instead of the father, but himself not master of himself, *sui iuris*. This is of course merely an insult, and has nothing to do with the limitation of Drusus' powers, because public and private relations were kept wholly distinct, and a son *in potestate* might exercise authority over his father: see the interesting anecdote about Fabius Maximus, Liv. XXIV. 44.

id: relates to what follows. The emphasis is upon **commoda**; punishments and hardships he could decide upon himself, but favors must be referred to the Senate.

6. **an**, *or*, as if the preceding clause were put in interrogative form.

sub dominis: for *penes dominos*.

27. ut quis . . . occurreret: the subjunctive expresses repeated action, the clause being connected with what follows, — using threatening gestures as they met any of the supporters of Drusus. Only a few of the prætorians were in the camp; cf. 25. 1 n.

manus intentantes, *threatening* (stretching their hands towards, = shaking their fists).

causam: Intr. 35 *g*; cf. 30. 1, *documentum fidei*; II. 64. 6, *causas bello*. There are a few examples in earlier writers (*e.g.* Hor. *Sat.* I. 4. 10, *ut magnum*); but the classical writers regularly used a relative clause in such cases. Drä-

Cn. Lentulo, quod is ante alios aetate et gloria belli firmare Drusum credebatur et illa militiae flagitia primus aspernari. Nec multo post digredientem cum 2
Caesare ac provisu periculi hiberna castra repetentem circumsistunt, rogitantes quo pergeret, ad imperatorem an ad patres, ut illic quoque commodis legionum adversaretur; simul ingruunt, saxa iaciunt. Iamque lapidis 3
ictu cruentus et exitii certus accursu multitudinis quae cum Druso advenerat protectus est.

Noctem minacem et in scelus erupturam fors lenivit; 28
nam luna claro repente caelo visa languescere. Id 2
miles rationis ignarus omen praesentium accepit, suis laboribus defectionem sideris adsimulans, prospereque cessura quae pergerent, si fulgor et claritudo deae redderetur. Igitur aeris sono, tubarum cornuumque concentu 3
strepere; prout splendidior obscuriorve, laetari aut maerere; et postquam ortae nubes offecere visui creditumque

ger (*Historische Syntax*, § 309) calls it a Grœcism.

Lentulo: his death is related IV. 44. 1. He was probably consul B.C. 18, which, if the legal age for the consulship during the empire was thirty-seven, as Mommsen thinks probable (*Röm. St.* I. 473), would make him now nearly seventy. The expression **ante alios aetate** would hardly apply to the Gnæus Lentulus who was consul B.C. 1.

2. **digredientem cum Caesare**: Drusus was probably accompanying him to the gate outside of which the prætorians, **multitudo quae cum Druso advenerat**, were stationed; these troops, seeing his danger, came to his rescue, as afterwards described.

provisu: a word used only in the ablative, and peculiar to Tacitus.

hiberna castra: see note on *castris aestivis*, 16. 2. It was probably within the walls of Poetovio.

28. **erupturam**, *ready to break out.*

visa languescere: this eclipse took place Sept. 26.

2. **quae pergerent**: see Appendix I.

aeris sono: the familiar custom of ignorant people, who think that the evil spirit which is obscuring the heavenly body can thus be driven away.

3. **ve . . . aut**: *i.e.* (with the usual distinction between these conjunctions) whether the moon was brighter or more obscure, in either case their spirits went with it; in one case they exulted, in the other they lamented.

ortae nubes: Furneaux suggests "that their spirits rose after the time of greatest obscuration was past, but that after this the moon became permanently hidden by

conditam tenebris, ut sunt mobiles ad superstitionem perculsae semel mentes, sibi aeternum laborem portendi,
4 sua facinora aversari deos lamentantur. Utendum inclinatione ea Caesar et quae casus obtulerat in sapientiam vertenda ratus circumiri tentoria iubet; accitur centurio
5 Clemens et si alii bonis artibus grati in vulgus. Hi vigiliis stationibus custodiis portarum se inserunt, spem
6 offerunt, metum intendunt. 'Quo usque filium imperatoris obsidebimus? quis certaminum finis? Percennione et Vibuleno sacramentum dicturi sumus? Percennius et Vibulenus stipendia militibus, agros emeritis largientur? denique pro Neronibus et Drusis imperium
7 populi Romani capessent? Quin potius, ut novissimi in culpam, ita primi ad paenitentiam sumus? Tarda sunt quae in commune expostulantur; privatam gratiam
8 statim mereare, statim recipias.' Commotis per haec mentibus et inter se suspectis, tironem a veterano, legi-
9 onem a legione dissociant. Tum redire paulatim amor obsequii; omittunt portas, signa unum in locum principio seditionis congregata suas in sedes referunt.

29 Drusus orto die et vocata contione, quamquam rudis

clouds, and that even this common phenomenon, coupled with the eclipse, worked upon their minds."

4. **in sapientiam,** *to the account of good sense.*

5. **vigiliis,** *watch, patrol;* **stationibus,** *posts, pickets;* **custodiis,** *guards.*

6. **Percennione,** etc.: the oath of the Roman soldier was taken personally to his commander.

emeritis, *after discharge.*

Neronibus et Drusis: not merely alluding to the illustrious families — the Claudian and Livian *gentes,* to which the Neros and Drusi belonged: we see besides this the tacit recognition of an imperial or royal family.

7. **novissimi in culpam:** they either were, or were adroitly represented as being, less guilty than the others.

in culpam . . . ad paenitentiam: Intr. 35 *r.*

tarda: *i.e.* of fulfilment; the advice is, do not wait to negotiate in a body: make your peace individually (**privatam**).

mereare and **recipias** are apodosis to a protasis implied in **privatam:** if you make your submission as individuals, you earn and you receive favor at once.

29. **rudis,** *untrained.*

dicendi, nobilitate ingenita incusat priora, probat praesentia; negat se terrore et minis vinci: flexos ad modestiam si videat, si supplices audiat, scripturum patri ut placatus legionum preces exciperet. Orantibus rursum idem Blaesus et L. Apronius, eques Romanus e cohorte Drusi, Iustusque Catonius, primi ordinis centurio, ad Tiberium mittuntur. Certatum inde sententiis, cum alii opperiendos legatos atque interim comitate permulcendum militem censerent, alii fortioribus remediis agendum: nihil in vulgo modicum; terrere, ni paveant; ubi pertimuerint, impune contemni; dum superstitio urgeat, adiciendos ex duce metus sublatis seditionis auctoribus. Promptum ad aspériora ingenium Druso erat; vocatos Vibulenum et Percennium interfici iubet. Tradunt plerique intra tabernaculum ducis obrutos, alii corpora extra vallum abiecta ostentui. Tum ut quisque praecipuus turbator conquisiti, et pars, extra castra palantes, a centurionibus aut praetoriarum cohortium militibus

nobilitate ingenita: he had the dignity of bearing which often accompanies the consciousness of high birth. The busts and statues of Drusus represent him as strongly resembling his father, especially in the characteristic compression of the lips.

2. **orantibus**: ablative absolute, with no expressed subject: *at their request* (Intr. 35 *o*).

rursum idem: the younger Blæsus, who had been their messenger before.

cohorte, *suite;* see VI. 9.

Iustus Catonius: he was prætorian præfect under Claudius, and was put to death by the intrigues of the Empress Messalina.

primi ordinis: *i.e.* of the first cohort of the legion, which outranked the others. The first centurion of the first cohort was called *primus pilus*, and ranked with the higher officers.

3. **certatum inde**: *i.e.* among the counsellors of Drusus.

nihil . . . modicum, *no halfway measures.*

terrere . . . paveant: cf. *pavebant terrebantque*, 25. 2.

ex duce: proceeding from, or inspired by, the commander. There would be an ambiguity in *ducis*, which would naturally be a subjective genitive.

4. **promptum ad asperiora**, etc.: Tacitus calls him (76. 5) *vili sanguine nimis gaudens.* According to Dio Cassius (LVII. 13), Tiberius frequently reproved the intemperate and brutal disposition of his son,—ἀσελγέστατος καὶ ὠμότατος. He adds that the sharpest swords were

caesi; quosdam ipsi manipuli documentum fidei tradi-
2 dere. Auxerat militum curas praematura hiems imbribus continuis adeoque saevis ut non egredi tentoria, congregari inter se, vix tutari signa possent, quae tur-
3 bine atque unda raptabantur. Durabat et formido caelestis irae, nec frustra adversus impios hebescere sidera, ruere tempestates; non aliud malorum levamentum quam si linquerent castra infausta temerataque et
4 soluti piaculo suis quisque hibernis redderentur. Primum octava, dein quinta decima legio rediere; nonanus opperiendas Tiberii epistulas clamitaverat, mox desolatus aliorum discessione imminentem necessitatem sponte
5 praevenit. Et Drusus non exspectato legatorum regressu, quia praesentia satis considerant, in urbem rediit.

31 Isdem ferme diebus isdem causis Germanicae legiones turbatae, quanto plures, tanto violentius, et magna spe fore ut Germanicus Caesar imperium alterius pati ne-

called Δρουσιανά. Nevertheless, many amiable traits appear in him, especially his constant affection for his cousin and adopted brother Germanicus, of whom he might easily have been jealous.

30. documentum: cf. *causam*, 27. 1 n.

3. **nec frustra**, etc.: this is the reasoning of the soldiers, as is shown by the construction (indirect discourse).

malorum: neuter.

piaculo, *guilt;* cf. Verg. *Aen.* VI. 569, *commissa piacula.*

4. **epistulas**: for *epistulam*, after the analogy of *litteras.*

desolatus, *abandoned.*

5. **considerant** = **consederant**: an archaic form.

31. Germanicae legiones: this mutiny was even more formidable than that of Pannonia; the army was larger, there was an active and warlike enemy watching for an opportunity, and the commander of the province, Germanicus, by his personal qualities, and his official authority, as well as by his relation to the imperial family, might have been a formidable rival to the unpopular emperor (Intr. 26 *b*). The authority of Germanicus extended over the *tres Galliae* (Intr. 18. 16), and also over what was left of the province of Germany (Intr. 18. 21. 23), established by Drusus (B.C. 12), and reconquered by Arminius (A.D. 9). The army of Germany consisted of eight legions, with their quota of auxiliaries, stationed upon the left bank of the Rhine.

quiret daretque se legionibus vi sua cuncta tracturis. Duo apud ripam Rheni exercitus erant; cui nomen 2
superiori, sub C. Silio legato, inferiorem A. Caecina curabat. Regimen summae rei penes Germanicum, agendo Galliarum censui tum intentum. Sed quibus Silius 3
moderabatur, mente ambigua fortunam seditionis alienae speculabantur; inferioris exercitus miles in rabiem prolapsus est, orto ab unetvicesimanis quintanisque initio, et tractis prima quoque ac vicesima legionibus; nam isdem aestivis in finibus Ubiorum habebantur per otium aut levia munia. Igitur audito fine Augusti vernacula 4

tracturis: see Appendix, 1.

2. **superiori . . . inferiorem**: Intr. 18. 16. The army of Upper Germany took no part in the mutiny.

C. Silio: for his death, see IV. 18, 19.

agendo censui: *i.e.* levying the tribute, which was based upon an assessment of property, **census**. An annual tribute, *stipendium*, of forty million sesterces ($2,000,000), had been imposed by Julius Cæsar upon the conquered Gauls. The plural **Galliarum** is used to designate the three divisions of Gaul.

3. **quibus Silius moderabatur**: *i.e.* those of Upper Germany.

alienae: *i.e.* of the army of Lower Germany.

unetvicensimanis, etc.: the legions of Lower Germany were the I. (*Germanica*, afterwards *Minervia*); V. (*Alauda*, afterwards *Macedonica*); XX. (*Valeria Victrix*), and XXI. (*Rapax*).

Ubiorum: this German tribe or nation had entered into alliance with Cæsar (*B. G.* IV. 16), and had been settled by Agrippa on the left bank of the Rhine, where their chief town was afterwards made a Roman colony, *Colonia Agrippina* (Cologne), named in honor of the granddaughter of Agrippa, the younger Agrippina. This was the first example of a policy, which afterwards became common, of settling German tribes upon lands on the frontier, on the condition of rendering military service. Such settlers were in the later times of the empire called *laeti*, and their lands *terrae laeticae*.

4. **vernacula**: this word has generally been interpreted in this passage to mean the lower classes of the city, as Dio says (LVII. 5), ἐκ τοῦ ἀστικοῦ ὄχλου . . . οἱ πλείους ἦσαν. This seems to agree with its classical meaning, *native, vernacular;* the word is not found until the third century A.D. with a signification cognate to *verna*, "belonging to a slave," "slavish." Mommsen shows (*Hermes*, XIX., 1884), that in military relations *vernaculus* has a peculiar and technical meaning, being used to designate troops (*legiones vernaculae*) composed of persons who were not Roman citizens when enrolled, but who received citizenship upon enlistment, thus maintaining the principle that the legions, as distinguished from the auxiliary corps, were always composed of citizens. According to

multitudo, nuper acto in urbe dilectu, lasciviae sueta, laborum intolerans, implere ceterorum rudes animos: venisse tempus quo veterani maturam missionem, iuvenes largiora stipendia, cuncti modum miseriarum exposcerent saevitiamque centurionum ulciscerentur.

5 Non unus haec, ut Pannonicas inter legiones Percennius, nec apud trepidas militum aures alios validiores exercitus respicientium, sed multa seditionis ora vocesque: sua in manu sitam rem Romanam, suis victoriis augeri rem publicam, in suum cognomentum adscisci
32 imperatores. Nec legatus obviam ibat: quippe plurium
2 vecordia constantiam exemerat. Repente lymphati destrictis gladiis in centuriones invadunt: ea vetustissima militaribus odiis materies et saeviendi principium.
3 Prostratos verberibus mulcant, sexageni singulos, ut

Mommsen, these troops, hastily levied after the disaster of Varus, were taken from those members of the city populace who did not possess citizenship. Suetonius says of Augustus (*Oct.* 25): *libertino milite, praeterquam Romae incendiorum causa et si tumultus in graviore annona metueretur, bis usus est; semel ad praesidium coloniarum Illyricum contingentium; iterum ad tutelam ripae Rheni fluminis*, the latter being the case in question.

implere: *i.e.* with the notions expressed by **venisse**, etc.

maturam missionem, etc.: the same demands as those of the Pannonian soldiers. Cf. 17. 8.

iuvenes: those in active service.

5. **respicientium**: the Pannonian legions were so near Italy, that they might expect to be promptly crushed by new forces brought against them.

imperatores: not *emperors*, but *commanders;* referring to Drusus and his son, their present commander, both of whom bore the name Germanicus. The name, derived from that of the province, was also borne by the brother of Germanicus, the emperor Claudius: *senatus . . . decrevit Germanici cognomen ipsi* [Drusus] *posterisque eius* (Suet. *Claud.* 1); sometimes also by Tiberius.

32. obviam ibat: *i.e.* the emergency.

vecordia: the prefix **ve** expresses negative, and often positive evil, as in **Vediovis**, *the evil Jupiter;* **vecors**, *with mind led astray.* Cf. Aulus Gellius, V. 12.

constantiam, *presence of mind.*

2. **ea**, *these*, referring to the centurions, but attracted to agree with **materies**. The centurions, whose badge was a vine-stick, were chiefly remembered by the men as using this in flogging them.

numerum: there being sixty centurions to a legion; 'the men wanted to show them what it was to have sixty floggers.' Holbrooke.

numerum centurionum adaequarent; tum convulsos laniatosque et partim exanimos ante vallum aut in amnem Rhenum proiciunt. Septimius cum perfugisset 4
ad tribunal pedibusque Caecinae advolveretur, eo usque flagitatus est donec ad exitium dederetur. Cassius 5
Chaerea, mox caede Gai Caesaris memoriam apud posteros adeptus, tum adulescens et animi ferox, inter obstantes et armatos ferro viam patefecit. Non tribunus 6
ultra, non castrorum praefectus ius obtinuit; vigilias stationes et si qua alia praesens usus indixerat, ipsi partiebantur. Id militares animos altius coniectantibus 7
praecipuum indicium magni atque implacabilis motus, quod neque disiecti aut paucorum instinctu, sed pariter ardescerent, pariter silerent, tanta aequalitate et constantia ut regi crederes.

Interea Germanico per Gallias, ut diximus, census **33**
accipienti excessisse Augustum adfertur. Neptem 2
eius Agrippinam in matrimonio pluresque ex ea liberos habebat, ipse Druso fratre Tiberii genitus, Augustae 3

4. **Septimius** (otherwise unknown) and **Cassius Chaerea**: two of the centurions.

eo usque: explained by **donec dederetur** (Intr. 35 *f*).

5. **Gai Caesaris**: better known as the Emperor Caligula. His murder was A.D. 41.

6. **castrorum praefectus**: see 20. 1 n.

ius obtinuit, *maintained his authority*.

7. **altius coniectantibus**, *in the eyes of those who could see under the surface* (Intr. 35 *f*). **coniectantibus** governs **animos**.

pariter (cf. **ipsi partiebantur** above): they needed no leader, like the Pannonian legions, but governed themselves.

regi: *i.e.* by a commander.

33. ut diximus: 31. 2.

2. **Agrippinam**: Intr. 26 *d*.

liberos: the number is given by Suetonius (*Calig.* 7.) as nine in all: there were now three boys living, Nero, born A.D. 6; Drusus, born A.D. 7; and Gaius (the Emperor Caligula), born A.D. 12; all of these were conspicuous in the closing years of the reign of Tiberius, and the deaths of the two eldest are among the most serious crimes imputed to the emperor. Three boys, between Drusus and Gaius, had died in infancy. There were afterwards born three girls: Agrippina, the mother of the Emperor Nero; Drusilla and Julia Livilla. (Mommsen, *Hermes*, XIII. 245.)

3. **Druso**: 'the very image of manly beauty and of winning grace

nepos, sed anxius occultis in se patrui aviaeque odiis,
4 quorum causae acriores, quia iniquae. Quippe Drusi magna apud populum Romanum memoria, credebaturque, si rerum potitus foret, libertatem redditurus; unde
5 in Germanicum favor et spes eadem. Nam iuveni civile ingenium, mira comitas et diversa ab Tiberii sermone
6 vultu, adrogantibus et obscuris. Accedebant muliebres offensiones novercalibus Liviae in Agrippinam stimulis, atque ipsa Agrippina paulo commotior, nisi quod castitate et mariti amore quamvis indomitum animum in bonum vertebat.

34 Sed Germanicus quanto summae spei propior, tanto impensius pro Tiberio niti, seque *et* proximos et Bel-
2 garum civitates in verba eius adigit. Dehinc audito

in converse, a brave soldier and an able general, a pronounced panègyrist, moreover, of the old republican system, and in every respect the most popular prince of the imperial house.' Mommsen. He conquered Germany, and died, B.C. 9, from a fall with his horse.

patrui: Tiberius, his paternal uncle by birth, but his father by adoption. When speaking of their natural kinship, Tacitus uses the former term; when of legal relation, he calls them father and son.

odiis: this is the constant assertion of Tacitus, but there is no evidence of it in any recorded action of Tiberius. Evidently the two men were uncongenial to each other, but the attitude of the emperor appears to have been coldly just.

4. **libertatem redditurus**: see II. 82; also note above. Suetonius (*Tib.* 50) speaks of a letter written by him to Tiberius, and betrayed by the latter to Augustus, *qua secum de cogendo ad restituendam libertatem Augusto agebat.* There is no doubt that he sympathized with the aristocratic constitution of the Republic rather than the new monarchy; but this incident can hardly have been true, for it is certain that he retained the favor and confidence of Augustus to the last.

5. **civile**: this word is used to designate acts and disposition becoming a citizen, — what we may call a republican temper.

6. **muliebres offensiones**: the imperious Livia (whose favorite son was Tiberius) had as little sympathy with the ambitious and hot-tempered (**paulo commotior**) Agrippina, as the cold Tiberius with the genial Germanicus.

nisi quod: there is an ellipsis of thought here, — a violence of temper which we should condemn, *but that*, etc.; cf. *Agr.* 6., *nisi quod in bona uxore tanto maior laus, quanto in mala plus culpae est.*

34. proximos: the members of his suite or cohort. See App. I.

Belgarum civitates: evidently he administered the oath of alle-

legionum tumultu raptim profectus obvias extra castra habuit, deiectis in terram oculis velut paenitentia. Postquam vallum iniit, dissoni questus audiri coepere; et quidam prensa manu eius per speciem exosculandi 3 inseruerunt digitos, ut vacua dentibus ora contingeret; alii curvata senio membra ostendebant. Assistentem 4 contionem, quia permixta videbatur, discedere in manipulos iubet: sic melius audituros responsum; vexilla praeferri, ut id saltem discerneret cohortes: tarde obtemperavere. Tunc a veneratione Augusti orsus flexit 5 ad victorias triumphosque Tiberii, praecipuis laudibus celebrans quae apud Germanias illis cum legionibus pulcherrima fecisset. Italiae inde consensum, Galliarum fidem extollit; nil usquam turbidum aut discors. Silentio haec vel murmure modico audita sunt. Ut 35 seditionem attigit, ubi modestia militaris, ubi veteris

giance to those states near which he happened to be when he heard the news; then, learning of the mutiny, hastened to the camp, without waiting to visit the other Gallic states. This is the first recorded instance of the oath of allegiance imposed upon provincials.

in verba eius: see note on *in verba iuravere*, 7. 3.

2. **obvias**: *sc.* **legiones**; compare the approach of Drusus to the Pannonian camp, 24. 4.

audiri coepere: Tacitus never uses the passive form, *coeptus sum*, with the passive infinitive.

3. **inseruerunt**: *i.e.* into their mouths. Tacitus almost always uses the form in *-ere* for the third person plural of the perfect indicative. Notice the contrast in action expressed by **inseruerunt** and **ostendebant**.

4. **sic**: *i.e.* as they were, the cohorts and maniples mixed up; they could hear better, they said (**responsum**), if crowded close to the speaker.

vexilla: each cohort had three of these, corresponding to the number of its maniples, besides the *signa*, which belonged to cohort and maniple individually. They had refused to form by maniples, that is, in regular military order, but slowly obeyed the order to group themselves by cohorts, — still crowding in a disorderly mass, but each military division by itself.

5. **flexit**: see note on *obstrinxit*, 14. 6.

quae . . . fecisset: Tiberius had commanded in Germany after the death of his brother Drusus (B.C. 9), although his principal military services had been in Rætia and Pannonia.

35. ubi: *sc.* **esset**; depending upon **rogitans**.

modestia, *discipline*.

disciplinae decus, quonam tribunos, quo centuriones exegissent rogitans, nudant universi corpora, cicatrices ex vulneribus, verberum notas exprobrant; mox indiscretis vocibus pretia vacationum, angustias stipendii, duritiam operum, ac propriis nominibus incusant vallum, fossas, pabuli materiae lignorum aggestus, et si qua alia ex necessitate aut adversus otium castrorum quaeruntur.
2 Atrocissimus veteranorum clamor oriebatur, qui tricena aut supra stipendia numerantes, mederetur fessis, neu mortem in isdem laboribus, sed finem tam exercitae militiae neque inopem requiem orabant.
3 Fuere etiam qui legatam a divo Augusto pecuniam reposcerent, faustis in Germanicum ominibus; et si vel-
4 let imperium, promptos ostentavere. Tum vero, quasi scelere contaminaretur, praeceps tribunali desiluit. Opposuerunt abeunti arma, minitantes ni regrederetur;
5 at ille moriturum potius quam fidem exueret clamitans, ferrum a latere diripuit elatumque deferebat in pectus,

tribunos: nothing has been said of any violence towards the tribunes, but it appears from 32. 6 and 7, that they had been deprived of authority.

indiscretis, *confused.*

pretia vacationum, *the sums paid for furloughs.* Cf. 17. 6.

propriis nominibus, *by especial mention.*

materiae, *timber;* **lignorum**, *fuel.*

adversus otium: *i.e.* without necessity; but to keep the men busy, and thus out of mischief.

2. **mederetur**: depends upon **orabant**, which also (by neglect of concinnity, Intr. 35 *r*) governs the accusatives **mortem**, etc. The sense of this very condensed passage is, — that he would not let them die in the midst of their sufferings, but would grant them rest, and that not in poverty.

3. **legatam**: see 8. 3.

faustis . . . ominibus: *i.e.* declaring that they had nothing against him personally. Cf. *faustis in Caesarem ominibus*, V. 4. 3.

promptos: *sc.* **se**; see App. I. Dio says (LVII. 5), τὸν Γερμάνικον αὐτοκράτορα ἐπεκάλεσαν.

ostentavere: these intensive forms are favorites with Tacitus. Cf. *coepto*, etc.

5. **quam**: for **quam ut**; common in Livy also.

deferebat . . . ni, *was upon the point of*, etc.; *but.* Some commentators (*e.g.* Stahr), in their eager partisanship for Tiberius, represent this act of Germanicus as mere display, and assert that he readily allowed himself to be disarmed. It is cer-

ni proximi prensam dextram vi attinuissent. Extrema 6
et conglobata inter se pars contionis ac, vix credibile
dictu, quidam singuli propius incedentes, feriret horta-
bantur; et miles nomine Calusidius strictum obtulit
gladium, addito acutiorem esse. Saevum id malique 7
moris etiam furentibus visum, ac spatium fuit quo
Caesar ab amicis in tabernaculum raperetur.

Consultatum ibi de remedio; etenim nuntiabatur 36
parari legatos qui superiorem exercitum ad causam
eandem traherent: destinatum excidio Ubiorum oppi-
dum, imbutasque praeda manus in direptionem Gallia-
rum erupturas. Augebat metum gnarus Romanae 2
seditionis et, si omitteretur ripa, invasurus hostis; at
si auxilia et socii adversum abscedentis legiones arma-
rentur, civile bellum suscipi. Periculosa severitas, flagi- 3

tain that there was an element of weakness and ostentation in his character, but there is no reason for questioning his sincerity here, and the action was consistent with his whole career. When we consider how many emperors were afterwards made by just such circumstances as these, — and some of them on this very spot, — we see that Germanicus resisted a real temptation, and did a real service to the state. His personal popularity would have made him, at the head of eight legions, a formidable rival to his unpopular uncle.

6. **extrema,** etc.: the soldiers were irregularly grouped by cohorts (34. 4), and the crowded mass further off is contrasted with the few bold mutineers who left the main body, and pressed up close to where Germanicus stood.

addito: Intr. 35 *o*.

acutiorem: *i.e.* than his own.

7. **spatium**: *i.e.* of time.

36. parari: *i.e.* by the mutineers. — **oppidum**: afterwards Colonia Agrippina, *Cologne*. The summer camp was near this town.

2. **gnarus . . . hostis**: *i.e.* the Germans. The fact that they were acquainted, etc. (Intr. 35 *q*).

omitteretur, *should be left unguarded*, by the departure of the mutineers to plunder Gaul. The subjunctive of protasis depending on a future participle is found in Livy and later writers.

auxilia: the auxiliaries now in the army; **socii**: the forces which might be raised among the allied states of Gaul, such as the Ædui, Remi, and Lingones, who were within the territorial limits of the province, but nominally independent and not in strict law subject to Rome. The inhabitants of the provinces seem to have been better disposed than the Roman legionaries; cf. 39. 8.

suscipi: the present tense implies that calling out this levy, etc., would be in itself an act of civil war.

tiosa largitio; seu nihil militi sive omnia concederentur, in ancipiti res publica.

4 Igitur volutatis inter se rationibus placitum ut epistulae nomine principis scriberentur: missionem dari vicena stipendia meritis; exauctorari qui sena dena fecissent ac retineri sub vexillo ceterorum immunes nisi propulsandi hostis; legata quae petiverant exsolvi duplicarique.

37 Sensit miles in tempus conficta statimque flagitavit. Missio per tribunos maturatur, largitio differebatur in 2 hiberna cuiusque. Non abscessere quintani unetvicesimanique donec isdem in aestivis contracta ex viatico amicorum ipsiusque Caesaris pecunia persolveretur. 3 Primam ac vicesimam legiones Caecina legatus in civitatem Ubiorum reduxit, turpi agmine, cum fisci de im-

3. **concederentur**: see App. I.

4. **volutatis**: the same figure as in the English *turn over* in one's mind.

stipendia . . . meritis: *stipendium mereri* (lit. to earn pay) was to serve a full campaign; this means, therefore, *to those who had served twenty years.*

exauctorari: this differed from the full discharge (**missionem**) given to those who had served twenty years, in that those who received it were still held to service as *vexillarii* (see note on *tricena*, 17. 3); as this obligation had formerly been imposed on those who had served the full twenty years, the present demand was really a shortening of the service by four years.

ceterorum, *all other duties*: neuter, limiting **immunes**: it would seem that the veterans had, by an abuse, been subjected to the same obligations as other soldiers.

duplicari: Suetonius says (*Tib.* 48) that this was the only donation given by Tiberius to the soldiers except after the fall of Sejanus. The frugal disposition of Tiberius was undoubtedly often carried to the extent of parsimony and even niggardliness, and this was a leading cause of his unpopularity. On several occasions, however, he showed a prompt and wise liberality: see II. 47, 48, 86; IV. 64.

37. in tempus, *for the emergency.* Cf. *ad tempus*, 1. 2 n.

tribunos: these officers had the charge of all the details of military administration in their legions.

2. **quintani**, etc.: these two legions began the mutiny: see 31. 3. They were led to winter quarters to Vetera, *Xanten*, sixty miles below Cologne; the first and twentieth to Cologne itself.

aestivis: see note, 16. 2.

contracta, *got together.*

3. **turpi agmine**, *a shameful march*: explained by **de imperatore rapti.**

fisci: the baskets in which the money was carried: the word was used for the emperor's special treasury, or privy purse (the treasury of

peratore rapti inter signa interque aquilas veherentur. Germanicus superiorem ad exercitum profectus secundam 4
et tertiam decimam et sextam decimam legiones nihil cunctatas sacramento adigit. Quartadecimani paulum 5
dubitaverant; pecunia et missio quamvis non flagitantibus oblata est.

At in Chaucis coeptavere seditionem praesidium 38
agitantes vexillarii discordium legionum et praesenti duorum militum supplicio paulum repressi sunt. Iusse- 2
rat id M'. Ennius castrorum praefectus, bono magis exemplo quam concesso iure. Deinde intumescente 3
motu profugus repertusque, postquam intutae latebrae, praesidium ab audacia mutuatur: non praefectum ab iis, sed Germanicum ducem, sed Tiberium imperatorem violari. Simul exterritis qui obstiterant, raptum vexil- 4

the republic being called *aerarium*), from which it has passed into the modern word *fiscal*. It was the custom, on a march, to deposit money bags with the standards. Mommsen (*Hermes*, 1878, p. 256) thinks that there is an error in ascribing this conduct to the first and twentieth legions, — that it was the leaders of the mutiny, the fifth and twenty-first.

4. **secundam**, etc.: these were the legions of Upper Germany.

38. in Chaucis: this nation inhabited the shore of the North Sea, at the mouth of the Weser, the modern East Friesland. Tacitus (*Germ.* 35) describes them in his time as *populus inter Germanos nobilissimus*, while Pliny, on the other hand (*N. H.* XVI. 1) speaks of them as a wretched race of fishermen. They were subdued by Tiberius in one of his German campaigns (Vell. Pat. II. 106), and a garrison was left among them after the defeat of Varus.

coeptavere, agitantes: cf. *ostentavere*, 35. 3 n.

vexillarii: these are not the *vexillarii* described in the note on *tricena aut quadragena*, 17. 3, veterans serving an additional term, but those mentioned in the note on *vexilla*, 20. 1, legionary soldiers stationed on a detached post. These also had a *vexillum* for their standard, and were called *vexillarii*.

discordium, *disaffected; i.e.* those engaged in the mutiny, the I., V., etc.

2. **concesso iure**, *legitimate power: i.e.* any power expressly put in his hands; for only the commander of the army had the power to punish with death. This præfect was not the regular legionary *praefectus castrorum* (20. 1 n.), but a subordinate officer (centurion) placed in charge of the post.

3. **sed Germanicum**, etc.: their offence was greater than mutiny; it was treason. Cf. the language of Blæsus, 18. 5.

lum ad ripam vertit, et si quis agmine decessisset, pro desertore fore clamitans, reduxit in hiberna turbidos et nihil ausos.

39 Interea legati ab senatu regressum iam apud aram
2 Ubiorum Germanicum adeunt. Duae ibi legiones, prima atque vicesima, veteranique nuper missi sub vex-
3 illo hiemabant. Pavidos et conscientia vecordes intrat metus, venisse patrum iussu qui irrita facerent quae per
4 seditionem expresserant. Utque mos vulgo quamvis falsis reum subdere, Munatium Plancum consulatu functum, principem legationis, auctorem senatus consulti incusant; et nocte concubia vexillum in domo Germanici situm flagitare occipiunt, concursuque ad ianuam facto moliuntur fores, extractum cubili Caesarem tradere vex-

4. **ad ripam**: *sc. Rheni.*

decessisset: representing a future perfect of direct discourse, *whoever should depart.*

in hiberna: at Cologne; see 39. 2.

39. legati: the ones mentioned 14. 4.

regressum: *i.e.* from the army of Upper Germany; see 37. 4.

aram Ubiorum: probably in the *oppidum* itself; this altar was dedicated to Augustus.

2. **prima atque vicesima**: see 37. 3.

sub vexillo: construed with **hiemabant**, referring to those who had recently obtained their conditional discharge, 36. 4.

4. **falsis**: dative, — to subject to accusations, however false they may be.

Munatium Plancum: consul A.D. 13; he was son of the Plancus addressed by Horace (*Od.* I. 7).

auctorem, *as being the author.*

senatus consulti: the imagined ordinance in question.

vexillum: it has been much debated whether this was the *vexillum* under which the veterans mentioned above were serving, or the scarlet banner, χιτὼν κόκκινος, of the commander, which served as a signal for battle (*quod erat insigne, cum ad arma concurri oporteret*, Cæs. *B. G.* II. 20). In favor of its being the general's standard is the consideration that it is hard to see why the other should be in the general's house, and also the illustration it would give of the insubordination of the soldiers, — having possession of the standard of the commander, they would perform his functions for themselves, just as they had previously directed the posting of guards, etc. (32. 6). On the other hand, it is more natural to suppose that the *vexillum* is the one previously mentioned, while the phrase **in domo Germanico situm** seems to imply that it was out of its usual place; the scarlet *vexillum* would be there as a matter of course.

ianuam, *the doorway;* **fores**, *the door* itself.

illum intento mortis metu subigunt. Mox vagi per vias 5
obvios habuere legatos, audita consternatione ad Germanicum tendentes. Ingerunt contumelias, caedem parant, 6
Planco maxime, quem dignitas fuga impediverat; neque aliud periclitanti subsidium quam castra primae legionis. Illic signa et aquilam amplexus religione sese tutabatur, 7
ac ni aquilifer Calpurnius vim extremam arcuisset, rarum etiam inter hostes, legatus populi Romani Romanis in castris sanguine suo altaria deum commaculavisset. Luce demum, postquam dux et miles et facta noscebantur, ingressus castra Germanicus perduci ad se 8
Plancum imperat recepitque in tribunal. Tum fatalem increpans rabiem, neque militum, sed deum ira resurgere, cur venerint legati aperit; ius legationis atque ipsius Planci gravem et immeritum casum, simul quantum dedecoris adierit legio, facunde miseratur, attonitaque magis quam quieta contione legatos praesidio auxiliarium equitum dimittit.

Eo in metu arguere Germanicum omnes, quod non ad 40

tradere vexillum: an act of weakness on the part of Germanicus.

6. **fuga**: ablative of deprivation; *impedire* regularly takes *ab*.

castra primae legionis: each legion, in winter quarters, was encamped apart.

7. **religione**, *reverence* for the standards, which had a certain sacredness in the eyes of a Roman soldier.

rarum: relates to what follows, as is regularly the case with an adjective standing in apposition with a clause, as here.

altaria: properly a larger altar, but here used as equivalent to *ara*. The altars, with the standards, stood in the *principia* of the camp.

8. **luce**, etc.: as soon as it was light enough for recognition.

perduci: *impero* regularly takes *ut* with the subjunctive.

imperat . . . recepit: the historical present easily passes into the perfect.

fatalem: explained by **deum ira**.

neque militum: *sc.* **esse**, depending upon the idea of speaking, implied in **increpans**: the frenzy was not theirs, but was the work of the gods.

ius legationis: *sc. violatum;* referring to the sanctity and inviolability of the office of ambassador, recognized in all ages.

legio: the first, in whose camp Plancus had been assaulted.

40. eo in metu, *the fear caused by this*, or better, *this consternation*.

omnes: the members of his suite, his officers, etc.

superiorem exercitum pergeret, ubi obsequia et contra rebellis auxilium: satis superque missione et pecunia et
2 mollibus consultis peccatum; vel si vilis ipsi salus, cur filium parvulum, cur gravidam coniugem inter furentes et omnis humani iuris violatores haberet? illos saltem
3 avo et rei publicae redderet. Diu cunctatus aspernantem uxorem, cum se divo Augusto ortam neque degenerem ad pericula testaretur, postremo uterum eius et communem filium multo cum fletu complexus, ut abiret
4 perpulit. Incedebat muliebre et miserabile agmen, profuga ducis uxor, parvulum sinu filium gerens, lamentantes circum amicorum coniuges, quae simul trahebantur; nec minus tristes qui manebant.

41 Non florentis Caesaris neque suis in castris, sed velut in urbe victa facies, gemitusque ac planctus etiam mili-
2 tum aures oraque advertere. Progrediuntur contuberniis; quis ille flebilis sonus? quid tam triste? feminas illustres, non centurionem ad tutelam, non militem, nihil imperatoriae uxoris aut comitatus soliti; pergere ad Tre

satis . . . peccatum: *sc.* **esse**, *enough blunders had been made.* The staff of Germanicus regard his conduct as pusillanimous.

2. **filium parvulum**: afterwards the Emperor Gaius (Caligula), now two years old. Dio Cassius (LVII. 5) says that the soldiers seized both him and Agrippina, restored her to her husband, but kept the boy as a hostage. This statement is perhaps confirmed by chap. 44, where Germanicus excuses the absence of his wife, but promises the return of the boy. It would seem that, for whatever reason, Caligula was left with the army.

avo: Tiberius.

3. **divo Augusto ortam**: see Intr. 26 *d*.

4. **incedebat**: the wretchedness of the situation was increased by their being obliged to go on foot. At the same time the word opens the sentence with a certain dignity, and its position makes the picture more vivid; cf. *stabat Drusus*, 25. 2.

circum: an adverb.

qui manebant: their husbands and friends.

41. Caesaris: limits **facies** in the predicate.

contuberniis: the ablative without preposition after verbs of motion is characteristic of the poets and later prose writers.

2. **triste**: a substantive; *sad spectacle.*

centurionem: *sc.* **esse.**

uxoris and **comitatus**: limiting **nihil**; *nothing which belonged to*, etc.

veros et externae fidei. Pudor inde et miseratio, et patris 3
Agrippae, Augusti avi memoria, socer Drusus, ipsa insigni
fecunditate, praeclara pudicitia; iam infans in castris
genitus, in contubernio legionum eductus, quem militari
vocabulo Caligulam appellabant, quia plerumque ad con-
cilianda vulgi studia eo tegmine pedum induebatur. Sed 4
nihil aeque flexit quam invidia in Treveros; orant ob-
sistunt, rediret maneret, pars Agrippinae occursantes,
plurimi ad Germanicum regressi. Isque, ut erat recens
dolore et ira, apud circumfusos ita coepit:

'Non mihi uxor aut filius patre et re publica cariores 42
sunt; sed illum quidem sua maiestas, imperium Roma-
num ceteri exercitus defendent. Coniugem et liberos 2
meos, quos pro gloria vestra libens ad exitium offerrem,
nunc procul a furentibus summoveo, ut quidquid istud
sceleris imminet, meo tantum sanguine pietur, neve

Treveros: the seat of this old Gallic tribe was the modern *Trèves*.

et externae fidei: if the text is correct, **fidei** is to be taken as a dative denoting purpose (Intr. 35*f*); to surrender themselves into the protection of foreigners, — a disgrace to the Roman army. Most editors, however, would strike out the **et**, and consider **externae fidei** as a genitive of characteristic.

3. **Drusus**: their former commander, father of her husband Germanicus. In these nominatives (**Drusus, ipsa, infans**) there is a peculiar change of construction; not merely was the memory at work, but the hero himself was present to their mind's eye. It also emphasizes the relationship (Intr. 35 *q*).

in castris genitus: this was the popular belief; but, according to Suetonius (*Cal.* 8), he was born at Antium.

eo tegmine: the *caliga* was a heavy coarse shoe, covering the whole foot, worn by the common soldiers; while persons of rank wore the finer and lighter *calceus*.

4. **quam**: for the more regular *ac*.

invidia, *grudge*. They grudged them the honor of sheltering their commander's wife and child; cf. *obses Gallis*, 44. 1.

42. patre: his adoptive father, Tiberius, referred to below by **illum**.

2. **liberos**: in fact, only one child was with him.

offerrem: the protasis is implied in **pro gloria vestra**; I would gladly offer them if it would subserve your glory.

nunc, *as it is*.

quidquid istud sceleris, *whatever crime on your part* (that is, which, etc.). Note the characteristic use of **istud**, the so-called demonstrative of the second person.

occisus Augusti pronepos, interfecta Tiberii nurus no-
3 centiores vos faciat. Quid enim per hos dies inausum
4 intemeratumve vobis? Quod nomen huic coetui dabo? Militesne appellem, qui filium imperatoris vestri vallo et armis circumsedistis? an cives, quibus tam proiecta senatus auctoritas? Hostium quoque ius et sacra lega-
5 tionis et fas gentium rupistis. Divus Iulius seditionem exercitus verbo uno compescuit, Quirites vocando qui sacramentum eius detrectabant; divus Augustus vultu et aspectu Actiacas legiones exterruit: nos ut nondum eosdem, ita ex illis ortos si Hispaniae Suriaeve miles
6 aspernaretur, tamen mirum et indignum erat. Primane et vicesima legiones, illa signis a Tiberio acceptis, tu tot proeliorum socia, tot praemiis aucta, egregiam duci
7 vestro gratiam refertis! Hunc ego nuntium patri, laeta

4. **proiecta**, *cast away;* trampled under foot.

hostium quoque ius, *the rights which even enemies possess.*

5. **Quirites**, *fellow-citizens;* implying their dismissal from service. This incident, which occurred just before the battle of Thapsus, B.C. 46, is related by Suetonius (*Iul.* 70).

Actiacas: referring to a mutiny at Brundisium shortly after the battle of Actium (Suet. *Oct.* 17).

eosdem, *on their level.* The use of **nondum** may point to his expectation of the throne, or to anticipated military distinction.

Hispaniae Suriaeve: he was unknown to these; *if you were Spanish or Syrian soldiers*, which you are not.

indignum erat: the indicative is regularly used in apodosis in expressions denoting possibility, propriety, etc. A. & G. 308 *c*.

6. **illa . . . tu**: addressing one of the legions directly, and pointing to the other. **illa** would regularly relate to the one first mentioned; but the first legion was an old one, which could hardly have received its standards from Tiberius; while the twentieth may easily have been levied during his wars. In speech, moreover, the use of the pronouns depends more upon the actual positions of the persons referred to, than upon their place in the sentence. The use of the word **tirones** below would imply that one of the legions was newly levied. See also 31. 4, *vernacula multitudo.*

7. **laeta omnia**: he had not heard of the Pannonian revolt.

includi legatos: the climax — **centuriones . . . tribunos . . . legatos** — seems to point to military *legati*. But no mention has been made of any violence against them; while the assault upon Plancus, a *legatus* from the senate (39. 4), could be very well described by these words. As the senatorial *legati* are shown in the same chap-

omnia aliis e provinciis audienti, feram? ipsius tirones, ipsius veteranos non missione, non pecunia satiatos; hic tantum interfici centuriones, eici tribunos, includi legatos, infecta sanguine castra flumina, meque precariam animam inter infensos trahere. Cur enim primo 43
contionis die ferrum illud, quod pectori meo infigere parabam, detraxistis, o improvidi amici? Melius et amantius ille qui gladium offerebat. Cecidissem certe non- 2
dum tot flagitiorum exercitui meo conscius; legissetis ducem, qui meam quidem mortem impunitam sineret, Vari tamen et trium legionum ulcisceretur. Neque 3
enim di sinant ut Belgarum quamquam offerentium decus istud et claritudo sit, subvenisse Romano nomini, compressisse Germaniae populos. Tua, dive Auguste, 4
caelo recepta mens, tua, pater Druse, imago, tui memoria isdem istis cum militibus, quos iam pudor et gloria intrat, eluant hanc maculam irasque civiles in exitium

ter to have already departed, we must suppose that the allusion is rhetorical, or betrays confusion of memory. See note on *si legatos*, 43. 5.

flumina: the Rhine, upon the borders of which they were.

43. ferrum illud: 35. 5.

melius et amantius: *sc.* **fecit**.

2. **exercitui meo conscius**, *implicated with my army*. 'As responsible for its discipline, he treats himself as involved in what he had not prevented.' Furneaux.

quidem: restrictive, giving the clause a concessive force: even if he left my death unavenged.

Vari: the defeat of Varus was five years before, A.D. 9; and to avenge this disaster was the special aim of Germanicus in all his expeditions.

3. **neque enim**, etc.: the use of **neque** for *ne*, and that of **ut** after *sinere* are extremely rare.

Belgarum: nothing is known of this allusion. It may be that the Belgians, as being nearest to Germany, had, for their own security, voluntarily (**quamquam offerentium**) offered assistance after the defeat of Varus.

claritudo: an archaic word, of frequent occurrence in the Annals.

4. **imago**: used here of a mental image; for it is not likely that the legion would have an actual image of Drusus, as some have supposed. It is explained by **tui memoria**.

istis, *those of yours: i.e.* of Drusus; the soldiers who were already repentant, or who were assumed by him to be so (cf. *novissimi*, 28. 7).

gloria, *desire for glory*. Cf. 8. 2 n.

hostibus vertant. Vos quoque, quorum alia nunc ora, alia pectora contueor, si legatos senatui, obsequium imperatori, si mihi coniugem et filium redditis, discedite a contactu ac dividite turbidos: id stabile ad paenitentiam, id fidei vinculum erit.'

44 Supplices ad haec et vera exprobrari fatentes orabant puniret noxios, ignosceret lapsis, et duceret in hostem; revocaretur coniunx, rediret legionum alumnus neve obses Gallis traderetur. Reditum Agrippinae excusavit ob imminentem partum et hiemem; venturum filium; cetera ipsi exsequerentur. Discurrunt mutati et seditiosissimum quemque vinctos trahunt ad legatum legionis primae C. Caetronium, qui iudicium et poenas de singulis in hunc modum exercuit. Stabant pro contione legiones destrictis gladiis; reus in suggestu per tribunum ostendebatur: si nocentem acclamaverant, praeceps datus trucidabatur. Et gaudebat caedibus miles, tam-

5. **alia**, *changed.*

si legatos: there seems to be a confusion in the writer's mind. The senatorial *legati* were already safely on their way home (39. 8), and no imprisonment of legionary *legati* has been mentioned. The phrase *includi legatos* (42. 7), as well as the present expression, are — so far as our knowledge goes — merely rhetorical.

imperatori, *the emperor.*

turbidos: the ringleaders (*seditiosissimum quemque*, 44. 3), who are not to be admitted to repentance.

44. alumnus: the youthful Caligula was a camp pet.

2. **reditum**: the accusative is regularly used with *excuso* to designate the person or the act apologized for; here it denotes the thing that she was excused from doing.

partum: nothing is known of any child of Agrippina born this year; if there was any, it must have been short-lived.

exsequerentur: a hint for the massacre which followed.

3. **vinctos**: a plural adjective with a collective noun is rare before Livy.

legatum legionis primae: until the Gallic campaigns of Cæsar the legion was commanded by its six tribunes. Cæsar detailed one of his *legati* to the command of each legion, and from this time the *legatus legionis* was the regular commander of the legion, until superseded in the second century by the *praefectus castrorum* (see note, 20. 1).

4. **pro contione**, *in the manner of a public meeting.* The camp had a forum in front of the tribunal (18. 4 n.), where the soldiers were addressed by their commander.

quam semet absolveret; nec Caesar arcebat, quando nullo ipsius iussu penes eosdem saevitia facti et invidia erat. Secuti exemplum veterani haud multo post in 6
Raetiam mittuntur, specie defendendae provinciae ob imminentis Suebos, ceterum ut avellerentur castris trucibus adhuc non minus asperitate remedii quam sceleris memoria. Centurionatum inde egit. Citatus ab impe- 7
ratore nomen ordinem patriam numerum stipendiorum, quae strenue in proeliis fecisset, et cui erant dona militaria edebat. Si tribuni, si legio industriam innocenti- 8
amque approbaverant, retinebat ordinem; ubi avaritiam aut crudelitatem consensu obiectavissent, solvebatur militia.

Sic compositis praesentibus haud minor moles super- 45
erat ob ferociam quintae et unetvicesimae legionum, sexagesimum apud lapidem (loco Vetera nomen est)

6. **exemplum**: *sc. legionum.*

Raetiam: this province comprised the southern part of Bavaria (Vindelicia), besides Tyrol (Raetia proper). It was conquered by Tiberius and Drusus, B.C. 15, and was governed by a *procurator*. Intr. 18, B. III.

Suebos: the Suevi of South Germany, belonging to the Marcomanic kingdom of Maroboduus. See II. 26, 62. They were separated from Raetia by the Danube.

ceterum, *but in reality*, by way of contrast with **specie**, etc. Cf. 10. 1.

7. **centurionatum**: an examination of the list of centurions, with the object of rewarding merit, punishing the unworthy, and filling the places of those massacred.

ordinem, *rank*. This depended upon the cohort to which each belonged; the first ranked highest, etc. See note on *primi ordinis*, 29. 2.

patriam: they were Roman citizens, but natives of provinces. **patria** refers, however, to the native city, not to the province.

dona militaria: *e.g. torques*, *corona*, etc.

edebat: *quisque* is understood as antecedent to the subject of **fecisset**, and *is* as antecedent of **cui**. (Intr. 35 *r.*)

8. **avaritiam**: in selling furloughs, etc.; see 17. 6.

obiectavissent: the so-called subjunctive of repeated action, explained as a general condition: after Cicero, this may in Latin take a subjunctive (A. & G., § 309. *b* and 322.). With **acclamaverant** (4) and **approbaverant** above, the indicative is used.

solvebatur: a dishonorable discharge.

militia: ablative.

45. Vetera: *sc.* **castra**; this was near the modern Xanten, on the left bank of the Rhine. With

hibernantium. Nam primi seditionem coeptaverant; atrocissimum quodque facinus horum manibus patratum; nec poena commilitonum exterriti nec paenitentia conversi iras retinebant. Igitur Caesar arma classem socios demittere Rheno parat, si imperium detrectetur, bello certaturus.

46 At Romae, nondum cognito qui fuisset exitus in Illyrico, et legionum Germanicarum motu audito, trepida civitas incusare Tiberium quod, dum patres et plebem, invalida et inermia, cunctatione ficta ludificetur, dissideat interim miles neque duorum adulescentium nondum adulta auctoritate comprimi queat. Ire ipsum et opponere maiestatem imperatoriam debuisse cessuris, ubi principem longa experientia eundemque severitatis et munificentiae summum vidissent. An Augustum fessa aetate totiens in Germanias commeare potuisse: Tiberium vigentem annis sedere in senatu, verba patrum cavillantem? Satis prospectum urbanae servituti;

nomen est and similar phrases Tacitus generally joins the nominative. Dräger.

2. **iras**: the plural of abstract nouns, not infrequent in the classical age, is used sparingly, but with a great variety of meaning, in later writers. (Intr. 35 *a*.)

3. **certaturus**: to overpower them by force.

arma: the first and twentieth legions. — **socios**: the auxiliaries, about equal to the legions in numbers.

46. invalida et inermia: in apposition with **patres et plebem**. The neuter expresses contempt.

2. **debuisse**: he ought to have already gone.

cessuris, *who would have yielded*. Cf. *tracturis*, 31. 1.

severitatis . . . summum: not referring to character, but to official power — very much what Drusus had said of the senate (25. 3).

3. **an Augustum**, etc.: a rhetorical question in indirect discourse, in which the second verb (**sedere**) is the principal one, really introduced by **an**, while the first verb, **potuisse**, is subordinate, and in a sense conditional: seeing that Augustus had been able, etc., does now Tiberius sit still? Cf. Cic. *in Cat.* 1. 3. *An vero vir amplissimus*, etc.

in Germanias: cf. Suet. *Oct.* 20: *reliqua per legatos administravit: ut tamen quibusdam Pannonicis atque Germanicis aut interveniret aut non longe abesset, Ravennam vel Mediolanum vel Aquileiam usque ab urbe progrediens.*

vigentem annis: in fact, he was fifty-six years old, while Augus-

militaribus animis adhibenda fomenta, ut ferre pacem velint. Immotum adversus eos sermones fixumque Ti- **47**
berio fuit non omittere caput rerum neque se remque publicam in casum dare. Multa quippe et diversa ange- 2
bant: validior per Germaniam exercitus, propior apud Pannoniam; ille Galliarum opibus subnixus, hic Italiae imminens; quos igitur anteferret? ac ne postpositi contumelia incenderentur. At per filios pariter adiri maies- 3
tate salva, cui maior e longinquo reverentia. Simul 4
adulescentibus excusatum quaedam ad patrem reicere, resistentisque Germanico aut Druso posse a se mitigari vel infringi: quod aliud subsidium, si imperatorem sprevissent? Ceterum ut iam iamque iturus legit comites, 5
conquisivit impedimenta, adornavit naves; mox hiemem

tus, at the last expedition he is known to have undertaken, was fifty-five.

4. **fomenta** (from *foveo*), *soothing applications.*

militaribus, etc.: now that the free state has been reduced to servitude, the army must be trained to peace.

47. immotum . . . fixumque Tiberio fuit: Vergil, *Aen.* IV. 15: *si mihi non animo fixum immotumque sederet.* See Intr. 34, 35 *s.*

omittere: cf. 28. 9; 36. 2.

caput rerum: his place as head of the state, which was necessarily at Rome.

2. **multa . . . angebant**: *i.e.* the consideration as to which would be most perilous, to neglect the stronger, or the nearer mutiny, or to visit neither — the course finally adopted.

quos: for *utros.*

ne . . . incenderentur: depends upon the idea of fearing, contained in **angebant.**

3. **pariter**: in relation to the two armies; neither could consider itself slighted, if both alike were visited by an emperor's son.

e longinquo: his dignity inspired more awe at a distance than if he himself should visit the legions.

4. **excusatum**, *excusable:* agreeing with the phrase **quaedam**, etc.

reicere, *refer.*

5. **ceterum**: cf. 3. 1.

ut: used with the participle like the Greek ὡς, — a usage very rare in classical Latin.

iam iamque iturus: upon the very point of going. Suetonius, *Tib.* 38: *Biennio continuo post adeptum imperium pedem porta non extulit; sequenti tempore, praelerquam in propinqua oppida, et cum longissime, Antio tenus, nusquam afuit idque perraro et paucos dies; quamvis provincias quoque et exercitus revisurum se saepe pronuntiasset, et prope quotannis profectionem praepararet, vehiculis comprehensis, commeatibus per municipia et colonias dispositis, ad extremum*

aut negotia varie causatus primo prudentes, dein vulgum, diutissime provincias fefellit.

48 At Germanicus, quamquam contracto exercitu et parata in defectores ultione, dandum adhuc spatium ratus, si recenti exemplo sibi ipsi consulerent, praemittit litteras ad Caecinam, venire se valida manu ac, ni supplicium in malos praesumant, usurum promisca caede. 2 Eas Caecina aquiliferis signiferisque et quod maxime castrorum sincerum erat occulte recitat, utque cunctos infamiae, se ipsos morti eximant hortatur: nam in pace causas et merita spectari; ubi bellum ingruat, innocentes ac noxios iuxta cadere. 3 Illi temptatis quos idoneos rebantur, postquam maiorem legionum partem in officio vident, de sententia legati statuunt tempus quo foedissimum quemque et seditioni promptum ferro 4 invadant. Tunc signo inter se dato irrumpunt contubernia, trucidant ignaros, nullo nisi consciis noscente 49 quod caedis initium, quis finis. Diversa omnium, quae

vota pro itu et reditu suo suscipi passus.

prudentes, *the thoughtful:* cf. 9. 3.

diutissime provincias: because they most eagerly desired his presence.

48. parata ultione: cf. *bello certaturus*, 45. 3.

consulerent: *i.e.* the soldiers of the two legions quartered at Vetera, who were invited to follow the example of the first and twentieth (see 44 and 45). It is a subjunctive of future condition, thrown into the imperfect by the sequence of tenses; the apodosis is **dandum spatium**.

ad Caecinam: Caecina, the chief commander (*legatus*) of this army, appears to have gone on from civitas Ubiorum to Vetera (see 37. 3).

2. **aquiliferis signiferisque**: these were men selected from the ranks for strength and fidelity. All the centurions having been slaughtered or driven away (32. 2 and 3), the standard-bearers were now in actual command of the legions. Furneaux.

infamiae: the dative with *eximo* is poetic and post-classic.

causas et merita: some might offer excuses, some had services to boast of.

4. **signo**: not *signal*, but *sign* for mutual recognition. Pfitzner.

trucidant, etc.: this savage punishment, inflicted with the connivance of the amiable Germanicus, was the not unnatural reaction from the panic into which he had fallen during the mutiny. It illustrates too a certain innate ferocity, that is found in even the mildest Romans,

umquam accidere, civilium armorum facies. Non 2
proelio, non adversis e castris, sed isdem e cubilibus, quos simul vescentis dies, simul quietos nox habuerat, discedunt in partes, ingerunt tela. Clamor vulnera sanguis palam, causa in occulto; cetera fors regit. Et 3
quidam bonorum caesi, postquam intellecto in quos saeviretur pessimi quoque arma rapuerant. Neque legatus aut tribunus moderator adfuit; permissa vulgo licentia atque ultio et satietas. Mox ingressus cas- 4
tra Germanicus, non medicinam illud, plurimis cum lacrimis, sed cladem appellans, cremari corpora iubet.

Truces etiam tum animos cupido involat eundi in hos- 5
tem: piaculum furoris, nec aliter posse placari commilitonum manes quam si pectoribus impiis honesta vulnera accepissent. Sequitur ardorem militum Caesar iuncto- 6
que ponte tramittit duodecim milia e legionibus, sex et viginti socias cohortis, octo equitum alas, quarum ea seditione intemerata modestia fuit.

and helps explain the terrorism of the closing years of Tiberius.

49. armorum: best taken as limiting **diversa**. This construction does not occur elsewhere in extant Latin, but is quite in accordance with Tacitus' free use of the genitive case. *Diversus* may be construed like *dissimilis* with the dative: its use with the genitive would be consistent with this. Many editors join **armorum** with **facies**: *the appearance*, etc., *was unlike this.*

2. **discedunt in partes**, *draw off on two sides.*

cetera, *what followed.*

3. **intellecto**: Intr. 35 *o*.

4. **illud**: such appositives must, in definitions, be in the neuter, to mark the contrast between subject and predicate conceptions. Dräger.

plurimis cum lacrimis: if this had been narrated of Tiberius, these would have been called 'crocodile tears.'

5. **truces animos**: of the obedient soldiers, after the massacre of the mutineers.

piaculum: *sc. fore;* connected by **nec** with **aliter posse**, etc., and expressing their motives. Some put **piaculum** in direct apposition with **eundi in hostem** (Intr. 35 *g*).

6. **iuncto ponte**, *throwing a bridge across. iungere* is used of fastening the timbers together in constructing the bridge.

duodecim milia: as each legion contained normally 6000 men, this selected force was equal to about two full legions.

cohortis: of auxiliary troops, who were organized in cohorts, but

50 Laeti neque procul Germani agitabant, dum iustitio
2 ob amissum Augustum, post discordiis attinemur. At
Romanus agmine propero silvam Caesiam limitemque
a Tiberio coeptum scindit, castra in limite locat, frontem
3 ac tergum vallo, latera concaedibus munitus. Inde sal-
tus obscuros permeat consultatque, ex duobus itineribus
breve et solitum sequatur an impeditius et intemptatum
4 eoque hostibus incautum. Delecta longiore via cetera

not in legions. *Legiones and cohortes* are regularly used to designate Roman and auxiliary troops respectively; **alas** also relates to auxiliary troops, all the cavalry being furnished by the auxiliaries. An *ala* contained either 480 or 960 men.

quarum: relates to both **cohortes** and **alas**. See note on *auxilia*, 36. 2. For the geography of the expedition see Excursus, at end of this book.

50. agitabant = *erant* or *degebant;* a meaning frequent in Sallust and Tacitus.

2. **Romanus**: used collectively.

silvam Caesiam: this name appears to be preserved in that of the modern *Heisingen*, nearly east of Xanten, and south of the Lippe.

limitem: this term originally designated the road-way, of varying breadth, separating the squares of land laid out according to the rules of the Roman *Agrimensores*. It thus came to mean any artificial road-way, and especially any artificially constructed boundary, as contrasted with natural boundaries (rivers, mountain-ranges, etc.). It was not a line, but a belt of some width (**castra in limite locat**) defended by earthworks (II. 7), ditches, masonry, and redoubts, and could only be crossed at certain points, answering to bridges over a river (Mommsen, *Provinces*, I. 132). Nothing is known of the *limes* here mentioned, except from this passage; but it may be supposed to have been laid out by Tiberius when he took command of the troops in this region after the defeat of Varus, as a defence against the insurgent Germans (see Merivale, *Hist.*, IV. 278). This policy was afterwards carried out along the greater part of the German frontier, especially that long stretch, unprotected by rivers, from the neighborhood of Mentz on the Rhine to Ratisbon on the Danube; the *limes* here was constructed principally by Domitian. The walls of Hadrian and Antonine in Britain are examples of the same policy. The *limes* in this passage would appear to have been about a day's march from the Roman camp at Vetera. So far was Roman territory; beyond this the Romans were in the enemy's country, and their course was doubtful.

coeptum, *laid out.*

scindit, *penetrates;* there is a kind of zeugma here, — they penetrated the forest, and reached the *limes*, upon which they entered, thus 'cutting' it in two, and encamped, using its walls for two sides of their camp.

frontem, etc.: Greek accusatives, common in poetry, but not found in prose writers of the classical period.

concaedibus, *abattis;* to protect

accelerantur ; etenim attulerant exploratores festam eam
Germanis noctem ac sollemnibus epulis ludicram. Cae- 5
cina cum expeditis cohortibus praeire et obstantia silva-
rum amoliri iubetur ; legiones modico intervallo sequun-
tur. Iuvit nox sideribus inlustris, ventumque ad vicos 6
Marsorum et circumdatae stationes stratis etiam tum
per cubilia propterque mensas, nullo metu, non ante-
positis vigiliis ; adeo cuncta incuria disiecta erant neque 7
belli timor, ac ne pax quidem nisi languida et soluta
inter temulentos. Caesar avidas legiones, quo latior 51
populatio foret, quattuor in cuneos dispertit ; quinqua-
ginta milium spatium ferro flammisque pervastat. Non 2

the sides, between the front and rear walls of the *limes*.

3. **incautum,** *unguarded;* used as a participle, and followed by the dative of the agent.

5. **expeditis,** *lightly equipped;* leaving their baggage and whatever else they could behind them.

obstantia silvarum: a partitive genitive, nearly equivalent to *obstantes silvas*. Intr. 35 *d*.

6. **Marsorum**: this nation, only mentioned casually in the *Germania* (2), as *antiquum nomen*, occupied the country south of the Lippe, bordering upon the Chatti. The point reached by Germanicus is believed by Knoke (*Die Feldzüge des Germanicus in Deutschland*, 1887, p. 30) to be Herdecke on the Ruhr. Near this point three smaller streams empty into the Ruhr, which would explain the plundering in four directions, described in the next chapter. According to Knoke, the Romans followed the Lippe east for two days' march, and then turned abruptly to the south. He places the *silva Caesia* north of Herdecke, at the end of the third day's march, — a situation which does not agree with Tacitus, from whom we gather that it was traversed on the first day. Moreover, the *limes* is likely to have been near the Rhine, and parallel with it, not with the Ruhr.

stratis: *sc. Germanis.*

7. **neque belli timor**: for the reason given at the beginning of the chapter — the mutiny of the legions had thrown them off their guard.

ne pax quidem: not even the degree of discipline and order which is necessary in peace.

inter temulentos: Intr. 35 *i*.

51. cuneos, *columns.* In actual fighting, the *cuneus* (*caput porcinum*, "boar's head," in soldier Latin) was a wedge-shaped column, the advantage of which was *quia a pluribus in unum locum tela mittuntur* (Vegetius, III. 19). On this occasion, for plunder and slaughter merely, it was probably an ordinary column. The four columns were probably despatched up the Ruhr and its three branches. See note on *Marsorum*, 50. 6.

quinquaginta milium: probably the space covered by the expeditions.

2. **non sexus,** etc.: Arnold (*Deutsche Urzeit*, p. 71) remarks

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sexus, non aetas miserationem attulit; profana simul et sacra et celeberrimum illis gentibus templum quod Tam-
3 fanae vocabant solo aequantur. Sine vulnere milites, qui semisomnos, inermos, aut palantis ceciderant.
4 Excivit ea caedes Bructeros Tubantes Usipetes, saltusque per quos exercitui regressus insedere. Quod
5 gnarum duci, incessitque itineri et proelio. Pars equitum et auxiliariae cohortes ducebant; mox prima legio, et mediis impedimentis sinistrum latus unetvicesimani, dextrum quintani clausere, vicesima legio terga firma-
6 vit; post ceteri sociorum. Sed hostes, donec agmen per saltus porrigeretur immoti, dein latera et frontem modice
7 adsultantes, tota vi novissimos incurrere. Turbabanturque densis Germanorum catervis leves cohortes, cum Caesar advectus ad vicesimanos voce magna hoc illud tempus oblitterandae seditionis clamitabat: pergerent,
8 properarent culpam in decus vertere. Exarsere animis unoque impetu perruptum hostem redigunt in aperta caeduntque; simul primi agminis copiae evasere silvas

that the campaigns of Drusus and Tiberius were for conquest; those of Germanicus, for revenge.

templum: probably a sacred grove, which was cut down. Tacitus says (*Germ.* 9), *nec cohibere parietibus deos neque in ullam humani oris speciem assimilare ex magnitudine caelestium arbitrantur.* At the same time, he speaks (40) of the *templum* of Nerthus. But, as is well known, a Roman *templum* (consecrated place) was not necessarily an *aedes* (building).

Tamfanae: genitive: nothing is known of this deity.

4. **Bructeros,** etc.: the Bructeri and Usipetes lived upon the Rhine, north of the Lippe; the Tubantes changed their residence at various times, but would appear at this time to have been along the upper course of the Lippe. These tribes could, therefore, easily beset the path of the army on its return.

exercitui: Intr. 35 *f.*

gnarum: passive; see 5. 4 n.

itineri et proelio, *for marching and fighting.* (Intr. 35 *f.*)

5. **prima legio,** etc.: of course this means the contingents from the several legions.

6. **porrigeretur**: Intr. 35 *j.*

7. **leves cohortes**: these were the **ceteri sociorum,** — light-armed only, as contrasted with the heavy-armed legionaries.

illud: that they had desired.

castraque communivere. Quietum inde iter, fidensque 9
recentibus ac priorum oblitus miles in hibernis locatur.

Nuntiata ea Tiberium laetitia curaque adfecere: 52
gaudebat oppressam seditionem, sed quod largiendis
pecuniis et missione festinata favorem militum quaesivis-
set, bellica quoque Germanici gloria angebatur. Rettulit 2
tamen ad senatum de rebus gestis multaque de virtute
eius memoravit, magis in speciem verbis adornata quam
ut penitus sentire crederetur. Paucioribus Drusum et 3
finem Illyrici motus laudavit, sed intentior et fida ora-
tione. Cunctaque quae Germanicus indulserat, servavit
etiam apud Pannonicos exercitus.

Eodem anno Iulia supremum diem obiit, ob impu- 53
dicitiam olim a patre Augusto Pandateria insula, mox
oppido Reginorum, qui Siculum fretum accolunt, clausa.
Fuerat in matrimonio Tiberii florentibus Gaio et Lucio 2

9. **recentibus**, *its late services;* governed by **fidens**.

52. largiendis, etc.: the payment of the legacy, and shortening of the term of service (37. 1 and 5).

quaesivisset: the subject seems to be taken from **Germanici** in the next clause: he was vexed that Germanicus had obtained such glory after gaining the favor of the soldiers by unworthy means. The exploits were not after all very remarkable, and one wonders how it was known that Tiberius was vexed.

2. **rettulit**, *laid before the senate for action;* probably with a view to the triumph voted the next year (55. 1). Merely to lay information before the senate is *deferre*.

3. **intentior**, *with more earnestness.* — **fida**, *sincere.* Velleius Paterculus (II. 125), a partisan of Tiberius, after giving only moderate praise to Germanicus, represents Drusus as *prisca antiquaque severitate usus.* In fact, Drusus had shown more decision and tact than Germanicus, in suppressing the mutiny.

53. Iulia: daughter of Augustus by Scribonia; married at the age of fourteen to Marcellus; then, to Agrippa, by whom she was the mother of Agrippina and the princes mentioned 3. 3; afterwards to Tiberius; see note on *Vipsania*, 12. 6. She was now fifty-two years old.

Pandateria: now *Ventotene*, in the gulf of Gaeta.

Reginorum: of Regium, *Reggio*, at the extreme point of Italy, opposite Sicily. The mention of the people instead of the town is a survival of the primitive political conception, by which the organized community is the fundamental institution, the city or territory occupied by them being only secondary, — a point of view precisely opposite to that of the present day.

Caesaribus spreveratque ut imparem; nec alia tam
3 intima Tiberio causa cur Rhodum abscederet. Imperium adeptus extorrem, infamem, et post interfectum Postumum Agrippam omnis spei egenam, inopia ac tabe longa peremit, obscuram fore necem longinquitate exsilii
4 ratus. Par causa saevitiae in Sempronium Gracchum, qui familia nobili, sollers ingenio et prave facundus, eandem Iuliam in matrimonio Marci Agrippae temera-
5 verat. Nec is libidini finis: traditam Tiberio pervicax adulter contumacia et odiis in maritum accendebat; litteraeque, quas Iulia patri Augusto cum insectatione
6 Tiberii scripsit, a Graccho compositae credebantur. Igitur amotus Cercinam, Africi maris insulam, quattuor-
7 decim annis exsilium toleravit. Tunc milites ad caedem missi invenere in prominenti litoris, nihil laetum opperi-
8 entem. Quorum adventu breve tempus petivit ut suprema mandata uxori Alliariae per litteras daret, cervi-

2. **imparem**: although the Claudian gens was as noble as the Julian, and far more noble than that of Julia's first husband, Agrippa, it had not yet any recognized rank as a royal family. See Intr. 26.

Rhodum: see 4. 4 and notes.

3. **Postumum Agrippam**: her youngest son (6. 1); his death deprived her of all hope of regaining her freedom.

inopia ac tabe longa: Suetonius says (*Tib.* 50): *peculio concesso a patre praebitisque annuis fraudavit.* On the other hand, in 11 he says that Tiberius' sense of justice was so great that, after his divorce from Julia, he interceded with her father for her, and left to her, *utcumque meritae*, whatever he had given her. The present statement is, therefore, probably untrue or exaggerated.

4. **familia nobili . . . facundus**: these three phrases illustrate Tacitus' fondness for variety of expression (Intr. 35 *r*).

prave facundus, *eloquent, but unscrupulous*: he employed his eloquence in the support of bad causes.

5. **traditam**: *i.e.* in marriage; it agrees with *eam*, understood as the object of **accendebat**.

6. **Africi maris**: in the Lesser Syrtis (near Tripoli).

quattuordecim annis: a rare ablative of length of time. This discrepancy (of a single year) between the period of his banishment and Julia's may be explained by the supposition that he was the tribune of the plebs mentioned by Dio (LV. 10), whose banishment was deferred to the end of his magistracy. Or he may have been put to death by Augustus.

7. **in prominenti litoris**: Intr.

cemque percussoribus obtulit, constantia mortis haud indignus Sempronio nomine; vita degeneraverat. Quidam non Roma eos milites, sed ab L. Asprenate pro consule Africae missos tradidere auctore Tiberio, qui famam caedis posse in Asprenatem verti frustra speraverat. 9

Idem annus novas caerimonias accepit addito sodalium Augustalium sacerdotio, ut quondam Titus Tatius retinendis Sabinorum sacris sodales Titios instituerat. Sorte ducti e primoribus civitatis unus et viginti: Tiberius Drususque et Claudius et Germanicus adiciuntur. Ludos Augustales tunc primum coeptos turbavit discordia ex certamine histrionum. Indulserat ei ludicro Augustus dum Maecenati obtemperat effuso in amorem Bathylli; neque ipse abhorrebat talibus studiis, et civile 54 2 3

35 *d*. This construction in the case of a neuter adjective governed by a preposition is very rare, even in the silver age.

8. **vita**: best taken as ablative.

9. **auctore**, *at the instigation of.*

54. sodalium Augustalium: a *collegium*, in honor of Julius, Augustus, and afterwards Livia and Claudius. It consisted, as is said below, of twenty-one of the leading men of the state, to whom certain members of the imperial family were added. The seat of their cult was Bovillae (near the modern *Albano*, about twelve miles from Rome), the original home of the Julian gens. An inscription found here reads, *Vediovei patrei genteiles Iuliei . . . aara leege Albana dicata.* See II. 41. 1.

retinendis sacris: dative; see Intr. 35 *f*.

sodales Titios: of this ancient college very little is known. Its name associates it with the patrician tribes of Tities, and the fact that it was charged with the special duty of preserving the Sabine *sacra* supports the generally accepted view, that the Tities were the Sabine element of the Roman people.

2. **Claudius**: the younger brother of Germanicus, emperor (A.D. 41–54).

3. **ludos**: see note on *Augustales*, 15. 3.

histrionum, *pantomimes;* the pantomime had so far superseded other forms of the drama, that the term *histrio* has at this period come to be confined to its actors.

ei ludicro: *i.e.* pantomimes.

dum obtemperat, *out of courtesy.* This causal use of *dum* is rare in Cicero, but common in later writers.

Bathylli: a native of Alexandria, and a freedman of Mæcenas; he was, with Pylades, a freedman of Augustus, the creator of this branch of drama.

civile: he was fond of parading his republican simplicity.

4 rebatur misceri voluptatibus vulgi. Alia Tiberio morum via: sed populum per tot annos molliter habitum nondum audebat ad duriora vertere.

55 Druso Caesare C. Norbano consulibus decernitur Germanico triumphus manente bello; quod quamquam in aestatem summa ope parabat, initio veris et repen-
2 tino in Chattos excursu praecepit. Nam spes incesserat dissidere hostem in Arminium ac Segestem, in-
3 signem utrumque perfidia in nos aut fide. Arminius turbator Germaniae; Segestes parari rebellionem saepe alias et supremo convivio, post quod in arma itum, aperuit suasitque Varo ut se et Arminium et ceteros proceres vinciret: nihil ausuram plebem principibus amotis, atque

misceri: reflexive; *mingle himself, take part in.*

4. **molliter habitum**, *humored.*

55. Druso Caesare, etc.: the consuls of the new year, A.D. 15. It was usual at this period to have the consuls hold office for only half a year, the object being to increase the number of those who were qualified to hold certain offices reserved for *consulares; e.g.* the governorships of Asia, Africa, Britain, etc. In the reign of Tiberius there was great irregularity in this respect. Momm. *Röm. St.* II. 79. The first pair of consuls for each year were eponymous, *i.e.* gave their name to the year.

triumphus: this triumph was celebrated two years later, A.D. 17; see II. 41. 2. To vote a triumph before the conclusion of the war (**manente bello**) was very unusual.

initio veris, etc., *in early spring, by a sudden raid* (involving a change of plan). For this use of **et**, cf. such phrases as *multi et boni*, and 29. 1, *orto die et vocata contione.*

Chattos: the modern *Hessians*, dwelling south of the nations invaded the year before. This campaign, like that against the Marsi the year before, was only preliminary to the great expedition of the present year against the Cherusci.

2. **dissidere in**, *were divided into factions between.*

Arminium, *Hermann*, the leader of the Germans in the defeat of Varus, A.D. 9. He had served in the Roman army, and received Roman citizenship and equestrian rank (Vell. II. 118).

aut: bad faith in one contrasted with loyalty in the other; cf. 28. 3 n.

3. **Arminius**: *sc.* **erat.**

et, *and especially.*

quod: relates to **convivium.**

itum: *sc.* **est.**

suasit, *advised.*

proceres, *nobles;* **principibus**, *chiefs:* the former by birth, the latter by election (*Germ.* 12). We are not to understand from this passage that the two classes were identical, but that the elected mag-

ipsi tempus fore quo crimina et innoxios discerneret. Sed Varus fato et vi Arminii cecidit; Segestes quam- 4
quam consensu gentis in bellum tractus discors manebat, auctis privatim odiis, quod Arminius filiam eius alii pactam rapuerat, gener invisus inimici soceri; quae- 5
que apud concordes vincula caritatis, incitamenta irarum apud infensos erant.

Igitur Germanicus quattuor legiones, quinque auxili- 56
arium milia et tumultuarias catervas Germanorum cis Rhenum colentium Caecinae tradit; totidem legiones, duplicem sociorum numerum ipse ducit, positoque castello super vestigia paterni praesidii in monte Tauno expeditum exercitum in Chattos rapit, L. Apronio ad

istrates were as a general thing taken from the hereditary nobility.

ipsi: Varus.

crimina et innoxios, *the guilty and the innocent* (Intr. 35 *r*).

4. **quamquam ... tractus**: Intr. 35 *j*. — **consensu gentis**: he was dragged into the war against his judgment, by the unanimity of his people.

discors, *at variance; i.e.* with Arminius; cf. 58. 5.

gener invisus inimici soceri: some editors put a comma after **invisus**, which would make **soceri** nominative, pointing to an unfriendly feeling between Sigimerus, father of Arminius, and Segestes, father of his wife Thusnelda. There is no occasion, however, to drag in Sigimerus. The objection to making **soceri** genitive is that then both epithets express the feelings of Segestes, — an apparent tautology. But the two adjectives express different degrees, and perhaps different stages of enmity, — **inimicus**, *unfriendly*, relating purely to feeling, which was perhaps of long standing; while **invisus**, *hated*, suggests a specific ground of the feeling, — his revolutionary plans, or his elopement with his daughter. Cf. Suet. *Cal.* 15: *nihil sibi admissum cur cuiquam invisus esset.*

56. tumultuarias, *hastily levied.*

cis Rhenum colentium: the Ubii, Sugambri, etc.; see note on *Ubiorum*, 31. 3.

Caecinae: he was to advance, as the sequel shows, in Germanicus' route of the previous year, between the Ruhr and the Lippe. He had the army of Lower Germany.

paterni praesidii: Drusus had established two posts, — one on Mt. Taunus, the other (Aliso) on the Lippe.

monte Tauno: this is north of the Main, near Homburg. He had set out from Moguntiacum (*Mentz*), taking with him the four legions of Upper Germany.

expeditum: not *light-armed*, but *unincumbered, sc.* with baggage, etc., so as to be capable of a rapid march (**rapit**).

L. Apronio: one of his *legati*, who had been consul A.D. 8. He

munitiones viarum et fluminum relicto. Nam, rarum illi caelo, siccitate et amnibus modicis inoffensum iter properaverat, imbresque et fluminum auctus regredienti metuebantur. Sed Chattis adeo improvisus advenit ut quod imbecillum aetate ac sexu statim captum aut trucidatum sit. Iuventus flumen Adranam nando tramiserat, Romanosque pontem coeptantis arcebant. Dein tormentis sagittisque pulsi, temptatis frustra condicionibus pacis, cum quidam ad Germanicum perfugissent, reliqui omissis pagis vicisque in silvas disperguntur. Caesar incenso Mattio (id genti caput) aperta populatus vertit ad Rhenum, non auso hoste terga abeuntium lacessere, quod illi moris quotiens astu magis quam per formidinem cessit. Fuerat animus Cheruscis iuvare

was probably left at the fort on Mount Taunus.

2. **rarum illi caelo**: so dry a season that the march was uninterrupted (**inoffensum**). Tacitus calls the country *asperam caelo* (*Ger.* 2).

regredienti: dative of reference; *on his way back.*

4. **iuventus**: they alone escaped from the slaughter, swam across the Eder, which here flows nearly east, and at this stream resisted the Roman advance.

Adranam: now the *Eder* (a branch of the Fulda, which it joins near Cassel), a little east of north of the Taunus.

5. **tormentis** (from *torqueo*): machines which served the purpose of artillery, constructed on the principle of a bow. They were of two classes, — *catapultae*, like immense cross-bows, shooting bolts in a nearly horizontal direction; and *ballistae*, which were directed at an angle of about forty-five degrees, and hurled stones, beams, etc.

pagis vicisque, *cantons and villages.* The words are not contrasted with one another, as independent localities; rather, *the districts in which the villages were situated;* they left the settled districts to escape into the forest. Cf. *per pagos vicosque*, *Germ.* 12, with the remarks of Sohm, *Altfränkische Reichs- und Gerichtsverfassung*, Chap. 1.

6. **Mattio**: this place must have been north of the Eder; its name appears again in that of the Mattiaci, who inhabited the modern Nassau in the time of Tacitus (*Germ.* 29), but appear at this time to have lived further north. Nipperdey. The early Germans had no cities, but lived in scattered villages, and Mattium can have been only a village of unusual size.

vertit, *returned:* Intr. 35 *b*.

illi: relating to **hoste**; dative of possession.

moris: limiting **quod** in the predicate; *which belonged to their custom.*

quotiens . . . cessit, *whenever they retreated.*

Chattos, sed exterruit Caecina huc illuc ferens arma; et Marsos congredi ausos prospero proelio cohibuit.

57 Neque multo post legati a Segeste venerunt auxilium orantes adversus vim popularium, a quis circumsedebatur, validiore apud eos Arminio, quoniam bellum suadebat; nam barbaris, quanto quis audacia promptus, tanto magis fidus rebusque commotis potior habetur. 2 Addiderat Segestes legatis filium, nomine Segimundum; sed iuvenis conscientia cunctabatur. Quippe anno quo Germaniae descivere sacerdos apud aram Ubiorum creatus ruperat vittas, profugus ad rebelles. 3 Adductus tamen in spem clementiae Romanae pertulit patris mandata benigneque exceptus cum praesidio Gallicam in ripam missus est.

7. **Cheruscis**: they lived to the northeast of the Chatti, in the modern Hanover. Under the leadership of Arminius, they were the foremost people of Germany; when Tacitus wrote they had fallen into a secondary rank (*Germ.* 36).

exterruit Caecina: by advancing in an easterly direction from Vetera (§ 1), he made a diversion in favor of Germanicus, defeating the Marsi and preventing the Cherusci from assembling.

huc illuc: in the *Agricola* (10) Tacitus still used the more common classical form, *huc atque illuc.*

57. **validiore, *more influential.***

promptus . . . magis fidus: Intr. 35 *m.*

2. **conscientia**: *i.e.* of his previous want of fidelity. The omission of the genitive marks an approach to the modern meaning, *conscience.*

quippe: an asseverative particle, *in truth.* Its frequent use in classical Latin to emphasize a causal relation, gave the word by degrees a causal meaning, so that it is used by the later writers as nearly equivalent to *quoniam* or *etenim.*

Germaniae: *i.e.* the nations of Germany.

apud aram Ubiorum: within the Roman lines. The cult was probably that of Augustus and Rome, to take part in which was a recognition of the Roman sovereignty. According to Guiraud (*Les assemblées provinciales dans l'empire romain*, p. 54), the choice of a native German as priest shows an intention to make the altar "serve as a religious and political centre for the populations of the right bank of the Rhine"; afterwards for the two provinces of Germany.

ruperat vittas: as a sign of renouncing the Roman service.

rebelles: this word does not imply *rebellion*, but a *renewal of war.*

3. **adductus**: *i.e.* on the present occasion.

cum praesidio, *under guard*: he was treated as a prisoner, and carried in Germanicus' triumphal procession (Strabo, VII. p. 291).

4 Germanico pretium fuit convertere agmen, pugnatumque in obsidentis, et ereptus Segestes magna cum pro-
5 pinquorum et clientium manu. Inerant feminae nobiles, inter quas uxor Arminii eademque filia Segestis, mariti magis quam parentis animo, neque victa in lacrimas neque voce supplex, compressis intra sinum manibus gravidum
6 uterum intuens. Ferebantur et spolia Varianae cladis, plerisque eorum qui tum in deditionem veniebant praedae data; simul Segestes ipse, ingens visu et memoria
58 bonae societatis impavidus. Verba eius in hunc modum fuere: 'Non hic mihi primus erga populum Roma-
2 num fidei et constantiae dies. Ex quo a divo Augusto civitate donatus sum, amicos inimicosque ex vestris utilitatibus delegi, neque odio patriae (quippe proditores etiam iis quos anteponunt invisi sunt), verum quia Romanis Germanisque idem conducere et pacem
3 quam bellum probabam. Ergo raptorem filiae meae, violatorem foederis vestri, Arminium apud Varum, qui

4. **pretium fuit** (*sc.* **operae**), *was worth while; i.e.* to go to the succor of Segestes.

convertere, *reverse his march.* He was on his way back to the Rhine, and now marched again towards the enemy.

obsidentes: *sc. Segestem.*

clientium: the *comites*, or personal followers, described in the *Germania*, 13 and 14. The personal relation was similar to that of the Roman client, but with the important difference that it was an honorable one, establishing no social inferiority.

5. **uxor Arminii**: her name is given by Strabo (VII. p. 292) as Thusnelda, her son's as Thumelicus.

animo: an ablative of characteristic, the limiting genitive taking the place of a qualifying adjective.

in lacrimas: this preposition, as often in Tacitus, expresses a result. (Intr. 35 *i.*)

6. **spolia**: *e.g.* weapons, badges of honor, standards, etc.

tum, *now: i.e.* at the time of the present surrender, as shown by the imperfect **veniebant.**

data, *which had been given; i.e.* at their victory over Varus.

ingens visu: cf. *procera membra*, 64. 3.

bonae societatis, *his steadfast loyalty.*

58. 2. **civitate donatus sum**: to bestow citizenship was one of the prerogatives of the prince.

ex vestris utilitatibus, *in accordance with your interests.*

idem conducere: is, by a sort of zeugma, made to depend on **probabam.**

tum exercitui praesidebat, reum feci. Dilatus segnitia 4
ducis, quia parum praesidii in legibus erat, ut me et
Arminium et conscios vinciret flagitavi: testis illa nox,
mihi utinam potius novissima! Quae secuta sunt, de- 5
fleri magis quam defendi possunt; ceterum et inieci
catenas Arminio et a factione eius iniectas perpessus
sum. Atque ubi primum tui copia, vetera novis et 6
quieta turbidis antehabeo, neque ob praemium, sed ut
me perfidia exsolvam, simul genti Germanorum idoneus
conciliator, si paenitentiam quam perniciem maluerit.
Pro iuventa et errore filii veniam precor. Filiam neces- 7
sitate huc adductam fateor; tuum erit consultare utrum
praevaleat, quod ex Arminio concepit an quod ex me
genita est.' Caesar clementi responso liberis propin- 8
quisque eius incolumitatem, ipsi sedem vetere in pro-
vincia pollicetur. Exercitum reduxit nomenque impera- 9
toris auctore Tiberio accepit. Arminii uxor virilis sexus
stirpem edidit; educatus Ravennae puer quo mox ludi-
brio conflictatus sit, in tempore memorabo.

4. **quia**, etc.: with **flagitavi**.

illa nox: that of the *convivium*, mentioned 55. 3.

5. **quae secuta sunt**: *i.e.* his participation in the attack on Varus; see 55. 4.

inieci catenas, etc.: nothing is known of these circumstances.

6. **ubi primum**: that is, *now at last that.*

tui copia, *access to you.*

antehabeo: only here and IV. 11. 5.

me perfidia, etc., *acquit myself of bad faith; i.e.* by his acquiescence (55. 4).

7. **filii**: Segimundus.

necessitate: *i.e.* not by her free will.

8. **vetere in provincia**: this side of the Rhine, which had been a Roman province ever since the time of Julius Cæsar. Here many Germans were settled from time to time, as subjects of the Roman empire, rendering military service for the lands they occupied. See note on *Ubiorum*, 31. 3.

9. **nomen imperatoris**: the honorary designation of a victorious general, bestowed by the soldiers under the republic by acclamation. It was now given by the senate, at the motion of the emperor; as a special honor it is contrasted with the official title of the prince himself.

memorabo: probably in the lost books, for nothing further is known of this. He is mentioned by Tacitus (A.D. 47, XI. 16) as apparently

59 Fama dediti benigneque excepti Segestis vulgata, ut quibusque bellum invitis aut cupientibus erat, spe vel
2 dolore accipitur. Arminium super insitam violentiam rapta uxor, subiectus servitio uxoris uterus vecordem agebant, volitabatque per Cheruscos, arma in Segestem,
3 arma in Caesarem poscens. Neque probris temperabat: egregium patrem, magnum imperatorem, fortem exercitum, quorum tot manus unam mulierculam avexerint!
4 Sibi tres legiones, totidem legatos procubuisse; non enim se proditione neque adversus feminas gravidas, sed palam
5 adversus armatos bellum tractare. Cerni adhuc Germanorum in lucis signa Romana, quae dis patriis suspen-
6 derit. Coleret Segestes victam ripam, redderet filio sacerdotium hominum: Germanos numquam satis excusaturos quod inter Albim et Rhenum virgas et secures
7 et togam viderint. Aliis gentibus ignorantia imperii Romani inexperta esse supplicia, nescia tributa: quae quoniam exuerint irritusque discesserit ille inter numina dicatus Augustus, ille delectus Tiberius, ne imperitum

already dead, and as devoid of all national sentiments, — *infectum alimonio servitio cultu, omnibus externis.*

59. dediti . . . vulgata . . . rapta, etc.: Intr. 35 *q*.

invitis aut cupientibus: a dative of interest like the Greek *αὐτοῖς βουλομένοις ἦν*: *according as they were unwilling or desirous.* Intr. 35 *s*.

3. **patrem** (*i.e.* Segestes), etc.: accusatives of exclamation.

4. **procubuisse**: *i.e.* in the defeat of Varus.

6. **victam ripam**: *i.e.* the left or Roman bank of the Rhine (*vetere in provincia*, 58. 8), where Segestes was now to dwell.

sacerdotium hominum: an expression of bitter contempt; the Germans worshipped the gods alone (**dis patriis**); the Romans, men. See App. I.

virgas et secures: the fasces, or bundle of rods, enclosing an axe, — the badge of Roman authority.

togam: the toga was the specific Roman garment, worn by none but Romans, the *gens togata*. It was a long, narrow shawl of unbleached wool, bluntly rounded to a point at each end. As the toga was only worn in civil life, its use here points, perhaps, to a completed conquest and organized government.

7. **nescia**, *unknown.*

irritus discesserit, *withdrew baffled:* includes both Augustus and Tiberius.

delectus, *chosen*, as alone worthy to succeed Augustus; used ironically. Cf. 7. 10.

adulescentulum, ne seditiosum exercitum pavescerent. Si patriam parentes antiqua mallent quam dominos et 8
colonias novas, Arminium potius gloriae ac libertatis quam Segestem flagitiosae servitutis ducem sequerentur.

Conciti per haec non modo Cherusci, sed contermi- 60
nae gentes, tractusque in partis Inguiomerus Arminii patruus, vetere apud Romanos auctoritate; unde maior Caesari metus. Et ne bellum mole una ingrueret, Cae- 2
cinam cum quadraginta cohortibus Romanis distrahendo hosti per Bructeros ad flumen Amisiam mittit, equitem Pedo praefectus finibus Frisiorum ducit. Ipse imposi- 3

adulescentulum: Germanicus was really of about the same age as Arminius, but might easily seem a mere boy to the war-worn hero of the Teutoburg Forest.

8. **novas**: *i.e.* which are new things — contrasted with **antiqua**. The contrast with **patriam** shows that the colonies referred to are, like that of the Ubii (Cologne), those to which they might be removed on Roman soil, not such as the Romans might found on German soil.

60. non modo . . . sed: the omission of **etiam** is rare in Cicero, but common in Livy and later writers.

in partis, *into the party*; a common expression.

vetere apud Romanos auctoritate, *of long-standing influence with the Romans*; *i.e.* before the revolt of Arminius.

2. **mole una**: *i.e.* the concentration of the entire force of the enemy; see **distrahendo hosti** below.

quadraginta cohortibus Romanis: an equivalent expression for four entire legions. Germanicus had the other four. From *suum militem*, 63. 5, it appears that Cæcina had his own legions, but there is no mention of auxiliaries.

per Bructeros: they occupied the territory between the Ems and the Lippe, about the modern city of Münster. The route of Cæcina probably avoided the highlands upon the Lippe, as well as the centre of the Bructerian territory, and reached the Ems in the neighborhood of Rheine, about 25 miles north of Münster, and nearly west of Osnaburg: along this line the traces of a Roman road have been discovered. (Knoke, p. 50.) At the same point the cavalry under Pedo must have struck the Ems, because below here begin the marshes, which make the river inaccessible from the west (id. p. 53). Germanicus could easily have reached the same point in his ships.

hosti: the Cherusci, against whom the campaign was directed.

praefectus: *sc.* **equitum**.

Pedo: probably the Pedo Albinovanus, mentioned by Seneca (*Suas.* I. 15), as having composed a poem upon the expeditions of Germanicus; a few lines of this poem are given by Seneca. See II. 24. 6 n.

finibus: a local ablative; *by the way of*, etc.

Frisiorum: the Frisians, on the coast of the North Sea, from the

tas navibus quattuor legiones per lacus vexit; simulque pedes eques classis apud praedictum amnem convenere. Chauci cum auxilia pollicerentur, in commilitium adsciti
4 sunt. Bructeros sua urentis expedita cum manu L. Stertinius missu Germanici fudit; interque caedem et praedam repperit undevicesimae legionis aquilam cum
5 Varo amissam. Ductum inde agmen ad ultimos Bructerorum, quantumque Amisiam et Lupiam amnes inter vastatum, haud procul Teutoburgiensi saltu, in quo reliquiae Vari legionumque insepultae dicebantur.

61 Igitur cupido Caesarem invadit solvendi suprema militibus ducique, permoto ad miserationem omni qui aderat exercitu ob propinquos, amicos, denique ob casus
2 bellorum et sortem hominum. Praemisso Caecina, ut occulta saltuum scrutaretur pontesque et aggeres umido paludum et fallacibus campis imponeret, incedunt maes-

Rhine to the Ems, also extending some distance inland, where they have resided ever since. Pedo must have proceeded down the Rhine to some point in the territory of the Frisians (perhaps near Deventer) from whence he could march east to the Ems.

3. **per lacus**: the lagoons and estuaries along the coast. The Zuyder Zee was formed out of them about six hundred years ago, by a succession of inundations, which swept away great stretches of low-land, and converted the numerous small sheets of water into a great bay.

pedes eques classis: these three bodies, under Cæcina, Pedo, and Germanicus, respectively, met upon the Ems, **apud praedictum amnem**, probably at Rheine. The strategy of Germanicus, in reaching the Ems by so long a circuit, has been censured; but it must be remembered that water passage is speedier and easier than that by land.

Chauci: see 38. 1 n.

4. **sua urentis**: in order not to afford supplies for the Romans.

aquilam: for the recovery of a second eagle, see II. 25; the third was recovered in the reign of Claudius.

5. **agmen**: *i.e.* that of Germanicus, who probably followed the Ems in a southeasterly direction, while Stertinius was engaged in chastising the Bructeri.

Amisiam . . . inter: Intr. 35 *i*.

Teutoburgiensi saltu: see Excursus at the end of this Book.

61. omni . . . aderat: Stertinius (60. 4) had now joined him.

2. **umido paludum**: nearly the same as *umidis paludibus* (Intr. 35 *d*); cf. *uligines paludum*, 17. 5.

tos locos visuque ac memoria deformis. Prima Vari 3
castra lato ambitu et dimensis principiis trium legionum manus ostentabant; dein semiruto vallo, humili fossa accisae iam reliquiae consedisse intellegebantur. Medio campi albentia ossa, ut fugerant, ut restiterant, disiecta vel aggerata. Adiacebant fragmina telorum equorumque 4
artus, simul truncis arborum antefixa ora. Lucis pro- 5
pinquis barbarae arae, apud quas tribunos ac primorum ordinum centuriones mactaverant. Et cladis eius super- 6
stites, pugnam aut vincula elapsi, referebant hic cecidisse legatos, illic raptas aquilas; primum ubi vulnus Varo adactum, ubi infelici dextera et suo ictu mortem invenerit; quo tribunali contionatus Arminius, quot patibula captivis, quae scrobes, utque signis et aquilis per superbiam illuserit. Igitur Romanus qui aderat exercitus 62
sextum post cladis annum trium legionum ossa, nullo

locos: the masculine plural of this word is common for *loca* in early and late writers, but rare in the classical period.

3. **prima**: evidently the first camp which they came upon, which, it seems, was also the one occupied by Varus after the first day's fight. This would naturally be the case if Germanicus approached from the north, the valley of the Ems.

principiis: the *via principalis*, or main street, running across the camp from north to south, separating the part (about one-third of its area) which contained the officers' quarters, stores, etc., from that occupied by the troops. As the camp was laid out by fixed rules and of definite proportions, the length of the *principia* showed the size of the army.

dein: the second camp.

semiruto vallo, etc.: the camp was constructed in haste, and, therefore, quickly fell into ruins.

accisae, *diminished;* the second camp was laid out after a day's fighting, with heavy losses.

medio campi: *i.e.* the field of the third day's fight, after they had left the second camp.

4. **ora**: no doubt *human skulls*, as this word would not properly be used for horses.

5. **primorum ordinum centuriones**: these officers commanded the cohorts, and ranked next to the tribunes.

mactaverant: Tacitus speaks of human sacrifices (*Germ.* 9).

6. **referebant**, *related.*

patibula: forked pieces of wood to which slaves and criminals were fastened, as to a cross, by their arms and feet.

scrobes: for burying alive.

per superbiam: Intr. 35 *i.*

62. qui aderat exercitus: repeated from 61. 1, for rhetorical effect. Nipperdey.

noscente alienas reliquias an suorum humo tegeret, omnes ut coniunctos, ut consanguineos, aucta in hos-
2 tem ira, maesti simul et infensi condebant. Primum exstruendo tumulo caespitem Caesar posuit, gratissimo munere in defunctos et praesentibus doloris socius.
3 Quod Tiberio haud probatum, seu cuncta Germanici in deterius trahenti, sive exercitum imagine caesorum insepultorumque tardatum ad proelia et formidolosiorem hostium credebat; neque imperatorem auguratu et vetustissimis caerimoniis praeditum attrectare feralia debuisse.

63 Sed Germanicus cedentem in avia Arminium secutus, ubi primum copia fuit, evehi equites campumque, quem
2 hostis insederat, eripi iubet. Arminius colligi suos et propinquare silvis monitos vertit repente; mox signum prorumpendi dedit iis quos per saltus occultaverat.

omnes: accusative.

2. **gratissimo**: *i.e.* to the soldiers. Notice the variety of construction in the contrasts: **munere**, an ablative of characteristic, being set against **socius**, and **in defunctos** corresponding to **praesentibus** (Intr. 35 *r*). Notice, too, the loose syntax of the whole passage.

3. **seu cuncta**, etc.: as usual, an imputation of bad motives to Tiberius; but, in the eyes of a genuine votary of the Roman religion, this was an unwarrantable pollution (see below); Stahr maintains, moreover, that the interruption to the campaign was no slight disadvantage.

formidolosiorem: with an objective genitive only here.

attrectare, *handle*. It appears from Suetonius (*Cal.* 3) that he gathered the remains with his own hands: *caesorum clade Variana veteres ac dispersas reliquias uno tumulo humaturus, colligere sua manu et comportare primus aggressus est.* This act polluted a person: *consuetudo Romana fuit ut polluti funere minime sacrificarent.* Serv. *ad Aen.* XI. 2. The pollution was greater by reason of the special consecration of Germanicus (**auguratu**, etc.).

63. avia, *the wilderness*. Arminius repeats the strategy by which he had destroyed the army of Varus, and nearly succeeds a second time.

evehi: *i.e.* from his lines; *charge*.

2. **colligi**: reflexive.

monitos: agreeing with **suos**; render actively, *after directing them* (Intr. 35 *l*).

silvis: the Romans, still in the forest (**avia**), seem to have come upon the Germans in an open field, **campum**; that it was a marshy field is shown by the swamp, **paludem**, into which a part of his troops were pushed.

saltus: the wooded ravines in

Tunc nova acie turbatus eques, missaeque subsidiariae 3
cohortes et fugientium agmine impulsae auxerant consternationem; trudebanturque in paludem gnaram vincentibus, iniquam nesciis, ni Caesar productas legiones instruxisset; inde hostibus terror, fiducia militi, et 4
manibus aequis abscessum.

Mox reducto ad Amisiam exercitu legiones classe, ut 5
advexerat, reportat; pars equitum litore Oceani petere Rhenum iussa; Caecina, qui suum militem ducebat, monitus, quamquam notis itineribus regrederetur, pontes longos quam maturrime superare. Angustus is trames 6
vastas inter paludes et quondam a L. Domitio aggeratus; cetera limosa, tenacia gravi caeno aut rivis incerta

which this neighborhood abounds. Those who were concealed here formed a **nova acies**, which came to the aid of those in the plain, when they closed their ranks and approached the woods.

3. **cohortes**: of auxiliaries (as were the *equites*); the legionary troops were not brought in until these had given way.

fugientium: the cavalry.

trudebantur: the indicative shows that a part of them were actually crowded into the swamp.

gnaram vincentibus, iniquam nesciis: a very condensed and vigorous expression, illustrating Tacitus' remarkable ingenuity in varying phrases. He here contrasts the advantage which came from familiarity with the ground (**gnaram**), and gave victory (**vincentibus**), with the disadvantage (**iniquam**) to the Romans from their ignorance of it (**nesciis**).

4. **manibus aequis**: but evidently the Romans had the worst of it.

5. **legiones . . . reportat**: really only two out of the eight. Cæcina led his four direct to the Rhine; while the second and fourteenth also marched by land, under Publius Vitellius (70. 1). Müller (*Philologus*, 33. 329) explains the contradiction by the supposition that the four legions went in the fleet as far as the Frisian coast, and that there the ships were lightened by landing the legions under Vitellius, — a proceeding not improbable in itself.

pars equitum: the rest were sent on an expedition under Stertinius; see 71. 1.

notis itineribus, *a familiar route*, but not the one by which he had come from the Rhine to the Ems, because he finds the causeway **ruptos vetustate** (7), which shows that he had not just passed over it. Remains of a causeway are found in the Dutch province of Drenthe, but this seems much too far to the north.

quam maturrime: for fear of pursuit.

6. **L. Domitio**: the grandfather of the emperor Nero; his expedition was probably B.C. 6. Cf. IV. 44. 2.

cetera, *the rest of the ground*;

erant; circum silvae paulatim acclives quas tum Arminius implevit, compendiis viarum et cito agmine onustum
7 sarcinis armisque militem cum antevenisset. Caecinae dubitanti quonam modo ruptos vetustate pontes reponeret simulque propulsaret hostem, castra metari in loco
64 placuit, ut opus et alii proelium inciperent. Barbari perfringere stationes seque inferre munitoribus nisi lacessunt, circumgrediuntur, occursant; miscetur ope-
2 rantium bellantiumque clamor. Et cuncta pariter Romanis adversa, locus uligine profunda, idem ad gradum instabilis, procedentibus lubricus; corpora gravia loricis;
3 neque librare pila inter undas poterant. Contra Cheruscis sueta apud paludes proelia, procera membra, hastae ingentes ad vulnera facienda quamvis procul.

4 Nox demum inclinantis iam legiones adversae pugnae
5 exemit. Germani ob prospera indefessi, ne tum quidem sumpta quiete, quantum aquarum circum surgentibus iugis oritur vertere in subiecta, mersaque humo et obruto
6 quod effectum operis duplicatus militi labor. Quadra-

i.e. the expanse, between the **silvae paulatim acclives**, through which led the causeway.

compendiis viarum, *a short cut.* The conjunction **cum**, which should properly stand at the beginning of the clause, before **compendiis**, is removed to a place just before the verb.

7. **in loco**, *on the spot* where he arrived at the causeway.

opus et alii proelium = *alii opus alii proelium;* while the main body were engaged in the work, a portion were to beat back the enemy.

64. perfringere, etc.: Intr. 35 *l.*

2. **idem**, *at once.*

ad gradum, *for standing;* contrasted with **procedentibus.**

pila: the regular weapon of the Roman legionaries, a heavy javelin, about six feet long, the iron being about half the length.

3. **sueta**, *to which they were accustomed;* they were experienced in fighting in marshes.

procera membra: in the *Germania* (4) Tacitus speaks of the *magna corpora* of the Germans.

4. **inclinantis**, *giving way.*

5. **quantum aquarum oritur**, *all the streams that rise.*

circum: here an adverb, qualifying **surgentibus.**

vertere: connected by **que** with **duplicatus** [**est**].

subiecta, *the ground below* (cf. 65. 1, n.).

quod: the implied antecedent, **eo**, is limited by **operis**, and is subject of **obruto.**

gesimum id stipendium Caecina parendi aut imperitandi habebat, secundarum ambiguarumque rerum sciens eoque interritus. Igitur futura volvens non aliud rep- 7
perit quam ut hostem silvis coerceret, donec saucii quantumque gravioris agminis anteirent; nam medio montium et paludum porrigebatur planities quae tenuem aciem pateretur. Deliguntur legiones quinta 8
dextro lateri, unetvicesima in laevum, primani ducendum ad agmen, vicesimanus adversum secuturos. Nox 65
per diversa inquies, cum barbari festis epulis, laeto cantu aut truci sonore subiecta vallium ac resultantis saltus complerent, apud Romanos invalidi ignes, interruptae voces, atque ipsi passim adiacerent vallo, oberrarent tentoriis, insomnes magis quam pervigiles. Ducemque terruit dira quies; nam Quintilium Varum 2
sanguine oblitum et paludibus emersum cernere et audire visus est velut vocantem, non tamen obsecutus et manum intendentis reppulisse.

6. **parendi aut imperitandi**: *i.e.* as private soldier or officer.

7. **futura**: the plan for the morrow.

silvis coerceret, *hold in check within the woods* (the *silvae acclives* of the last chapter). Between them and the marsh was a strip of even ground (**planities**) wide enough for a thin line of soldiers (**tenuem aciem**). The fifth and twenty-first legions were ordered to hold this ground, while the baggage, etc., got over the causeway, protected by the first and twentieth. The plan, however, failed through the insubordination of the troops.

quantum: *sc.* **esset**; cf. note on *quantum aquarum*, 5.

gravioris agminis: the baggage-train.

montium: evidently the low wooded hills described above (63. 6) as *silvae paulatim acclives*. There are no mountains in this part of Germany.

65. per diversa, *in different ways;* partly from the noises made by the enemy, partly by the occurrences within the camp.

subiecta vallium, *the valleys below* (Intr. 35 *d*).

ignes, voces: *sc.* **essent**.

passim adiacerent, *lay scattered along*.

2. **quies**, *dream*.

cernere: he had probably known him in life.

obsecutus (*sc.* **esse**) and **reppulisse**, like **cernere** and **audire**, depend upon **visus est**.

intendentis: *sc.* **manum**; agrees with **Vari** understood. The phantom held out its hand to beckon

3 Coepta luce missae in latera legiones metu an contumacia locum deseruere, capto propere campo umentia
4 ultra. Neque tamen Arminius quamquam libero incursu statim prorupit; sed ut haesere caeno fossisque impedimenta, turbati circum milites, incertus signorum ordo, utque tali in tempore sibi quisque properus et lentae adversum imperia aures, irrumpere Germanos iubet, clamitans 'En Varus eodemque iterum fato vinc-
5 tae legiones!' Simul haec et cum delectis scindit
6 agmen equisque maxime vulnera ingerit. Illi sanguine suo et lubrico paludum lapsantes excussis rectoribus
7 disicere obvios, proterere iacentes. Plurimus circa aquilas labor, quae neque ferri adversum ingruentia tela
8 neque figi limosa humo poterant. Caecina dum sustentat aciem, suffoso equo delapsus circumveniebatur,
9 ni prima legio sese opposuisset. Iuvit hostium aviditas, omissa caede praedam sectantium, enisaeque legiones
10 vesperascente die in aperta et solida. Neque is miserarum finis. Struendum vallum, petendus agger; amissa

Cæcina, or perhaps threatening. Cf. *manus intentantes*, 27. 1.

3. **missae in latera legiones**: these were the fifth and twenty-first, which had been the leaders of the mutiny. (See 31. 3).

capto . . . campo: instead of forming to keep back the enemy (*hostem silvis coerceret*), they deserted their posts, and hurried across to the level ground beyond the morass.

4. **incursu**, *opportunity of attack*, afforded by this desertion. He waited until the army was embarrassed in the morass.

fossis, *bog-holes*. The ablative without *in* after **haesere** is poetic.

turbati: Intr. 35 *c*.

incertus signorum ordo: the maniples, and therefore the standards, were thrown into confusion.

utque, *and as* [is natural].

5. **simul haec**: *sc.* **dicit**.

scindit agmen: *i.e.* by taking it in the flank, and cutting it in two.

equis: *i.e.* of the baggage and officers, for Cæcina had no cavalry.

7. **adversum**, *in the face of*.

figi: the staff of the standard was sharpened at the lower end, and was stuck in the ground during a fight.

8. **circumveniebatur**, *was on the point of being cut off* by the enemy.

9. **iuvit**: *i.e.* the Romans.

enisae, *struggled forth*.

vesperascente die: the fight had lasted the whole day.

10. **agger**: *i.e.* earth, etc., for **struendum vallum**.

magna ex parte per quae egeritur humus aut exciditur caespes; non tentoria manipulis, non fomenta sauciis; infectos caeno aut cruore cibos dividentes funestas tenebras et tot hominum milibus unum iam reliquum diem lamentabantur.

Forte equus abruptis vinculis vagus et clamore ter- **66**
ritus quosdam occurrentium obturbavit. Tanta inde 2
consternatio irrupisse Germanos credentium ut cuncti
ruerent ad portas, quarum decumana maxime petebatur,
aversa hosti et fugientibus tutior. Caecina comperto 3
vanam esse formidinem, cum tamen neque auctoritate
neque precibus, ne manu quidem obsistere aut retinere
militem quiret, proiectus in limine portae miseratione
demum, quia per corpus legati eundum erat, clausit
viam; simul tribuni et centuriones falsum pavorem
esse docuerunt. Tunc contractos in principia iussosque **67**
dicta cum silentio accipere temporis ac necessitatis
monet. Unam in armis salutem, sed ea consilio tem-
peranda manendumque intra vallum, donec expugnandi
hostes spe propius succederent; mox undique erum-
pendum: illa eruptione ad Rhenum perveniri. Quod si 2
fugerent, pluris silvas, profundas magis paludes, saevi-
tiam hostium superesse; at victoribus decus gloriam.

per quae, etc.: *i.e.* baskets, tools, etc.

unum, etc.: the circumstances were like those of Varus' second encampment (61. 3).

66. 2. **decumana**: the camp had four gates, one at the middle of each of the four sides, — the *praetoria*, towards the enemy (in theory towards the east); the *decumana* opposite; and the *principalis dextra* and *sinistra*, on the right and left respectively (see 61. 3 n.). The *decumana* being away from the enemy (**aversa hosti**), they rushed for this gate.

hosti: the only certain instance of the dative with *aversus* (*turned away from*).

3. **comperto**: Intr. 35 *o*.

proiectus, *casting himself down.*

67. temporis, with **monet**: a novel construction with this word, common with *admoneo*, etc.

expugnandi: limiting **spe**.

perveniri: impersonal; *by that sully we reach the Rhine.*

2. **victoribus** = *si vicissent.*

3 Quae domi cara, quae in castris honesta, memorat; re-
4 ticuit de adversis. Equos dehinc, orsus a suis, lega-
torum tribunorumque nulla ambitione fortissimo cuique
bellatori tradit, ut hi, mox pedes in hostem invaderent.
68 Haud minus inquies Germanus spe cupidine et diver-
sis ducum sententiis agebat, Arminio sinerent egredi
egressosque rursum per umida et impedita circumveni-
rent suadente, atrociora Inguiomero et laeta barbaris,
ut vallum armis ambirent: promptam expugnationem,
2 plures captivos, incorruptam praedam fore. Igitur orta
die proruunt fossas, iniciunt crates, summa valli pren-
sant, raro super milite et quasi ob metum defixo.
3 Postquam haesere munimentis, datur cohortibus signum
4 cornuaque ac tubae concinuere. Exin clamore et im-
petu tergis Germanorum circumfunduntur, exprobrantes
non hic silvas nec paludes, sed aequis locis aequos
5 deos. Hosti facile excidium et paucos ac semermos
cogitanti sonus tubarum, fulgor armorum, quanto ino-
pina, tanto maiora offunduntur, cadebantque, ut rebus

4. **nulla ambitione**: *i.e.* with sole regard to the efficiency of each. Cf. *sine ambitione*, IV. 64. 2.

hi, mox pedes: first the mounted soldiers, then the infantry.

68. agebat: describes the situation, nearly equal to *erat — the Germans were no less uneasy.*

sinerent: depending upon **suadente.**

egressos, etc.: on the march, as the day before, and as in the attack on Varus.

atrociora, *more vigorous.*

promptam, *easy.*

2. **die**: cf. *orto die*, 29. 1. Tacitus appears to use the two genders indifferently, as in poetry.

proruunt fossas: *i.e.* fill them up; cf. Livy IX. 14. 9, *cum pars fossas explerent, pars vellerent vallum atque in fossas proruerent.*

crates, *hurdles*, made by weaving rods, which were then laid over the ditch as a sort of bridge.

super, *on top.*

defixo, *motionless.*

3. **haesere**, *were obstructed.*

cornua et tubae: the *tuba*, a long, straight horn, like a fish-horn (*tuba terribili sonitu*), was the regular instrument of the infantry; the *lituus*, slightly bent near the end, of the cavalry; the *cornu*, curved about as the letter C, was used to sound the *classicum*, or signal for attack. There being no cavalry in Cæcina's army, the *lituus* was not sounded.

5. **tanto maiora**: *i.e.* in appearance.

secundis avidi, ita adversis incauti. Arminius integer, 6
Inguiomerus post grave vulnus pugnam deseruere; vulgus trucidatum est donec ira et dies permansit. Nocte 7
demum reversae legiones, quamvis plus vulnerum, eadem ciborum egestas fatigaret, vim sanitatem copias, cuncta in victoria habuere.

Pervaserat interim circumventi exercitus fama et **69**
infesto Germanorum agmine Gallias peti, ac ni Agrippina impositum Rheno pontem solvi prohibuisset, erant qui id flagitium formidine auderent. Sed femina ingens 2
animi munia ducis per eos dies induit, militibusque, ut quis inops aut saucius, vestem et fomenta dilargita est. Tradit C. Plinius, Germanicorum bellorum scriptor, 3
stetisse apud principium pontis, laudes et grates reversis legionibus habentem. Id Tiberii animum altius 4
penetravit: non enim simplices eas curas, nec adversus externos militem quaeri. Nihil relictum imperatoribus 5
ubi femina manipulos intervisat, signa adeat, largitionem temptet, tamquam parum ambitiose filium ducis gregali habitu circumferat Caesaremque Caligulam appellari velit. Potiorem iam apud exercitus Agrippinam 6

7. **reversae**: to the camp; the battle and pursuit having lasted all day.

quamvis: Intr. 35 *j*.

copias: of provisions, contrasted with **egestas**.

habuere: *i.e.* in their feelings.

69. pontem: probably the one constructed the year before (49. 6).

3. **C. Plinius**: the elder. According to the younger Pliny (*Epp.* III. 5), he wrote a history of the German wars in twenty books, impelled by the image of Drusus, seen in a dream.

grates . . . habentem: for *agentem* of the earlier writers; suggested perhaps by such expressions as *orationem habere*.

4. **simplices eas curas**: he thought that the pains (**curas**) taken by Agrippina were not without a motive (**simplices**), and that it was not for war against enemies that she sought to gain over the soldiers. It seems certain that at a later period Tiberius had such suspicions, and that they were not altogether groundless, heroic and womanly as were her actions on this occasion.

5. **circumferat, velit**: with **tamquam**; as if her ambition were not

quam legatos, quam duces; compressam a muliere seditionem, cui nomen principis obsistere non quiverit.
7 Accendebat haec onerabatque Seianus, peritia morum Tiberii odia in longum iaciens, quae reconderet auctaque promeret.

70 At Germanicus legionum, quas navibus vexerat, secundam et quartam decimam itinere terrestri P. Vitellio ducendas tradit, quo levior classis vadoso mari innaret
2 vel reciproco sideret. Vitellius primum iter sicca humo aut modice adlabente aestu quietum habuit; mox impulsu aquilonis, simul sidere aequinoctii, quo maxime tumescit
3 Oceanus, rapi agique agmen. Et opplebantur terrae; eadem freto litori campis facies, neque discerni poterant
4 incerta ab solidis, brevia a profundis. Sternuntur fluctibus, hauriuntur gurgitibus; iumenta sarcinae corpora exanima interfluunt, occursant. Permiscentur inter se manipuli, modo pectore, modo ore tenus exstantes, ali-
5 quando subtracto solo disiecti aut obruti. Non vox et

sufficiently manifest already by these acts. See 41. 3.

6. **compressam**, etc.: referring to the events narrated in 40 and 41, when respect for Agrippina had greatly assisted in quelling the mutiny.

nomen principis: referring to the letters described in 36. 4.

7. **accendebat onerabatque**: added fire and weight; cf. *incendebat haec*, 23. 1.

peritia, *insight.*

in longum iaciens: *i.e.* preparing a long time before, by letting his insinuations rankle in the mind of the emperor.

reconderet: *sc.* **Tiberius.**

aucta, *when they had grown.*

70. P. Vitellio: the uncle of the emperor, Aulus Vitellius. He was an ardent partisan of Germanicus, and an orator of some repute (II. 74. 2, III. 10. 2 and 13. 3).

vadoso: this coast is flat, and the waters very shallow.

reciproco, *ebb;* when grounded at the ebb it would float again more readily.

2. **sidere**, *the season.*

rapi agique, *knocked about.*

3. **opplebantur**: *i.e.* with water.

brevia, *shallows*, as in Verg. *Aen.* I. 111. The tides were all the more troublesome to the Romans, as they were unaccustomed to them; for the Mediterranean has no perceptible tides.

4. **subtracto solo**: losing their footing as the bottom suddenly shelved away.

mutui hortatus iuvabant adversante unda; nihil strenuus ab ignavo, sapiens ab imprudenti, consilia a casu differre; cuncta pari violentia involvebantur. Tandem Vitellius 6
in editiora enisus eodem agmen subduxit. Pernoctavere sine utensilibus, sine igni, magna pars nudo aut mulcato corpore, haud minus miserabiles quam quos hostis circumsidet: quippe illic etiam honestae mortis usus, his inglorium exitium. Lux reddidit terram, penetratumque 7
ad amnem [Visurgin], quo Caesar classe contenderat. Impositae dein legiones, vagante fama submersas; nec 8
fides salutis antequam Caesarem exercitumque reducem videre.

Iam Stertinius, ad accipiendum in deditionem Segi- 71
merum fratrem Segestis praemissus, ipsum et filium eius in civitatem Ubiorum perduxerat. Data utrique 2
venia, facile Segimero, cunctantius filio, quia Quintilii Vari corpus illusisse dicebatur. Ceterum ad supplenda 3
exercitus damna certavere Galliae Hispaniae Italia, quod cuique promptum, arma equos aurum offerentes. Quo- 4
rum laudato studio Germanicus, armis modo et equis ad bellum sumptis, propria pecunia militem iuvit. Utque 5
cladis memoriam etiam comitate leniret, circumire saucios, facta singulorum extollere; vulnera intuens alium spe, alium gloria, cunctos alloquio et cura sibique et proelio firmabat.

Decreta eo anno triumphalia insignia A. Caecinae, 72

5. **adversante unda**, *when the waves dashed in their faces.*
involvebantur: *sc. fluctibus.*
6. **utensilibus**: all things for *use*, — including food as well as utensils.
usus, *opportunity.*
7. **Visurgin**: see App. I.
71. iam Stertinius, etc.: after his expedition against the Bructeri (60. 4), Stertinius appears to have been sent with a part of the cavalry (the other part marched by the seashore, 63. 5) upon the errand here described.
Segimerum: not *Sigimerus*, father of Arminius (Vell. II. 118).
4. **sumptis**: *i.e.* from the provincials and Italians.
5. **proelio**: (Intr. 35 *f*).
72. triumphalia insignia: un-

L. Apronio, C. Silio ob res cum Germanico gestas.
2 Nomen patris patriae Tiberius, a populo saepius ingestum, repudiavit; neque in acta sua iurari quamquam censente senatu permisit, cuncta mortalium incerta, quantoque plus adeptus foret, tanto se magis in lu-
3 brico dictitans. Non tamen ideo faciebat fidem civilis animi; nam legem maiestatis reduxerat, cui nomen apud

der the empire, the full honor of a triumph was reserved to the emperor himself, or in rare cases (as Germanicus, and Titus, son of Vespasian) to members of his family. Others received only the *ornamenta*, by which is meant the right to appear at festivals, etc., in the distinctive dress or other characteristics of an office. The **triumphalia insignia** were properly the *vestis triumphalis* (*i.e. toga picta* and *tunica palmata*), the laurel wreath, and the triumphal chair, chariot and sceptre. But even during the republic, the triumphal garments and chair were seldom granted as *ornamenta*, the chariot and sceptre never. In the empire, the laurel wreath, too, was restricted to the emperor, and became his crown; the *triumphalia ornamenta* were now, therefore, nothing but a name, and he who received them had, so far as external *insignia* are concerned, only the right to the ordinary *toga praetexta* of the magistrate. (Momm. *Röm. St.* I. 353.) At the same time the dignity of *triumphalis* was highly valued, and was transmitted to posterity.

2. **patris patriae**: this title was granted to Julius Cæsar, and afterwards (B.C. 2) to Augustus. Tiberius persistently declined it (see II. 87. 2), as did certain of his successors (*e.g.* Nero, Vespasian, Hadrian) in the early part of their reigns; but it became at last a regular part of the emperor's titles. Suetonius (*Tib.* 67) puts in the mouth of Tiberius an explanation which is creditable to his modesty, and at the same time illustrates his characteristic self-distrust: *si quando . . . de moribus meis devotoque vobis animo dubitaveritis* (*quod priusquam eveniat, opto ut me supremus dies huic mutatae vestrae de me opinioni eripiat*) *nihil honoris adiciet mihi patria appellatio.* The words that follow, **quanto . . . dictitans**, also illustrate this feeling of his.

ingestum: *i.e.* by acclamation (Furneaux).

in acta sua iurari: the *acta* of the emperor were his civil acts, not properly including, however, his laws. The oath to support these was regularly taken on the 1st of January, the oath including the acts of past emperors, so far as these had not been annulled. The oath was afterwards made to include the *future* acts of the prince (Momm. *Röm. St.* II. 847), and it may be that these were included on the present occasion, from the words **cuncta mortalium incerta**, and from the motive attributed to him by Suetonius (*Tib.* 67), *ne mox maiore dedecore impar tantis honoribus inveniretur*, his words being *exempli causa cavendum esse ne se Senatus in acta cuiusquam obligaret, qui aliquo casu mutari posset.*

3. **legem maiestatis reduxerat**: as if the law had fallen into desuetude under Augustus; this was not the case, however, as appears be-

veteres idem, sed alia in iudicium veniebant: si quis proditione exercitum aut plebem seditionibus, denique male gesta re publica maiestatem populi Romani minuisset: facta arguebantur, dicta impune erant. Primus Augustus 4
cognitionem de famosis libellis specie legis eius tractavit, commotus Cassii Severi libidine, qua viros feminasque illustres procacibus scriptis diffamaverat; mox Tiberius, consultante Pompeio Macro praetore an iudicia maiestatis redderentur, exercendas leges esse respondit. Hunc 5
quoque asperavere carmina incertis auctoribus vulgata in saevitiam superbiamque eius et discordem cum matre animum.

low. The "treason trials" of the reign of Tiberius afford the most serious of the charges against him. But in the first years of his reign, the trials were according to the regular judicial procedure, and the emperor made constant efforts to mitigate the severity of the law. (Intr. 15 and 16). The government, it must be remembered, was still a republic in form, and the senate had legal authority in these cases. Certainly it was by the direct order of Tiberius that the laws were enforced; see below, 4.

facta arguebantur: just as, in English and American law, charges of constructive treason are by strict right excluded, but have nevertheless been often resorted to in times of peril and excitement.

4. **famosis libellis**: according to Suetonius (*Oct.* 55), *id modo censuit, cognoscendum posthac de iis qui libellos aut carmina ad infamiam cuiuspiam sub alieno nomine edant.* According to Cicero (*ad Fam.* III. 11. 2), *maiestas* was extended by Sulla, *ne in quemvis impune declamari liceret.*

Cassii Severi: Quintilian says of him (X. 1. 117), *ingenii pluri-mum est in eo et acerbitas mira, et urbanitas eius summa; sed plus stomacho quam consilio dedit.* Cf. IV. 21. 5.

mox, *afterwards*; its usual meaning in Tacitus.

Pompeio Macro: for his fate, see VI. 18. 4.

praetore: the one who presided over the *quaestio de maiestate.* The accuser had the option of bringing the charge before one of these courts, presided over by a prætor, or the senate, presided over by the consul. See II. 79. 2. The senate, however, could decline to take cognizance of them; cf. IV. 21. 3 and 4. See Mommsen, *Röm. St.* II. 105.

exercendas leges: Suetonius (*Tib.* 58) tells the same story, adding, *et atrocissime exercuit.* Pliny (*Paneg.* 11) says, *dicavit caelo Tiberius Augustum, sed ut maiestatis crimen induceret.*

5. **hunc quoque**: as well as Augustus.

carmina: Suetonius (*Tib.* 59) gives some examples of these; *e.g.*, *Fastidit vinum, quia iam sitit iste cruorem: tam bibit hunc avide quam bibit ante merum.* See also IV. 42.

discordem, etc.: see Intr. 26 *a*.

73 Haud pigebit referre in Falanio et Rubrio, modicis equitibus Romanis, praetemptata crimina, ut quibus initiis, quanta Tiberii arte gravissimum exitium irrepserit, dein repressum sit, postremo arserit cunctaque
2 corripuerit, noscatur. Falanio obiciebat accusator quod inter cultores Augusti, qui per omnes domos in modum collegiorum habebantur, Cassium quendam mimum corpore infamem adscivisset, quodque venditis hortis statuam Augusti simul mancipasset. Rubrio crimini daba-
3 tur violatum periurio numen Augusti. Quae ubi Tiberio notuere, scripsit consulibus non ideo decretum patri suo caelum, ut in perniciem civium is honor verteretur;
4 Cassium histrionem solitum inter alios eiusdem artis interesse ludis quos mater sua in memoriam Augusti sacrasset; nec contra religiones fieri quod effigies eius, ut alia numinum simulacra, venditionibus hortorum et
5 domuum accedant. Ius iurandum perinde aestimandum quam si Iovem fefellisset; deorum iniurias dis curae.

73. modicis, *of moderate circumstances;* distinguished from *splendidi*, a frequent epithet of the wealthy knights.

praetemptata, *attempted*, but frustrated by the emperor.

dein repressum sit: the whole of this appears to refer to the time of Tiberius, who is represented as having for a while, as a matter of policy (**quanta . . . arte,** see Intr. 13), held in check his natural severity. Some editors have supposed the reference to be to the reigns of Titus and Domitian.

2. **cultores Augusti**: this refers not to the *sodales Augustales* (54. 1), but to a private cult, held at the houses of citizens. The *sodales* were a recognized *collegium* or guild: these were only organized **in modum collegiorum.**

mancipasset: this word designates the special formalities by which real estate was sold by Roman law, — the statue passed with the grounds. The sale of a statue of Augustus was construed as an affront to him, and, therefore, an act of treason.

violatum . . . numen Augusti: *i.e.* by an oath taken in his name, which was afterwards broken.

3. **consulibus**: they presided over the senate, and consequently over all cases that were tried before that body. See 72. 4 n.

caelum, *divine honors;* (10. 8).

4. **histrionem,** *mime.*

ludis: scenic representations, in January, instituted by Livia; afterwards called *Palatini*, from being performed in the palace.

5. **deorum iniurias dis curae**:

Nec multo post Granium Marcellum praetorem 74
Bithyniae quaestor ipsius Caepio Crispinus maiestatis
postulavit, subscribente Romano Hispone. Qui formam
vitae iniit quam postea celebrem miseriae temporum et
audaciae hominum fecerunt. Nam egens ignotus in- 2
quies, dum occultis libellis saevitiae principis adrepit,
mox clarissimo cuique periculum facessit, potentiam
apud unum, odium apud omnis adeptus, dedit exem-
plum, quod secuti ex pauperibus divites, ex contemptis
metuendi perniciem aliis ac postremum sibi invenere.
Sed Marcellum insimulabat sinistros de Tiberio sermones 3
habuisse, inevitabile crimen, cum ex moribus principis
foedissima quaeque deligeret accusator obiectaretque
reo; nam quia vera erant, etiam dicta credebantur.
Addidit Hispo statuam Marcelli altius quam Caesarum 4

this whole passage, showing the efforts of Tiberius to set bounds to the vindictiveness of his courtiers, expresses wise and sagacious statesmanship.

74. praetorem: properly *proconsul praetorius*, — it being a senatorial province, governed by a proconsul of prætorian rank. Probably the term *praetor* is here used as a reminiscence of the times of the republic, when provinces were regularly governed by prætors.

quaestor ipsius: the quæstors were assigned by lot to the several provinces, and stood in a close personal relation, *necessitas*, to the commander, so that any act of unfriendliness or ingratitude towards him was regarded as *impietas*.

maiestatis, *treason;* the indictment included also *repetundae* (*extortion*), as appears from the closing sentence of the chapter. *Postulo*, in the sense *demand for justice, accuse*, is construed with the genitive of the crime.

subscribente, *supporting the accusation*. According to Roman criminal law, prosecutions were made by private individuals, the chief prosecutor being supported by one, two, or three others, whose business it was to assist and supplement his work. The chief accuser was *primus subscriptor*, the others, *secundus*, etc. See Intr. 16.

qui: i.e. Crispinus.

formam vitae, *plan* or *course of life; i.e.* the trade of an informer.

2. **occultis libellis**: written accusations secretly put into the hands of the emperor.

saevitiae adrepit, *worms himself into his cruel counsels;* cf. III. 50. 5.

facessit: follows **dum**.

secuti, *those who followed.*

divites, metuendi: *sc.* **facti**.

3. **obiectaret**, *put in the mouth of; i.e.* he represents him as having attacked the vices of the emperor. Because the charges against the emperor were true, the assertion that

sitam, et alia in statua amputato capite Augusti effigiem
5 Tiberii inditam. Ad quod exarsit adeo ut rupta taciturnitate proclamaret se quoque in ea causa laturum sententiam palam et iuratum, quo ceteris eadem necessi-
6 tas fieret. Manebant etiam tum vestigia morientis libertatis. Igitur Cn. Piso 'Quo' inquit 'loco censebis, Caesar? si primus, habebo quod sequar; si post omnis, vereor ne
7 imprudens dissentiam.' Permotus his, quantoque incautius efferverat, paenitentia patiens tulit absolvi reum criminibus maiestatis; de pecuniis repetundis ad reciperatores itum est.

75 Nec patrum cognitionibus satiatus iudiciis adsidebat in cornu tribunalis, ne praetorem curuli depelleret; multaque eo coram adversus ambitum et potentium
2 preces constituta. Sed dum veritati consulitur, libertas

the defendant had made such charges was so probable as to be **inevitabile**.

5. **exarsit**: it was an act of disrespect to his predecessor, coupled with a show of honor to himself.

laturum sententiam, *would cast a vote; i.e.* in the senate.

eadem necessitas: *sc. iurandi.*

6. **Cn. Piso**: see 13. 3. His caustic utterance did not make him lose his favor with the emperor, as in the next book he is represented as receiving an important command in the east. See II. 43. 3.

censebis, *give your vote.*

primus: this was his right, as *princeps senatus.*

7. **patiens**: *sc. tanto magis* (Intr. 35 *m*).

tulit, *suffered.* Most editors supply **sententiam**, which would indicate that he had changed his opinion. But it rather appears that he was ashamed of his unwonted excitement, and put up with (**patiens**) a decision contrary to his wish.

reciperatores: these were a board for the assessment of claims. The criminal charge having failed, "the trial of Marcellus became a mere civil question of damages." Furneaux.

75. nec patrum, etc.: he not only took part as a senator in the cases which came before the senate, but, as head of the state, *princeps*, attended the regular courts to see that justice was done.

iudiciis adsidebat: Suetonius says (*Tib.* 33), *magistratibus pro tribunali cognoscentibus plerumque se offerebat consiliarium.*

in cornu tribunalis: the tribunal being semi-circular in shape, and the prætor, as president of the court, sitting in the middle.

curuli: *sc.* **sella**.

multa constituta, *many points were established.*

2. **libertas corrumpebatur**: a just verdict was obtained, but the

corrumpebatur. Inter quae Pius Aurelius senator 3
questus mole publicae viae ductuque aquarum labefactas aedis suas, auxilium patrum invocabat. Resisten- 4
tibus aerarii praetoribus subvenit Caesar pretiumque aedium Aurelio tribuit, erogandae per honesta pecuniae cupiens, quam virtutem diu retinuit, cum ceteras exueret. Propertio Celeri praetorio, veniam ordinis ob paupertatem 5
petenti, deciens sestertium largitus est, satis comperto paternas ei angustias esse. Temptantis eadem alios 6
probare causas senatui iussit, cupidine severitatis in iis etiam quae rite faceret acerbus. Unde ceteri silentium 7
et paupertatem confessioni et beneficio praeposuere.

Eodem anno continuis imbribus auctus Tiberis **76**
plana urbis stagnaverat; relabentem secuta est aedificiorum et hominum strages. Igitur censuit Asinius 2
Gallus ut libri Sibullini adirentur. Renuit Tiberius, 3

independence of the courts destroyed.

3. **inter quae**: this is general, referring not to the judicial proceedings before the prætor, but to the zeal shown by Tiberius in the administration of justice.

mole, ductu: both probably describe construction, — the building of the road and the carrying of the waters.

4. **aerarii praetoribus**: abl. abs.; the care of the treasury was transferred by Augustus from the quæstors to the prætors, who now began to lose a part of their judicial powers.

erogandae . . . pecuniae, *paying out money;* it depends on **cupiens.**

diu retinuit: indeed, two of the most striking examples of this liberality were in the very last years of his life; see VI. 17 and 45.

5. **veniam ordinis**, *relief from* the burdens of *his order;* the senator must have an estate of *decies sestertium* = $50,000.

paternas, *inherited; i.e.* not the result of dissipation.

6. **acerbus**: no doubt there was great risk of being deceived. Dio (LVII. 10) says that he gave his gifts openly, because the secret gifts of Augustus were often purloined by his agents. The investigation of the case by the senate was open.

76. plana urbis: the low ground between the Capitoline and the Palatine. This was once a swamp, and was drained by the *cloaca maxima.*

aedificiorum . . . strages: a case of zeugma. Probably the buildings were undermined, and a pestilence followed. Furneaux.

2. **censuit**, *proposed;* the word used for the formal and official expression of opinion.

libri Sibullini: these were in the

perinde divina humanaque obtegens; sed remedium coercendi fluminis Ateio Capitoni et L. Arruntio man-
4 datum. Achaiam ac Macedoniam onera deprecantis levari in praesens proconsulari imperio tradique Caesari
5 placuit. Edendis gladiatoribus, quos Germanici fratris ac suo nomine obtulerat, Drusus praesedit, quamquam vili sanguine nimis gaudens; quod *in* vulgus formido-
6 losum et pater arguisse dicebatur. Cur abstinuerit spectaculo ipse, varie trahebant; alii taedio coetus, quidam tristitia ingenii et metu comparationis, quia Augustus

charge of the *quindecimviri sacris faciundis;* see VI. 12.

3. **obtegens,** *obscuring.* His contempt for such superstitions is mentioned also by Dio Cassius (LVII. 14), who says that, while others took these events as an omen, he ascribed them to the excess of water, and appointed a standing board of five senators, selected by lot, to have charge of the river, and to regulate the supply of water. A recently discovered inscription of the reign of Claudius gives the names of five *curatores aquarum et alvei Tiberis ex auctoritate Ti. Claudi Caesaris Aug. Germanici Principis. Antiquary,* February, 1888.

Ateio Capitoni: for his death and character, see III. 75. He was *curator aquarum,* an office which he held for ten years, A.D. 13 to 23, succeeding Messala. Augustus had established, among other offices, the *curam . . . aquarum, alvei Tiberis,* etc. (Suet. *Oct.* 37).

4. **Achaiam**: this province, embracing Greece proper, was separated from Macedonia by Augustus, B.C. 27, and received its name from its leading state, the Achæan league. In the division of the empire between the senate and the emperor, Achaia and Macedonia, like most of the older provinces requiring no military force, were left under the senatorial administration of the republic, and governed by proconsuls, *proconsulari imperio.* The administration of these officers was more oppressive than that of the *legati* who governed the imperial provinces. They were chosen by lot, held office for only a year, and surrounded themselves with a degree of pomp which the military *legati* did not affect. Moreover, they were paid by the province, while the *legati* were paid by the emperor whom they represented. It was therefore a favor to these provinces *levari proconsulari imperio tradique Caesari.* They were annexed to the province of Mœsia (see 80. 1), but were again made senatorial provinces by Claudius. Nipperdey suggests that, as imperial provinces, they were relieved from the tribute which they owed to the *aerarium.*

5. **quamquam** qualifies **vili,** *taking pleasure overmuch in blood, even cheap blood*— he was too lavish even of the lives of the vulgar. See 29. 4, *promptum ad asperiora ingenium Druso erat.*

formidolosum, *calculated to inspire fear.*

et = *etiam.*

6. **ipse**: Tiberius.

trahebant, *interpreted.* Cf. 62. 3.

comiter interfuisset. Non crediderim ad ostentandam 7
saevitiam movendasque populi offensiones concessam
filio materiem, quamquam id quoque dictum est.

At theatri licentia, proximo priore anno coepta, 77
gravius tum erupit, occisis non modo e plebe, sed
militibus et centurione, vulnerato tribuno praetoriae
cohortis, dum probra in magistratus et dissensionem
vulgi prohibent. Actum de ea seditione apud patres 2
dicebanturque sententiae, ut praetoribus ius virgarum
in histriones esset. Intercessit Haterius Agrippa tribu- 3
nus plebei increpitusque est Asinii Galli oratione, silente
Tiberio, qui ea simulacra libertatis senatui praebebat.
Valuit tamen intercessio, quia divus Augustus immunes 4
verberum histriones quondam responderat, neque fas Ti-
berio infringere dicta eius. De modo lucaris et adversus 5
lasciviam fautorum multa decernuntur ; ex quis maxime
insignia, ne domos pantomimorum senator introiret, ne
egredientes in publicum equites Romani cingerent aut
alibi quam in theatro spectarentur, et spectantium immo-
destiam exsilio multandi potestas praetoribus fieret.

7. **non crediderim,** etc.: a good illustration of the absurd stories that were told of Tiberius.

77. theatri licentia: see 54. 3.

occisis, vulnerato: with an aoristic force, not perfect, — soldiers and centurions were killed, a tribune wounded. This usage is common in classic writers with deponent verbs, but not with passives.

praetoriae cohortis: stationed at the games to preserve order: it was removed by Nero, A.D. 55; see XIII. 24.

2. **dicebantur sententiae,** *votes were already given* to this effect. The measure would probably have been carried but for the intercession of the tribune.

3. **Haterius Agrippa**: probably the son of Q. Haterius (13. 4) and a daughter of Agrippa; he is called (II. 51. 2) *propinquus Germanici.* (Agrippina, the wife of Germanicus, was also a daughter of Agrippa.)

4. **Augustus**: Suetonius says (*Oct.* 45), *coercitionem in histriones, magistratibus in omni tempore et loco lege vetere permissam, ademit praeterquam ludis et scaena.* Some, nevertheless, were flogged by his orders.

neque fas Tiberio: this was a fixed principle with Tiberius.

5. **ex quis,** etc.: cf. 8. 4 n.

egredientes: *sc. pantomimos,* object of **cingerent.**

spectarentur: see App. I.

78 Templum ut in colonia Tarraconensi strueretur Augusto petentibus Hispanis permissum, datumque in
2 omnes provincias exemplum. Centesimam rerum venalium post bella civilia institutam deprecante populo edixit Tiberius militare aerarium eo subsidio niti; simul imparem oneri rem publicam, nisi vicesimo militiae anno veterani dimitterentur. Ita proximae seditionis male consulta, quibus sedecim stipendiorum finem expresserant, abolita in posterum.

79 Actum deinde in senatu ab Arruntio et Ateio an ob moderandas Tiberis exundationes verterentur flumina et lacus, per quos augescit; auditaeque munici-

78. in colonia Tarraconensi: Tarragona in Spain. Augustus resided here for a year, and made it, instead of Carthago Nova, the seat of government of the province of Hither Spain, from this time known as Tarraconensis. Hübner, in *Hermes*, I. (1866), p. 110.

petentibus Hispanis: the request must have been made by the assembly of the province, consisting of representatives of its cities. (Guiraud *Ass. Prov.* p. 56). The worship of Augustus, now established, became the chief cult of the province, being in the care of a *consilium* composed of flamens of equestrian rank from each city. Hübner.

exemplum: it was the first temple consecrated by a province to Augustus alone; before this time temples had been erected jointly to Augustus and Rome. The temple now built was the most splendid in the city; remains of it are still extant. This special cult of the province and city must be distinguished from that of the Augustales, who were freedmen, and who were found here as in other provinces.

2. **centesimam [partem] rerum venalium**: a tax of one per cent on sales, reduced by one-half, A.D. 17 (II. 42. 6).

militare aerarium: established by Augustus, A.D. 6, to provide for retiring veterans. *Mon. Anc.* III. 36. The fund thus established not proving sufficient, this *centesima* was devoted to this purpose, and sums from other sources, as from confiscation, legacy duties, and foreign revenues (see II. 42. 6).

niti, *depended upon.*

imparem oneri: *i.e.* unless the full twenty years of service were required; thus the concession of Germanicus (36. 4) that the discharge should take place after sixteen years (**male consulta**) was tacitly revoked.

sedecim stipendiorum: genitive of characteristic — a sixteen-year limit.

79. actum, etc.: the report of the commissioners appointed 76. 3.

municipiorum et coloniarum, *towns;* there was no longer any essential distinction between these two classes of towns, since they had all alike received Roman citizenship; but the distinction in names

piorum et coloniarum legationes, orantibus Florentinis, ne Clanis solito alveo demotus in amnem Arnum transferretur idque ipsis perniciem adferret. Congruentia his Interamnates disseruere: pessum ituros fecundissimos Italiae campos, si amnis Nar (id enim parabatur) in rivos diductus superstagnavisset. Nec Reatini silebant, Velinum lacum, qua in Narem effunditur, obstrui recusantes, quippe in adiacentia erupturum; optime rebus mortalium consuluisse naturam, quae sua ora fluminibus, suos cursus, utque originem, ita fines dederit; spectandas etiam religiones sociorum, qui sacra et lucos et aras patriis amnibus dicaverint; quin ipsum Tiberim nolle prorsus accolis fluviis orbatum minore gloria fluere. Seu preces coloniarum seu difficultas operum sive superstitio valuit, ut in sententiam *Cn.* Pisonis concederetur, qui nil mutandum censuerat.

was preserved to indicate the difference in origin.

Florentinis: the colony of Florentia, *Florence*, on the banks of the Arno, had taken the place of the ancient Etruscan city of Fæsulæ, *Fiesole*, at the top of a steep hill.

Clanis: this river flowed into the Tiber, but its sources, in the marshes between Clusium and Arretium, could be easily diverted into the Arno, a branch of which rose in the same marshes; this would relieve the inundations of the Tiber. This region has been, in the present century, thoroughly drained.

2. **Interamnates**: the inhabitants of Interamna, *Terni*, situated upon the Nar. The falls of the Nar at Terni, among the finest in Europe, were made by artificially draining the lands above, the work of the distinguished statesman of the third century B.C., Manius Curius Dentatus. This artificial channel became the outlet of the *Lacus Velinus;* and from the refusal of the Reatini to have it blocked up, as being the work of nature, it would appear that they had lost the tradition of its origin.

3. **adiacentia**: the *ager Reatinus*, a valley of great beauty and fertility in the high Apennines.

sociorum: these were the independent Italian nations in alliance with Rome. But this alliance had been brought to an end by the Social War, B.C. 90, which had resulted in the admission of all the *socii* to Roman citizenship. The use of the term on this occasion, therefore, is only traditionary; at this period it was usually applied to nations outside of Italy.

4. **Tiberim**: the god of the river; cf. *sacra*, etc., 3.

5. **Pisonis**: Gnæus Piso, mentioned 74. 6.

80 Prorogatur Poppaeo Sabino provincia Moesia, addi-
2 tis Achaia ac Macedonia. Id quoque morum Tiberii
fuit, continuare imperia ac plerosque ad finem vitae in
3 isdem exercitibus aut iurisdictionibus habere. Causae
variae traduntur: alii taedio novae curae semel placita
pro aeternis servavisse, quidam invidia, ne plures fru-
erentur; sunt qui existiment, ut callidum eius ingenium,
ita anxium iudicium; neque enim eminentis virtutes
sectabatur, et rursum vitia oderat: ex optimis periculum
4 sibi, a pessimis dedecus publicum metuebat. Qua haesi-
tatione postremo eo provectus est, ut mandaverit qui-
busdam provincias quos egredi urbe non erat passurus.
81 De comitiis consularibus, quae tum primum illo
principe ac deinceps fuere, vix quicquam firmare
ausim: adeo diversa non modo apud auctores, sed in
2 ipsius orationibus reperiuntur. Modo subtractis candi-

80. Poppaeo Sabino: grandfather of Poppæa Sabina, the wife of the emperor Nero. He governed these important provinces for twenty-four years (VI. 39. 3). For the addition of Achaia and Macedonia to his province, see 76. 4 n.

2. **continuare imperia**: see IV. 6. 7.

exercitibus aut iurisdictionibus: these refer respectively to the offices of *legatus*, or governor of an imperial province, having troops under him, and *procurator*, or agent of the emperor in a certain group of small provinces (Noricum, Rætia, etc.), whose powers were judicial and administrative only.

3. **causae variae**: he complained (VI. 27) that competent persons refused to take office. See also the well-known story in Josephus, that he compared governors already sated with plunder to flies which had sucked their fill upon a festering wound, —'drive them away, and hungrier ones will come in their place.'

semel placita, *what had once satisfied him.*

anxium iudicium: this was a real characteristic of the emperor.

sectabatur, *sought for.*

4. **non erat passurus**: Suetonius says (*Tib.* 63), *unum et alterum consulares oblatis provinciis non ausus a se dimittere usque eo detinuit donec successores post aliquot annos praesentibus daret.* See the case of Arruntius, VI. 27. 3.

81. comitiis consularibus: see note, 15. 1.

tum primum: *i.e.* in the second year of Tiberius, the consuls of the previous year having been designated by Augustus. **deinceps** refers to the subsequent years of Tiberius.

orationibus, *messages* in recommendation of a candidate.

2. **subtractis**, *omitting;* giving

datorum nominibus originem cuiusque et vitam et stipendia descripsit, ut qui forent intellegeretur; aliquando ea quoque significatione subtracta candidatos hortatus, ne ambitu comitia turbarent, suam ad id curam pollicitus est. Plerumque eos tantum apud se professos disseruit, 3 quorum nomina consulibus edidisset; posse et alios profiteri, si gratiae aut meritis confiderent: speciosa verbis, re inania aut subdola, quantoque maiore libertatis imagine tegebantur, tanto eruptura ad infensius servitium.

no name, but describing them so that they were readily recognized.

ea quoque significatione, *even this indication* of his wishes; he made no public indication at all.

3. **disseruit,** *declared.*

posse et alios, etc.: of course the nomination by the emperor was not a legal prerequisite to the election; others might register themselves (**profiteri**) with the consuls, without asking for his approval.

Proposed sites of the Saltus Teutoburgiensis.

EXCURSUS.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE GERMAN CAMPAIGNS.

GERMANICUS conducted operations against the Germans during three years, A.D. 14, 15 and 16. The campaign of the first year was hardly more than a reconnaissance, having as its principal object to divert the minds of the soldiers from the recent tragedies, and inspirit them by success. It was directed against the Marsi, a nation who bordered the Chatti upon the north, and who, as we are informed by Strabo (VII. p. 290) had moved back into the interior of the country, *μεταστάντα εἰς τὴν ἐν βάθει χώραν*, probably at the time that Tiberius established the *limes*, or military frontier, spoken of I. 50. The Marsi were south of the Lippe, and probably upon the upper waters of the Ruhr.

The operations of the two following years had as their object partly to avenge the defeat of Varus in the Teutoburg Forest (A.D. 9), and partly to recover the territory lost at that time. Drusus, father of Germanicus, had conquered Germany as far as the Elbe, and established the province of Germania (B.C. 12). All of this territory, with some trifling exceptions, was lost by the defeat of Varus, and the military force of the province was withdrawn to the left bank of the Rhine, where it was, strictly speaking, within the boundaries of the Gallic province of Belgica.

In order to understand these campaigns it is necessary to cast a glance at the geographical situation (see Map). The river Rhine flows from Mentz to Cologne through a picturesque mountain region, unsuited to military operations. The country east of the river was here occupied by the powerful tribe of the Chatti, the modern Hessians, — almost the only German

nation that has not changed its residence or name from that time to this. The natural approach to their country was up the valley of the Main; and at the mouth of this river, upon the Rhine, at Moguntiacum (*Mentz*), the Romans established the headquarters of one division of their army.

At the northern extremity of the mountains dwelt the Tencteri; and at this important strategic point on the western bank, the German tribe of the Ubii had received lands, *ut arcerent, non ut custodirentur* (*Germ.* 28). Here were the headquarters of the lower army, until, A.D. 50, the *oppidum* of the Ubii was made a Roman colony (see I. 31. 3 n.), named *Colonia Agrippina,* in honor of the empress Agrippina, who was born there. The legions were now removed to Bonn, a few miles further up the river. The chief military position, however, upon the Lower Rhine, was about sixty miles below, where the river Lippe flows into the Rhine from the east. The valley of this river formed the natural approach to the country of the Cherusci (the nation of Arminius) as the Main did to the country of the Chatti. North of the Lippe dwelt the Usipetes and Bructeri; but the country between the Lippe and the Ruhr, a few miles further south, appears to have remained, for some distance back from the Rhine, in the hands of the Romans. (See I. 50. 2 n.) Still further east, and south of the Lippe, the Tubantes occupied the lands from which the Sugambrians had been removed by Tiberius (II. 26. 3 n.); the Tubantes had before been north of the Lippe. The military road from the Rhine into the heart of Germany was necessarily, like the modern railroad, carried along the banks of the Lippe; and opposite the mouth of this river was established the principal camp of the lower army — at *Vetera* (*sc. castra*), as that of the upper army was opposite the mouth of the Main. All the military operations of Germanicus, except a single short campaign against the Chatti, had this camp as their base of operations.

In the second year, A.D. 15, after this campaign against

the Chatti (I. 56), Germanicus set on foot an expedition on a large scale against the Bructeri, upon the upper Ems. While in this region, in the neighborhood of the modern Münster, he conceived the plan of visiting the Teutoburg Forest, the scene of the defeat of Varus (A.D. 9).

It is from the account of this expedition alone (I. 60) that we learn the name of this battle-field, and it is from this passage and II. 7 that we get our only direct information as to its situation. Varus, as we learn from Dio Cassius (LVI. 18), had penetrated to the Weser, where he seems to have remained some months in summer quarters. Learning then of an uprising at some distance, he set out with his entire force, including all his baggage, as well as the women and children, for winter quarters upon the Rhine, intending to suppress the revolt upon his way. He is likely, therefore, to have set out by the direct road, but he had certainly left this road when he was attacked, for he is represented as making his way with difficulty, even before the attack, through a heavily wooded country, cut up with deep ravines, where he was obliged to cut trees to clear the way, and to build bridges, being greatly impeded too by the slippery nature of the soil, — there being a heavy rain and high wind. Now, the principal military road of the Romans was by the valley of the Lippe, which then as now afforded the most direct route from the Lower Rhine into the interior of Germany. On this river was the fortress Aliso, built by Drusus ; and at the head of the river (*ad caput Lupiae*), Tiberius had passed one winter, A.D. 4 (Vell. Pat. II. 105). It is reasonable to suppose that Varus marched by this road, and only left it when he arrived in the neighborhood of the insurgent tribe, which may perhaps have been, as Knoke suggests, the Bructeri.

From Tacitus we learn two important facts. First, that the scene of the disaster was upon the Lippe ; for the Germans who were besieging a fort upon this river (II. 7) retired at the approach of Germanicus, first, however, destroying the mound which he had erected on the battle-field the previous year

(I. 62). From I. 60. 5 it appears that it was also near the Ems. Germanicus had marched *ad ultimos Bructerorum*, by which we must understand the part of their territory furthest from the Rhine; that is, where the Ems runs for some distance almost parallel with the Lippe, nearly southeast of Münster. This was the country (*quantum Amisiam et Lupiam amnes inter*) which he laid waste; and here he found himself near (*haud procul*) the Teutoburg Forest. Now, there is but one region which answers all these conditions, — hilly, heavily wooded, with deep ravines (a *saltus*), and clayey soil, upon the Lippe and near the Ems. This is the forest of Havixbrock, east of Beckum and northeast of Hamm. Here the remains of a Roman camp are still to be seen, and in the neighborhood are other memorials and local names, which appear to recall the event. (See Essellen, *Das varianische Schlachtfeld im Kreise Beckum*, Berlin, 1874.)

Other places have been proposed, and plausibly defended: especially Mommsen (*Die Oertlichkeit der Varusschlacht*, Berlin, 1885) gives the great weight of his authority to the mountain region northeast of Osnaburg, where (at Barenau) a very large number of Roman coins of the reign of Augustus and of earlier date have been found. But it is hard to believe that this situation would be considered 'near' to an army on the Upper Ems; and Mommsen takes no notice of the evidence in Tacitus that the *tumulus*, and therefore the battle-field, was on the Lippe. Knoke (*Die Kriegszüge des Germanicus*, Berlin, 1887) argues for the valley entered by the Dören pass, south of Osnaburg. This situation would agree with I. 60. 5, being *haud procul* to Germanicus when on the Upper Ems; but it is too far from the Lippe to agree with II. 7.

In this discussion we necessarily confine our attention to general geographical and strategic considerations: what may be called the *tactical* point of view, the configuration of the battle-field, is practically worthless for us. Nearly all ancient historians (Cæsar is a marked exception) are deficient in the

capacity — a rare one at any time — of describing accurately and intelligibly the physical features of a battle-field or any similar locality; and the description of the battle-field in question, given by Dio Cassius (LVI. 20), a writer separated from the event by centuries of time, and who cannot be supposed to have visited the spot in person, is too indefinite to be of much assistance. Velleius, a contemporary writer, makes no mention of mountains, or even hills; his words are, *inclusus silvis paludibus insidiis* (II. 119). Florus also (II. 30. 36) says *per paludes perque silvas*. Probably fifty localities could be found within the region of the Weser, Ems, and Lippe which would correspond sufficiently well with these descriptions; and, as Mommsen remarks (p. 6), "several solutions of a problem, when only one of them can be correct, really give us no help to a solution until we are in a condition to establish the exclusive possibility of one of the number." This appears to be done, for the forest of Havixbrock, by a comparison of Tacitus' *Annals*, I. 60. 5 and II. 7.

The campaign of A.D. 15 was far from being a success, and came near being a signal disaster. But Germanicus had now learned how to fight with the Germans, and the campaign of A.D. 16, narrated at length in Book II. (5 to 26), exhibits his generalship in the most favorable light. Upon this campaign, instead of taking the old route by the valley of the Lippe, Germanicus proceeded by water, following the lagoons and estuaries along the coast as far as the mouth of the Ems, and up that river to some point from which he struck across the country to the Weser. His natural course would have been to follow the valley of the Hase nearly east, keeping north of the mountainous region about Osnaburg (see II. 8. 4 n.). Whatever course he took, he met with so few obstacles that Tacitus says not a word about the march. The Weser was successfully passed, and two considerable victories were won; and thus the German wars came to an end with credit, if not with any decisive gain.

ARGUMENT OF BOOK II.

A.D. 16; STATILIUS SISENNA TAURUS, L. LIBO, COSS.

1–4. Affairs in the East.

1. Vonones, king of Parthia. 2. His unpopularity. 3. Expelled by Artabanus. Becomes king of Armenia. 4. Captured by the Romans.

5–26. Second campaign of Germanicus.

5, 6. Plans of the campaign. 7. Expedition against the Chatti. 8. Voyage to the Ems. 9, 10. Conference on the Weser between Arminius and his brother. 11. Passage of the Weser. 12, 13. Germanicus at night and in disguise visits the camp. 14. His dream and speech. 15. Preparations of the Germans. 16, 17. Battle of Idistaviso. 18. Triumph of the Romans. 19–21. Last battle of Germanicus. 22–24. Voyage homeward. 25, 26. End of the German War. Recall of Germanicus.

27–32. Impeachment of Libo Drusus.

27. Grounds of accusation. 28. Indictment. 29–31. Trial and voluntary death of Libo. 32. Rewards, etc.

33. Debate in the senate on luxury. 34. Protest of L. Piso. Affair of Urgulania. 35. Debate on vacation. 36. On nomination of prætors. 37, 38. Case of M. Hortalus. 39, 40. The false Agrippa Postumus. 41. Dedication of public buildings.

A.D. 17; C. CAELIUS, L. POMPONIUS, COSS.

41. Triumph of Germanicus. 42. Cappadocia made a province. 43. Germanicus appointed to the East. 44. Drusus to Illyricum. 45, 46. War of Maroboduus and Arminius. 47. Earthquake in the East. 48. Liberality of Tiberius. 49. Dedication of temples. 50. Trials for *maiestas*. 51. Election of prætor. 52. Revolt of Tacfarinas in Africa.

A.D. 18; TI. CAESAR AUGUSTUS III., GERMANICUS CAESAR II., COSS.

53–58. Germanicus in the East. First year.

53, 54. Journey of Germanicus to the East. 55. Cn. Piso in the East. 56. Affairs in Armenia. 57. Quarrel of Germanicus and Piso. 58. Relations with Parthia.

A.D. 19; M. SILANUS, L. NORBANUS, COSS.

59–73. Germanicus in the East. Second year.

59–61. Visit of Germanicus to Egypt. 62, 63. Overthrow of the kingdom of Maroboduus. 64–67. Affairs in Thrace. 68. Death of Vonones. 69, 70. Sickness of Germanicus. 71, 72. His death. 73. His funeral.

74–81. Affairs in the East after the death of Germanicus.

74, 75. Disposition of the province. Departure of Agrippina. 76, 77. Consultation of Piso. 78, 79. His attempt to occupy the province. 80, 81. Military operations in Cilicia.

82, 83. News in Rome of the death of Germanicus. 84. Birth of sons to Drusus. 85. Decrees against immorality. 86. Choice of Vestal Virgin. 87. Price of corn. 88. Death of Arminius.

LIBER II.

Sisenna Statilio [Tauro] L. Libone consulibus mota 1
Orientis regna provinciaeque Romanae, initio apud
Parthos orto, qui petitum Roma acceptumque regem,
quamvis gentis Arsacidarum, ut externum aspernaban-
tur. Is fuit Vonones, obses Augusto datus a Phraate.
Nam Phraates quamquam depulisset exercitus ducesque 2
Romanos, cuncta venerantium officia ad Augustum

1. Tauro: his full name was Titus Statilius Sisenna Taurus; the order here found (the gentile name between the two cognomina) is so unusual with Tacitus that the editors consider the last cognomen to be a gloss.

mota, *stirred up*, for *commota* (Intr. 35 *b*).

provinciae Romanae: the only Roman province in the East at this time, except in Asia Minor and Egypt, was Syria, which embraced also Phœnicia and Judæa, being bounded on the east by the Euphrates and the desert.

Parthos: the Parthians were a nation of mountaineers, who lived southeast of the Caspian Sea. After the breaking up of Alexander's empire, they gained their independence under Arsaces (about B.C. 250), but their kingdom was not greatly enlarged until the time of Mithridates I., about the middle of the second century before Christ. He took advantage of the collapse of the empire of the Seleucidæ, after the battle of Magnesia (B.C. 190), to seize all the territory as far west as the Euphrates. The empire of the Parthians was the only formidable rival of that of Rome, from which it was separated by the Euphrates and the Arabian desert. At this time its power had greatly decayed, but it still had sufficient strength and prestige to make the relations with Parthia a constant subject of care and anxiety to the Roman emperors.

gentis Arsacidarum: the royal family of Parthia, descendants of Arsaces, its first king. The cruel and tyrannical Phraates IV. gave four of his sons as hostages to Augustus, among them this Vonones. Phraates was murdered B.C. 2, by his illegitimate son Phraataces, who succeeded him, but was shortly set aside for Orodes, a distant kinsman. After his assassination, probably A.D. 7, Vonones was given to the Parthians as king, at their request.

2. **quamquam**, etc.: Phraates succeeded to the throne of Parthia, B.C. 38. Two years later Mark Antony led an expedition against him, and was ignominiously repulsed.

venerantium: equivalent, by a not uncommon usage, to *venerationis—the offices of respect.* Among other things, he had restored (B.C.

verterat partemque prolis firmandae amicitiae miserat, haud perinde nostri metu quam fidei popularium diffisus.
2 Post finem Phraatis et sequentium regum ob internas caedes venere in urbem legati a primoribus Parthis, qui
2 Vononem vetustissimum liberorum eius accirent. Magnificum id sibi credidit Caesar auxitque opibus. Et accepere barbari laetantes, ut ferme ad nova imperia.
3 Mox subiit pudor: degeneravisse Parthos; petitum alio ex orbe regem, hostium artibus infectum; iam inter provincias Romanas solium Arsacidarum haberi darique.
4 Ubi illam gloriam trucidantium Crassum, exturbantium Antonium, si mancipium Caesaris, tot per annos servi-
5 tutem perpessum, Parthis imperitet? Accendebat dedignantes et ipse diversus a maiorum institutis, raro venatu, segni equorum cura; quotiens per urbes incederet, lecticae gestamine fastuque erga patrias epulas;

20) the standards captured from Crassus and others. See Horace, *Ep.* I. 12, 27: *ius imperiumque Phraates | Caesaris accepit genibus minor.*

partem: *i.e.* as hostages; among them Vonones.

firmandae amicitiae: dative with **miserat**; cf. *distrahendo hosti mittit*, I. 60. 2.

haud perinde ... quam: equivalent to *not so much ... as.*

diffisus, *because he distrusted;* parallel with **metu** (Intr. 35 *r*).

2. ob internas caedes: qualifying **finem**. See note on *gentis*, I. 1.

venere in urbem legati: this was A.D. 5.

2. **magnificum**: it added to his glory to furnish a king to the rival empire.

Caesar: Augustus.

opibus, *presents.*

ut ferme: *sc. fit.*

3. **hostium ... infectum**: cf. *externum*, I. 1.

4. **trucidantium Crassum**, etc.: Crassus was defeated at Carrhæ, B.C. 53, and shortly afterwards killed; the defeat of Statianus, *legatus* of Mark Antony, was B.C. 36.

mancipium: this word, originally signifying the formal acceptance of a piece of property, and then the property itself, had come to have the special meaning of *slave.*

5. **ipse**, *the man himself*, apart from the circumstances under which he came to the throne.

diversus, etc. (Intr. 35 *q*): the Parthians regularly went on horseback, and lived upon the flesh of animals taken in the hunt; the **gestamen lecticae**, practised in Rome, was regarded by them as effeminate. The ablatives express characteristic.

erga: in late writers often used in an unfriendly sense.

irridebantur et Graeci comites ac vilissima utensilium anulo clausa; sed prompti aditus, obvia comitas: ignotae Parthis virtutes, nova vitia; et quia ipsorum moribus aliena, perinde odium pravis et honestis. 6

Igitur Artabanus Arsacidarum e sanguine apud Dahas adultus excitur, primoque congressu fusus reparat vires regnoque potitur. Victo Vononi perfugium Armenia fuit, vacua tunc interque Parthorum et Romanas opes infida ob scelus Antonii, qui Artavasden regem Armeniorum specie amicitiae illectum, dein catenis oneratum, postremo interfecerat. Eius filius Artaxias, memoria patris nobis infensus, Arsacidarum vi seque regnumque tutatus est. Occiso Artaxia per dolum propinquorum, datus a Caesare Armeniis Tigranes deductusque in regnum a Tiberio Nerone. Nec Tigrani diuturnum imperium fuit neque liberis eius, quamquam sociatis more externo in matrimonium regnumque. Dein iussu Au- 3 2 3 4 5 4

6. **vilissima**, etc.: this refers to the Roman practice, introduced by Vonones, as well as the *lectica*, of sealing up the commonest necessaries of life, such as bread and salt, that they might not be pilfered by slaves.

virtutes, vitia: the former refers to **prompti aditus, obvia comitas**; the latter to all that precedes.

3. Arsacidarum e sanguine: the degree of relationship is not known.

apud Dahas: the Dahae lived at this time east of the Caspian Sea; but the name of the modern Daghestan appears to show that they once resided west of that sea. Artabanus had been king of Media Atropatene.

2. **Armenia**: this mountainous country had retained its independence between the Parthian and Roman empires.

vacua: *i.e.* its royal throne.

Artavasden: the son of Tigranes I., who took part in the Mithridatic war against Rome: his capture by Antony was B.C. 34.

catenis: it is said that, to reconcile him to the disgrace, his chains were at first of silver, then of gold.

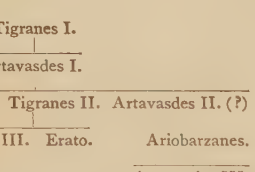
3. **Arsacidarum**: *i.e.* of Parthia.

4. **Tigranes**: he was brother of Artaxias, and had been captured with his father Artavasdes; his accession was B.C. 20.

5. **in matrimonium**: the son and daughter (Erato) of Tigranes II. were married and reigned as associates, after the Egyptian custom (**more externo**), according to which Ptolemy and Cleopatra, being brother and sister, were married and shared the throne.

The following table gives the relationship of these Armenian princes: —

gusti impositus Artavasdes et non sine clade nostra
2 deiectus. Tum Gaius Caesar componendae Armeniae
deligitur. Is Ariobarzanen, origine Medum, ob insig-
nem corporis formam et praeclarum animum volentibus
3 Armeniis praefecit. Ariobarzane morte fortuita ab-
sumpto stirpem eius haud toleravere; temptatoque femi-
nae imperio, cui nomen Erato, eaque brevi pulsa, incerti
solutique et magis sine domino quam in libertate pro-
4 fugum Vononem in regnum accipiunt. Sed ubi minitari
Artabanus et parum subsidii in Armeniis, vel, si nostra
vi defenderetur, bellum adversus Parthos sumendum
erat, rector Suriae Creticus Silanus excitum custodia
5 circumdat, manente luxu et regio nomine. Quod ludi-
brium ut effugere agitaverit Vonones, in loco reddemus.
5 Ceterum Tiberio haud ingratum accidit turbari res
Orientis, ut ea specie Germanicum suetis legionibus



4. Artavasdes: probably a younger son of Artavasdes I. He is not mentioned in the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, which speaks here (V. 28) only of a season of confusion; *eandem gentem postea desciscentem et rebellantem domitam per Gaium filium meum regi Ariobarzani regis Medorum Artabazi filio regendam tradidi, et post eius mortem filio eius Artavasdi.*

2. **Gaius Caesar**: see I. 3. 3; it was on his way home from this expedition that he died, A.D. 4.

Ariobarzanen: this was a change of dynasty; see 4. 1 n. After the death of his son Artavasdes III., the throne was restored to the Armenian line in the person of Tigranes IV. (see VI. 40. 2), who was distantly related to that line.

3. **stirpem eius**: Artavasdes III.

Erato: the daughter of Tigranes II., who had ruled conjointly with her brother Tigranes III. (3. 5), had been succeeded by her uncle, Artavasdes II. (1), and was now restored.

profugum Vononem: 3. 2.

4. **minitari**: Intr. 35 *k*.

defenderetur: *sc.* Vonones.

rector: the proper title of the governor of Syria was *legatus*.

excitum: *sc. Vononem*.

5. **ludibrium**, *mockery* of royal state. For the event see 68. 1.

5. ceterum Tiberio, etc.: with these words begins the most serious of the special charges made by Tacitus against Tiberius — that, uneasy at the growing popularity of his adopted son, he made the disturbed condition of the East a pretext to

abstraheret novisque provinciis impositum dolo simul et casibus obiectaret. At ille, quanto acriora in eum studia 2
militum et aversa patrui voluntas, celerandae victoriae intentior, tractare proeliorum vias et quae sibi tertium iam annum belligeranti saeva vel prospera evenissent: fundi Germanos acie et iustis locis, iuvari silvis, paludi- 3
bus, brevi aestate et praematura hieme; suum militem haud perinde vulneribus quam spatiis itinerum, damno armorum adfici; fessas Gallias ministrandis equis; longum impedimentorum agmen opportunum ad insidias, defensantibus iniquum. At si mare intretur, promptam 4
ipsis possessionem et hostibus ignotam, simul bellum maturius incipi legionesque et commeatus pariter vehi;

separate him from an army that was strongly attached to him (**suetis legionibus**) and assigned him to this new and perilous command, taking measures at the same time to have him privately assassinated. As Tacitus evidently believed (see Intr. 7) that the death of Germanicus, which followed very shortly (72. 2), was the effect of poison, administered by Piso, at the instigation of Tiberius, — an assertion which is repeated by most modern historians, — we have a right to assume that he has given us all the evidence upon which the story rests, and it will easily appear from the following narrative that there is absolutely no evidence, even circumstantial, in its favor. In the present chapter the only fact of importance is the transfer of Germanicus from one important command to another. This was connected with a change of policy, the emperor finally deciding to give up all efforts to recover possession of Germany, and simply maintain the frontier of the Rhine. That he feared the popularity of Germanicus, and was glad of a pretext to change his command, is not unlikely; it has been a not unusual policy in all ages.

novis provinciis: see 43. 2, *provinciae quae mari dividuntur*.

2. **tractare**, *consider*, with reference to his future operations.

proeliorum vias: the route, whether by land or water. He had tried both ways the year before, and now decided for the water.

quae evenissent: *i.e.* the experience of his past campaigns, explained in **fundi . . . iniquum**.

3. **iustis**: *i.e.* suited for regular operations.

iuvari, etc.: contrasted with **fundi . . . locis**.

damno: see I. 71. 3.

ministrandis equis: these had been freely offered (I. 71. 3); but the loyalty of the Gauls must not be tried too severely.

4. **possessionem**: has here an active sense; *taking into possession*.

maturius: the expedition could be made by water earlier than land forces would find the ground fit for marching.

integrum equitem equosque per ora et alveos fluminum
6 media in Germania fore. Igitur huc intendit, missis
ad census Galliarum P. Vitellio et C. Antio. Silius et
Anteius et Caecina fabricandae classi praeponuntur.
2 Mille naves sufficere visae properataeque: aliae breves,
angusta puppi proraque et lato utero, quo facilius fluctus
tolerarent, quaedam planae carinis, ut sine noxa side-
rent; plures appositis utrimque gubernaculis, converso
3 ut repente remigio hinc vel illinc appellerent; multae
pontibus stratae, super quas tormenta veherentur, simul
aptae ferendis equis aut commeatui; velis habiles, citae
remis augebantur alacritate militum in speciem ac terro-

integrum: *sc. viribus.* They had been worn out by the long marches of the previous year.

6. huc: to this plan, — an advance by water.

ad census: see note on *agendo censui*, I. 31. 2.

P. Vitellio: see I. 70. The name of Antius occurs upon an inscription. For Silius and Cæcina see I. 31.

Anteius: not otherwise known; as it is Tacitus' habit to give the prænomen on the first mention of a person, and as it is unlikely that an obscure person would be joined with the two governors, Nipperdey reads here Apronius (I. 56. 1).

2. **mille naves**: for conveying the entire army and stores. These ships were of three classes, — the first for the sea; the largest number (**plures**) for river navigation; also a large number (**multae**) for the conveyance of horses and engines. It is probable, as Knoke suggests (p. 296), that the first class conveyed the troops to the mouth of the Ems, where they were transferred to smaller boats.

breves: *i.e.* contrasted with *naves longae*, ships-of-war. This class was designed for conveying the troops through the sea; the two other classes, for river navigation. Knoke.

utero = *alveo.*

quaedam: *i.e.* a part of those already described.

planae carinis, etc.: so in Cæsar, *B. G.* III. 13, of the Gallic ships: *carinae aliquanto planiores quam nostrarum navium, quo facilius vada ac decessum aestus excipere possent.* Dutch vessels are still built with broad, flat keels, so as to rest easily on the sand.

siderent: in the shallows along the coast and the ebb-tide; Knoke, less probably, refers it to river shallows.

appositis, etc.: Tacitus describes the boats of the Scandinavians as follows (*Germ.* 44): *utrimque prora paratam semper appulsui frontem agit.* The viking ships discovered of late years have this shape.

converso, etc.: cf. Hist. III. 47, *pari utrimque prora et mutabili remigio.*

3. **pontibus**, *decks.*

citae: here a participle, *impelled;* referring (as well as **habiles**) to *all* the ships.

augebantur: *i.e.* when the sol-

rem. Insula Batavorum in quam convenirent praedicta, 4
ob faciles appulsus accipiendisque copiis et transmittendum ad bellum opportuna. Nam Rhenus uno alveo 5
continuus aut modicas insulas circumveniens apud principium agri Batavi velut in duos amnes dividitur, servatque nomen et violentiam cursus, qua Germaniam praevehitur, donec Oceano misceatur; ad Gallicam ripam latior et placidior adfluens (verso cognomento Vahalem accolae dicunt), mox id quoque vocabulum mutat Mosa flumine, eiusque immenso ore eundem in Oceanum effunditur. Sed Caesar, dum adiguntur naves, Silium 7
legatum cum expedita manu irruptionem in Chattos facere iubet; ipse audito castellum Lupiae flumini appositum obsideri, sex legiones eo duxit. Neque Silio ob 2
subitos imbres aliud actum quam ut modicam praedam et Arpi principis Chattorum coniugem filiamque raperet, neque Caesari copiam pugnae obsessores fecere, ad famam adventus eius dilapsi; tumulum tamen nuper 3

diers quickened their speed (**alacritate**) in rowing, the appearance of the ships was more formidable. — *In*, expressing purpose or result, is in no writer so common as in Tacitus (Intr. 35 *i*).

4. **insula Batavorum**: the island formed in the provinces of Guelderland and Holland by the rivers Rhine and Meuse and the Waal which connects them: see *Germ.* 29.

faciles appulsus, *facilities for landing.*

que . . . et, *both . . . and.*

transmittendum ad bellum, *for carrying war* into the enemy's country. (Intr. 35 *r*).

5. **qua Germaniam praevehitur**: *i.e.* the right branch, the Rhine proper, while the left branch, the Waal, flows into the Meuse.

Mosa: an ablative of price, the regular construction with *muto, exchange for.* In reality the Waal does not change its name, but is lost in the Meuse.

7. irruptionem: from his headquarters at Mentz, before joining the main expedition.

castellum: this was probably the fortress Aliso, mentioned below; if not, it must have been a short distance further up the river, at any rate near the Teutoburg Forest. That the attack upon it was formidable, and the expedition a dangerous one, is shown by the fact that Germanicus took with him the large force of six legions.

3. **tumulum**: see I. 62. 2; its mention here shows conclusively that the battle-field was in the immediate neighborhood of the Lippe. The

Varianis legionibus structum et veterem aram Druso
4 sitam disiecerant. Restituit aram honorique patris princeps ipse cum legionibus decucurrit; tumulum iterare
5 haud visum. Et cuncta inter castellum Alisonem ac Rhenum novis limitibus aggeribusque permunita.
8 Iamque classis advenerat cum, praemisso commeatu et distributis in legiones ac socios navibus, fossam cui Drusianae nomen ingressus, precatusque Drusum patrem ut se eadem ausum libens placatusque exemplo ac memoria consiliorum atque operum iuvaret, lacus inde et Oceanum usque ad Amisiam flumen secunda naviga-
2 tione pervehitur. Classis Amisiae relicta laevo amne,

altar need not have been on the same spot, but in the neighborhood.

legionibus, Druso: datives, not of agency, but of interest.

sitam: the use of this word, as equivalent to *conditam*, is peculiar to Tacitus.

4. **decucurrit**: the *decursio* was a solemn march three times round the altar; see Verg. *Aen.* XI. 188.

haud visum: Furneaux thinks because it was too distant for him to visit. The natural interpretation of the passage, however, especially with the pluperfect, **disiecerant** (*i.e.* before they **dilapsi sunt**), is that both altar and mound were near the fort.

5. **Alisonem**: a fortress established by Drusus, at the junction of the Aliso with the Lippe. It is disputed whether the name is to be recognized in that of the town of *Alsen*, near Paderborn, or of the river *Ahse*, which flows into the Lippe at Hamm. The situation at Hamm, upon the middle course of the Lippe, equally near the Cherusci and the Bructeri, is much the most probable. Moreover, it would be quite practicable to construct defences connecting this point with the Rhine (**cuncta inter castellum Alisonem ac Rhenum**), while to do this with a place so distant as Alsen would be difficult, and, in the present hostile relations with these tribes, practically impossible. As this fort was constructed by Drusus, it is probable that his altar was near to it, — an argument for regarding this as the fort mentioned at the beginning of the chapter.

limitibus, *defensive works* (see I. 50. 2 n.); **aggeribus**, *causeways*.

8. advenerat: *i.e.* at the appointed place (6. 4).

praemisso: to the Ems.

fossam: this connects the Rhine with the Yssel, thus giving a passage into Lake Flevo. Suetonius (*Claud.* 1) says of Drusus, *fossas novi et immensi operis effecit, quae nunc adhuc Drusinae vocantur.*

lacus: the series of small lakes and lagoons, part of which are now united in the Zuyder Zee.

2. **Amisiae**: to be construed with **laevo amne**, on the left bank (*i.e.* the side towards Gaul). It is taken as a locative by some; but although Ptolemy mentions a place called Ἀμάσεια, Tacitus would have

erratumque in eo, quod non subvexit *aut* transposuit militem dextras in terras iturum; ita plures dies efficiendis pontibus absumpti. Et eques quidem ac legiones 3
prima aestuaria, nondum accrescente unda, intrepidi transiere; postremum auxiliorum agmen Batavique in parte ea, dum insultant aquis artemque nandi ostentant, turbati et quidam hausti sunt.

Metanti castra Caesari Angrivariorum defectio a tergo 4

been likely to add *oppidum* or *castellum*, as with Aliso in the last chapter. It cannot correspond with the modern town of Emden, which is on the right bank. Most editors insert *ore;* but it is likely that Germanicus made use of the boats which were built expressly for river navigation. It is true he is criticised for not conveying his troops by water further than he did, but this may be explained by supposing, with Knoke, that his original intention had been to sail up the Hase or some other confluent of the Ems. This would explain the emphatic position of **Amisiae**, — *the fleet was left in the Ems, on its left bank.* The narrative shows that the place where he landed was still under the influence of the tides. It appears, moreover, from 23. 1, that on his return he conveyed his troops in ships *per flumen Amisiam* — from which it is probable that he left the fleet some way up the river.

erratum: *sc.* **est**.

subvexit aut transposuit, *carry further up stream, or at least land on the other bank.* See App. I.

iturum, *since they were to go.*

pontibus: it is possible that he built more than one bridge for so large an army, but more likely that the plural is used for the singular, — a bridge of several arches or divisions.

3. **aestuaria**: the flats along the river, flooded at high tide. We have in this chapter more even than the usual abruptness and compression. It is clear, however, that the sudden rise of the tide was while the army was marching up the right bank of the river.

in parte ea: *i.e.* in the rear (**postremum agmen**).

artem . . . ostentant: the Batavians, living in a country of rivers and lakes, were expert swimmers.

turbati, etc.: *i.e.* by a sudden and rapid rise of the tide.

4. **metanti castra**: another violent transition. The passage from the Ems to the Weser is not mentioned, and must be supplied in mind either here or at the end of the chapter. The present place is the most probable, because the establishment of the camp at the end of the march, when in the neighborhood of the enemy, would be much more important, and more likely to receive special mention than any of the encampments along the road. Moreover, the words at the beginning of the ninth chapter show that the army was already upon the Weser, and cannot be conjoined with what goes immediately before, except by understanding that the camp here laid out was on or near this river.

Angrivariorum: see App. I. The course from the lower Ems to the mountainous region of the

nuntiatur ; missus ilico Stertinius cum equite et arma-
9 tura levi igne et caedibus perfidiam ultus est. Flumen
Visurgis Romanos Cheruscosque interfluebat. Eius in
ripa cum ceteris primoribus Arminius adstitit, quaesi-
toque an Caesar venisset, postquam adesse responsum
2 est, ut liceret cum fratre colloqui oravit. Erat is in
exercitu cognomento Flavus, insignis fide et amisso per
3 vulnus oculo paucis ante annis duce Tiberio. Tum per-
missum, progressusque salutatur ab Arminio ; qui amo-
tis stipatoribus, ut sagittarii nostra pro ripa dispositi
abscederent postulat, et postquam digressi, unde ea
4 deformitas oris interrogat fratrem. Illo locum et proe-
lium referente, quodnam praemium recepisset exquirit.
5 Flavus aucta stipendia, torquem et coronam aliaque
militaria dona memorat, irridente Arminio vilia servitii
10 pretia. Exin diversi ordiuntur, hic magnitudinem Ro-
manam, opes Caesaris, et victis graves poenas, in dedi-
tionem venienti paratam clementiam ; neque coniugem
et filium eius hostiliter haberi : ille fas patriae, liberta-

Weser, where the events next to be described took place, was in a generally southeasterly direction. The natural route would have been to follow the Hase nearly east, and then turn to the south, when in the neighborhood of the Weser. This course would explain the revolt of the Angrivarii as being in his rear, for they dwelt on the lower waters of the Weser, about Bremen, and apparently on both banks of the river (Knoke).

9. cum ceteris primoribus: the chief part of his army did not arrive until the next day (II. 1).

2. **Flavus**: probably a Roman nickname, because of his yellow hair.

amisso . . . oculo: in the same construction as **fide**.

paucis ante annis: perhaps after the defeat of Varus, A.D. 9–11.

3. **permissum**: see App. I.

stipatoribus: the personal followers, who crowded about him.

pro: cf. 13. 4; 81. 1.

5. **torquem**: this ornament — seen about the neck of the so-called Dying Gladiator, and other statues of this class — was worn by Celts and other barbarians, and was often bestowed by way of reward upon Roman soldiers. Cf. Aul. Gell. IX. 13.

10. diversi: in a discussion, which passed into altercation.

in deditionem venienti, *for whoever submits himself.* The asyndeton before it may be filled by *but.*

coniugem et filium: see I. 57. 5.

eius: Arminius.

tem avitam, penetralis Germaniae deos, matrem precum sociam; ne propinquorum et adfinium, denique gentis suae desertor et proditor quam imperator esse mallet. Paulatim inde ad iurgia prolapsi quo minus pugnam 2 consererent ne flumine quidem interiecto cohibebantur, ni Stertinius accurrens plenum irae armaque et equum poscentem Flavum attinuisset. Cernebatur contra mi- 3 nitabundus Arminius proeliumque denuntians; nam pleraque Latino sermone interiaciebat, ut qui Romanis in castris ductor popularium meruisset.

Postero die Germanorum acies trans Visurgim stetit. 11 Caesar nisi pontibus praesidiisque impositis dare in discrimen legiones haud imperatorium ratus, equitem vado tramittit. Praefuere Stertinius et e numero primi- 2 pilarium Aemilius, distantibus locis invecti, ut hostem deducerent. Qua celerrimus amnis, Chariovalda dux 3 Batavorum erupit. Eum Cherusci fugam simulantes in planitiem saltibus circumiectam traxere; dein coorti et undique effusi trudunt adversos, instant cedentibus, collectosque in orbem pars congressi, quidam eminus pro-

penetralis, *native.*

propinquorum et adfinium, *blood relations and connections by marriage.*

2. **cohibebantur:** the river did not prevent them, and they would have rushed at each other, *had not* (**ni**), etc.

3. **ductor popularium meruisset,** *he had served as leader of his countrymen* (as auxiliaries before his revolt).

11. nisi . . . impositis: like *quamquam* (Intr. 35 *j*).

imperatorium, *worthy of a commander;* a novel use of this word.

2. **primipilarium:** see note on *primi ordinis*, I. 29. 2. The *primipilus* who had completed his service and been discharged was called *primipilaris* (as *consularis* from *consul*). The *primipilares* formed an *ordo* which enjoyed many privileges, such as the exercise of higher commands, and admittance to the equestrian order.

deducerent, *draw away* from the point where the bridge was to be constructed; many editions alter to **diducerent,** to express that the enemy's forces were to be divided.

3. **erupit:** *i.e.* across the river.

saltibus: ablative.

congressi: *i.e. comminus;* opposed to **eminus.**

4 turbant. Chariovalda diu sustentata hostium saevitia, hortatus suos ut ingruentes catervas globo perfringerent, atque ipse densissimos irrumpens, congestis telis et suffosso equo labitur, ac multi nobilium circa; ceteros vis sua aut equites cum Stertinio Aemilioque subvenientes periculo exemere.

12 Caesar transgressus Visurgim indicio perfugae cognoscit delectum ab Arminio locum pugnae; convenisse et alias nationes in silvam Herculi sacram, ausu-
2 rosque nocturnam castrorum oppugnationem. Habita indici fides et cernebantur ignes, suggressique propius speculatores audiri fremitum equorum immensique et inconditi agminis murmur attulere.

3 Igitur propinquo summae rei discrimine explorandos militum animos ratus, quonam id modo incorruptum
4 foret secum agitabat. Tribunos et centuriones laeta saepius quam comperta nuntiare; libertorum servilia ingenia; amicis inesse adulationem; si contio vocetur, illic quoque quae pauci incipiant reliquos adstrepere.
5 Penitus noscendas mentes, cum secreti et incustoditi inter militaris cibos spem aut metum proferrent.

13 Nocte coepta egressus augurali per occulta et vigilibus

4. **subvenientes**: they had crossed at other points.

12. transgressus: probably having taken advantage of the dispersion of the enemy by the cavalry, to build a bridge.

alias nationes: *i.e.* besides the Cherusci.

Herculi: this god, mentioned in the *Germania*, 9, was probably *Donar* (*Thor*); he is by some identified with *Irmin*.

ausuros, etc.: see 13. 4.

2. **attulere**, *brought word;* governs the clause **audiri ... murmur**.

3. **incorruptum**, *without deceit, trustworthy; i.e.* how he might obtain certain knowledge of the temper of the soldiers.

4. **laeta**: what would give pleasure; **comperta**: what they had ascertained as true.

5. **noscendas**: if he would learn their real disposition, it *must* be at a time when, etc.

13. augurali: the *augurale* or *auguratorium* was on the right of the *praetorium*, as the tribunal was on its left; here the auspices were taken. He would naturally have stepped directly from his tent into the *via principalis* of the camp, but

ignara, comite uno, contectus umeros ferina pelle, adit castrorum vias, adsistit tabernaculis, fruiturque fama sui, cum hic nobilitatem ducis, decorem alius, plurimi patientiam comitatem, per seria per iocos eundem animum laudibus ferrent, reddendamque gratiam in acie faterentur, simul perfidos et ruptores pacis ultioni et gloriae mactandos. Inter quae unus hostium, Latinae linguae 2
sciens, acto ad vallum equo voce magna coniuges et agros et stipendii in dies, donec bellaretur, sestertios centenos, si quis transfugisset, Arminii nomine pollicetur. Incen- 3
dit ea contumelia legionum iras: veniret dies, daretur pugna; sumpturum militem Germanorum agros, tracturum coniuges; accipere omen et matrimonia ac pecunias hostium praedae destinare. Tertia ferme vigilia assul- 4
tatum est castris sine coniectu teli, postquam crebras pro munimentis cohortes et nihil remissum sensere.

Nox eadem laetam Germanico quietem tulit, viditque **14**
se operatum et, sanguine sacri respersa praetexta, pul-

took this roundabout way to avoid discovery.

ignara, *unobserved;* cf. *gnarum*, I. 5. 4.

castrorum vias: the camp was regularly laid out in streets.

sui: an objective genitive, *what they said about him.*

per seria per iocos, *when serious and when merry;* qualifying **eundem.**

in acie: *i.e.* by their conduct in battle.

perfidos: the Cherusci had broken faith with Varus.

2. **sestertios centenos**: this was about $5.00; their present pay was ten asses, about ten cents. It is limited by **stipendii.**

3. **omen**: his promise of wives and lands; they would realize it by their own prowess.

matrimonia: Intr. 35 *a.*

4. **tertia vigilia**: at about midnight, the night being divided into four watches.

assultatum est, *an assault was made;* here with the dative; cf. I. 51. 6.

postquam, etc.: joined with **sine . . . teli**; they withdrew without any actual fighting, when, etc.

nihil remissum: no relaxation of vigilance.

14. quietem, *dream.*

operatum: *sc. rebus divinis;* a frequent technical use of this word. The tense shows that the sacrifice had been completed.

sacri: here *the sacred offering* or *victim.*

praetexta, *the toga praetexta,* white with a purple border, was worn by children and by the higher

2 chriorem aliam manibus aviae Augustae accepisse. Auctus omine, addicentibus auspiciis, vocat contionem et quae sapientia praevisa aptaque imminenti pugnae dis-
3 serit. Non campos modo militi Romano ad proelium bonos, sed si ratio adsit, silvas et saltus; nec enim immensa barbarorum scuta, enormis hastas inter truncos arborum et enata humo virgulta perinde haberi
4 quam pila et gladios et haerentia corpori tegmina. Denserent ictus, ora mucronibus quaererent; non loricam Germano, non galeam, ne scuta quidem ferro nervove firmata, sed viminum textus vel tenuis et fucatas colore tabulas; primam utcumque aciem hastatam, ceteris
5 praeusta aut brevia tela. Iam corpus ut visu torvum et ad brevem impetum validum, sic nulla vulnerum patientia; sine pudore flagitii, sine cura ducum abire fugere, pavidos adversis, inter secunda non divini, non
6 humani iuris memores. Si taedio viarum ac maris finem cupiant, hac acie parari: propiorem iam Albim quam Rhenum, neque bellum ultra, modo se, patris

magistrates, and also by all engaged in sacred rites.

2. **auctus**, *encouraged.*

addicentibus, *being favorable.*

sapientia: ablative; what provisions had been made by his forethought.

3. **ratio**, *good management.*

silvas et saltus: cf. 5. 3.

perinde haberi, *are so manageable.*

pila, etc.: both javelin and sword were short, — the *pilum* about six feet, the *gladius* two.

tegmina: defensive armor, — **loricam**, etc., below.

4. **nervo**, *hide.*

colore: cf. *Germ.* 6, *scuta lectissimis coloribus distinguunt;* these are the forerunners of the mediæval coats of arms.

utcumque: an adverb, as frequently in late writers, *as best they could.*

praeusta, *with points hardened in the fire.*

5. **iam**, *moreover.*

ut . . . sic, *although . . . yet.* So in the *Germania*, 4, *magna corpora et tantum ad impetum valida.*

adversis: poetic ablative absolute, contrasted with **inter secunda**; cf. *sperat infestis*, Hor. *Od.* II. 10. 13 (Intr. 35 *s*).

6. **taedio . . . maris**: cf. Hor. *Epp.* I. 11. 6, *odio maris atque viarum.*

cupiant: *i.e.* the Roman soldiers.

ultra, *any longer.*

patris patruique: both Drusus

patruique vestigia prementem, isdem in terris victorem sisterent.

Orationem ducis secutus militum ardor, signum- **15**
que pugnae datum. Nec Arminius aut ceteri Germa- 2
norum proceres omittebant suos quisque testari, hos esse Romanos Variani exercitus fugacissimos, qui ne bellum tolerarent, seditionem induerint; quorum pars onusta vulneribus terga, pars fluctibus et procellis fractos artus infensis rursum hostibus, adversis dis obiciant, nulla boni spe. Classem quippe et avia Oceani quaesita, ne 3
quis venientibus occurreret, ne pulsos premeret: sed ubi miscuerint manus, inane victis ventorum remorumve subsidium. Meminissent modo avaritiae crudelitatis su- 4
perbiae: aliud sibi reliquum quam tenere libertatem aut mori ante servitium?

Sic accensos et proelium poscentes in campum, cui **16**
Idistaviso nomen, deducunt. Is medius inter Visurgim 2

and Tiberius had penetrated to the Elbe. For **patrui**, see I. 33. 3 n.

isdem in terris: *i.e.* the region beyond the Weser.

15. 2. **fugacissimos**: *i.e.* they had escaped from the slaughter of Varus, and had mutinied for fear of being exposed again to a like danger; cf. *ceterorum Britannorum fugacissimi*, *Agr.* 34.

seditionem: referring to the mutiny of the previous year.

vulneribus: wounds in the back (not the scars from flogging).

fluctibus, etc.: referring to the march of Vitellius, I. 70.

rursum: qualifies **obiciant**, referring to the defeat of Varus.

3. **quaesita**, *resorted to.*

premeret, *pursue* in their retreat.

miscuerint: subjunctive, representing a future perfect, — after the battle now to be fought.

4. **aliud . . . reliquum**: the omission of the interrogative particle is not in itself uncommon, but is very unusual in indirect discourse.

16. Idistaviso: the last part of this word is evidently the German *Wiese* (meadow); the first part is conjectured by Jacob Grimm to be *Idis* (nymph, elf), and he proposes to change to Idisiaviso, a reading adopted by most editors. It is probably to be taken as nominative, that being the usual construction of Tacitus with substantives, in phrases like *nomen est* (I. 45. 1 n). It is usually placed just above the great bend of the Weser near Minden, where the river runs for some distance parallel with the Wesergebirge, and quite near to it. Knoke places it a little further up, at Eisbergen, which name he thinks derived from *Idistaviso*. The following plan, copied from Knoke, presents

et colles, ut ripae fluminis cedunt aut prominentia
3 montium resistunt, inaequaliter sinuatur. Pone tergum
insurgebat silva, editis in altum ramis et pura humo
4 inter arborum truncos. Campum et prima silvarum
barbara acies tenuit; soli Cherusci iuga insedere, ut
proeliantibus Romanis desuper incurrerent.

5 Noster exercitus sic incessit: auxiliares Galli Ger-
manique in fronte, post quos pedites sagittarii; dein
quattuor legiones et cum duabus praetoriis cohortibus
ac delecto equite Caesar; exim totidem aliae legiones et
levis armatura cum equite sagittario ceteraeque sociorum
cohortes. Intentus paratusque miles, ut ordo agminis

at any rate an intelligible battle-ground: —

Battle of Idistaviso.

2. **prominentia montium**, *the spurs of the mountains*, a truer partitive than *subiecta vallium*, I. 65. 1.

resistunt: the correct explanation of this puzzling passage appears to be given by Knoke. **resistunt** is to be taken here in its original, purely neuter signification, — *come to a stand, cease to advance*. As the river banks retreat (*i.e.* to the south), and on the other hand, the spurs of the mountains cease to project, the meadow between (not *narrows and widens*, but) bends (**sinuatur**), between north and south. This is the character of the meadow at Eisbergen.

3. **pone tergum**: *i.e.* of the Germans. The wood was on the lower part of the slope of the hill (**insurgebat**). The description seems to be that of a pine wood.

4. **iuga**: one of the projecting spurs, from which they could take the Romans in the flank.

5. **praetoriis cohortibus**: see I. 7. 3 n; these two cohorts appear to have been sent to the crown prince as a special bodyguard.

ut ordo, etc.: to deploy from the march (**ordo agminis**) into line of battle (**in aciem**).

in aciem adsisteret. Visis Cheruscorum catervis, quae 17
per ferociam proruperant, validissimos equitum incurrere latus, Stertinium cum ceteris turmis circumgredi tergaque invadere iubet, ipse in tempore adfuturus. In- 2
terea, pulcherrimum augurium, octo aquilae petere silvas et intrare visae imperatorem advertere. Exclamat irent, sequerentur Romanas aves, propria legionum numina. Simul pedestris acies infertur et praemissus eques pos- 3
tremos ac latera impulit; mirumque dictu, duo hostium 4
agmina diversa fuga, qui silvam tenuerant, in aperta, qui campis adstiterant, in silvam ruebant. Medii inter hos 5
Cherusci collibus detrudebantur, inter quos insignis Arminius manu voce vulnere sustentabat pugnam. In- 6
cubueratque sagittariis, illa rupturus, ni Raetorum Vindelicorumque et Gallicae cohortes signa obiecissent.

17. per ferociam, *impatiently,* thus disturbing the plan of the battle (Intr. 35 *i*).

validissimos, Stertinium: both with their infinitives depending on **iubet.** The former were to attack the Cheruscans on the right flank as they descended from the ridge, while Stertinius made a circuit on the mountain side, and took the German position in the rear.

adfuturus: *i.e.* to attack in front, co-operating in season with these flank movements.

2. **octo aquilae**: this was the number of legions in the army, and the standard of the legion was a silver eagle (**propria legionum numina**).

silvas: where the enemy were.

advertere, *attracted the attention of;* cf. I. 41. 1; *gemitusque ac planctus etiam militum aures oraque advertere.*

3. **praemissus eques**: that is, both the *validissimi equitum,* and those under Stertinius.

postremos: the entire rear, including the Cherusci, who were furthest from the river. These were attacked by Stertinius.

4. **duo . . . agmina**: those who occupied the woods were pushed forward into the plain, because the hills in their rear were occupied by the cavalry forces; those in the plain, attacked in front by the **pedestris acies,** fell back into the woods. The imperfect shows the effort at these movements, but all was in confusion.

5. **medii inter hos**: so as to add to the confusion.

detrudebantur: by Stertinius.

vulnere: by braving wounds, thus inspiring by his example. These ablatives qualify **sustentabat.**

6. **illa rupturus,** *and would have burst through at that point.*

Vindelicorum: the Vindelici, occupying the southwestern part of Bavaria (Augsburg is *Augusta Vindelicorum*) formed a part of

7 Nisu tamen corporis et impetu equi pervasit, oblitus faciem suo cruore, ne nosceretur. Quidam agnitum a Chaucis inter auxilia Romana agentibus emissumque
8 tradiderunt. Virtus seu fraus eadem Inguiomero effugium dedit. Ceteri passim trucidati; et plerosque tranare Visurgim conantes iniecta tela aut vis fluminis, postremo moles ruentium et incidentes ripae operuere.
9 Quidam turpi fuga in summa arborum nisi ramisque se occultantes admotis sagittariis per ludibrium figebantur, alios prorutae arbores adflixere.

18 Magna ea victoria neque cruenta nobis fuit. Quinta ab hora diei ad noctem caesi hostes decem milia passuum cadaveribus atque armis opplevere, repertis inter spolia eorum catenis, quas in Romanos ut non
2 dubio eventu portaverant. Miles in loco proelii Tiberium imperatorem salutavit struxitque aggerem et in modum tropaeorum arma subscriptis victarum gentium nomini-
19 bus imposuit. Haud perinde Germanos vulnera luctus

the province of Rætia. See I. 44. 6 n.

7. **oblitus**: *i.e.* by himself.

Chaucis: they had submitted to the Romans, and were serving as auxiliaries. See I. 38. 1, and 60. 3.

emissum, *suffered to escape.*

8. **Visurgim**: the river flows here in a general westerly direction, so that by crossing it they would still be in the country of their friends.

ruentium, *the fugitives*, crowding upon them.

9. **prorutae**, *cut down*, by the Romans.

18. quinta ab hora: about eleven o'clock.

2. **Tiberium imperatorem**: this was according to the ancient custom of saluting the victorious general as *imperator*. This honor, and that of the triumph, were bestowed only upon generals who fought *suo imperio* and *suis auspiciis;* in accordance with this principle, the emperors reserved them to themselves, since the governors of the provinces were only their *legati*.

tropaeorum: these were erected after a victory, and consisted of pieces of armor generally fixed to the trunk of a tree, upon some elevated spot, so arrayed as to present the appearance of the conquered warrior. It was a Greek custom, adopted by the Romans. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* XI. 5: *ingentem quercum decisis undique ramis | constituit tumulo, fulgentiaque induit arma . . . aptat rorantes sanguine cristas | telaque trunca viri et bis sex thoraca petitum | perfossumque locis, clipe-*

excidia quam ea species dolore et ira adfecit. Qui 2
modo abire sedibus, trans Albim concedere parabant,
pugnam volunt, arma rapiunt; plebes primores iuventus
senes agmen Romanum repente incursant, turbant.

Postremo deligunt locum flumine et silvis clausum, 3

umque ex aere sinistrae | subligat atque ensem collo suspendit eburnum.

19. ea species: *i.e.* of the trophy.

2. **modo**, *just now;* the sight roused them to fury.

plebes, etc.: see Intr. 35 *j*.

repente incursant, etc.: not a battle, but an unexpected assault, causing some confusion.

3. **deligunt locum**: the description of the ground, as well as of the engagement, is very obscure. From the fact that the Romans found in

agmen: indicating that the Romans have begun to advance (on the other side of the Weser).

front of them the earthwork which separated the territories of the Cherusci from those of the Angri-

arta intus planitie et umida; silvas quoque profunda palus ambibat, nisi quod latus unum Angrivarii lato
4 aggere extulerant quo a Cheruscis dirimerentur. Hic pedes adstitit; equitem propinquis lucis texere, ut in-
20 gressis silvam legionibus a tergo foret. Nihil ex his Caesari incognitum: consilia locos, prompta occulta noverat astusque hostium in perniciem ipsis vertebat.
2 Seio Tuberoni legato tradit equitem campumque; peditum aciem ita instruxit, ut pars aequo in silvam aditu

varii, it would seem that they were marching towards the north; but we have no other positive clew to the position, and do not even know what river is referred to. Knoke points to Leese, a few miles north of Minden, on the east bank of the Weser, where the remains of an earthwork have been found, connecting the river with a marshy plain, which in the time in question must have been covered with woods. The ground here answers completely to the description (as may fifty other places in the region); and an interesting piece of supplementary evidence is a heap of small stones of equal size, artificially flattened on two sides, which would seem to be such as were hurled by the *libritores*, mentioned in the next chapter. He thinks that a loaded caisson was left by some accident in the morass, when the Romans withdrew. The appended plan, from Knoke, gives the localities in question, and will assist in understanding the manœuvres, even if the correctness of his view cannot be absolutely established. The German line ran, according to him, from the *agger* at Leese, southeasterly to the Rehburg hills, their centre being at Düsselburg. The Romans approached from the plains south of Loccum.

arta, *narrow.*

Angrivarii: they dwelt on both sides of the lower Weser; their name is preserved in *Engern*, the name given to this part of Saxony in the Middle Ages.

extulerant, *had thrown up.*

dirimerentur: *i.e.* as a boundary.

4. **hic**: relating not to **aggere** alone, but the whole passage **locum . . . ambibat.** Their lines (on this plan) must have stretched southeast from the *agger* to the neighborhood of Düsselburg.

propinquis lucis: probably in advance of the position, and towards one side; probably on the southwest slopes of the Rehburg Hills.

20. prompta, *at hand, in sight.*

ipsis: the dative of reference equivalent to a possessive, — *to their own* destruction.

2. **Seio Tuberoni**: brother of Sejanus; he had perhaps taken the place of Apronius (see I. 56. 1). He was to operate in the open ground, **campum** (east of Loccum), against the cavalry, who were in the wooded hills.

aequo . . . aditu: this would be according to the plan at the right of the Roman advance, where the German cavalry could have fallen upon their rear, if they had not been engaged by Tubero. The ground being level (**plana**) the advance here was made easily.

incederet, pars obiectum aggerem eniteretur; quod arduum sibi, cetera legatis permisit. Quibus plana eve- 3
nerant, facile inrupere; quis impugnandus agger, ut si murum succederent, gravibus superne ictibus conflictabantur. Sensit dux imparem comminus pugnam, re- 4
motisque paulum legionibus funditores libritoresque excutere tela et proturbare hostem iubet. Missae e 5
tormentis hastae, quantoque conspicui magis propugnatores, tanto pluribus vulneribus deiecti.

Primus Caesar cum praetoriis cohortibus capto vallo 6
dedit impetum in silvas; collato illic gradu certatum. Hostem a tergo palus, Romanos flumen aut montes 7
claudebant: utrisque necessitas in loco, spes in virtute, salus ex victoria. Nec minor Germanis animus, sed 21
genere pugnae et armorum superabantur, cum ingens multitudo artis locis praelongas hastas non protenderet, non colligeret, neque adsultibus et velocitate corporum uteretur, coacta stabile ad proelium: contra miles, cui

aggerem eniteretur: for the accusative, cf. I. 30. 2 (*egredi*), I. 61. 6 (*elabi*), III. 14. 5 (*evadere*).

arduum: *sc.* **erat**; *i.e.* the assault upon the *agger*.

sibi: with **permisit**, or rather, by zeugma, some word like *sumpsit*.

3. **plana**: *i.e.* the *aequus aditus*.

superne: the use of an adverb as an attributive adjective, found also in Livy; cf. **comminus** below.

4. **funditores libritoresque**: the former were regular slingers, who cast pebbles and leaden bullets, *glandes;* the **libritores** used leather thongs, *lora*, and hurled large stones. When the defenders had been dislodged from the rampart by these missiles and those from the engines, the legions were again brought up.

5. **tormentis**: catapults, from which shafts were sent; see I. 56. 5 n.

6. **primus Caesar**: he led the attack after the capture of the works. We are to understand that the other divisions of the infantry were already in the woods.

collato gradu: a hand to hand fight; cf. *congressi*, II. 3 n. When they had passed the *agger*, they still met a stubborn resistance.

7. **montes**: the wooded hills where the cavalry fight was going on, in which the Romans had the worst of it.

21. colligeret, *draw back, recover*. This metaphorical use of *colligo* is found only here.

stabile, *stationary*, — they were not able to move.

scutum pectori appressum et insidens capulo manus, latos barbarorum artus, nuda ora foderet, viamque strage hostium aperiret, imprompto iam *Arminio* ob continua pericula, sive illum recens acceptum vulnus tardaverat.
2 Quin et Inguiomerum, tota volitantem acie, fortuna
3 magis quam virtus deserebat. Et Germanicus quo magis agnosceretur, detraxerat tegimen capiti orabatque insisterent caedibus: nil opus captivis, solam interneci-
4 onem gentis finem bello fore. Iamque sero diei subducit ex acie legionem faciendis castris; ceterae ad noctem cruore hostium satiatae sunt. Equites ambigue certavere.

22 Laudatis pro contione victoribus Caesar congeriem armorum struxit, superbo cum titulo: debellatis inter Rhenum Albimque nationibus exercitum Tiberii Caesaris ea monumenta Marti et Iovi et Augusto sacra-
2 visse. De se nihil addidit, metu invidiae an ratus con-
3 scientiam facti satis esse. Mox bellum in Angrivarios Stertinio mandat, ni deditionem properavissent. Atque illi supplices nihil abnuendo veniam omnium accepere.

23 Sed aestate iam adulta legionum aliae itinere ter-

scutum: this kind of shield was rectangular, and curved so as to come partly round the body and protect it.

insidens capulo manus: this gave a surer grasp.

nuda ora: see *Germ.* 6; *vix uni alterive cassis aut galea.*

imprompto: a compound, found only in Livy, Tacitus, and Ausonius.

sive: the omission of the first *sive* is not unusual in Tacitus. It may be rendered *or perhaps.*

vulnus: see 17. 5.

4. **legionem**: *sc.* **unam.**

ambigue: the cavalry fight is said to have been indecisive, from which we are to gather that it was on the whole a failure; cf. I. 63. 4 n.

22. congeriem armorum: probably a trophy like that in 18. 2.

3. **Angrivarios**: see 8. 4.

properavissent: this represents a future perfect indicative of the direct discourse; he directs him to carry on the war unless the enemy should submit.

omnium: neuter.

23. adulta, literally, *full grown; i.e. at its height.* According to Servius (*ad* Verg. *Georg.* I. 43), the three months of each season are called respectively, *novus, adultus, praeceps.*

restri in hibernacula remissae; plures Caesar classi impositas per flumen Amisiam Oceano invexit. Ac 2
primo placidum aequor mille navium remis strepere aut velis impelli; mox atro nubium globo effusa grando, simul variis undique procellis incerti fluctus prospectum adimere, regimen impedire; milesque pavidus et casuum maris ignarus dum turbat nautas vel intempestive iuvat, officia prudentium corrumpebat. Omne dehinc caelum 3
et mare omne in austrum cessit, qui tumidis Germaniae terris, profundis amnibus, immenso nubium tractu validus et rigore vicini septentrionis horridior, rapuit disiecitque naves in aperta Oceani aut insulas saxis abruptis vel per occulta vada infestas. Quibus paulum aegreque 4
vitatis, postquam mutabat aestus eodemque quo ventus ferebat, non adhaerere ancoris, non exhaurire irrumpentis undas poterant; equi iumenta sarcinae, etiam arma praecipitantur quo levarentur alvei, manantes per latera et fluctu superurgente. Quanto violentior cetero 24

per Amisiam: showing that, in all likehood, he had left the fleet in the river; see 8. 2 n.

2. **ac primo**: *i.e.* after entering the ocean.

mille navium: see 6. 2.

remis . . . impelli, *resounded with the* (splashing of the) *oars, or was fretted by* (the ships, propelled by) *sails.*

globo: ablative of source without a preposition after **effusa**, a construction also found in Sallust and Livy.

incerti: as distinguished from the regular swell of a steady gale.

prudentium: the *experienced* sailors, contrasted with the landlubber soldiery.

3. **in austrum cessit**: cf. *cessere*, I. 1. 3; the southwest wind conquered all the rest.

tumidis, *swollen, i.e.* hilly; the wind came from the mountainous lands of Central Germany. See *Agricola*, 10, *montes causa ac materies tempestatum.* These ablatives are construed with **validus**. See App. I.

rigore: the cause of **horridior**.

insulas: they were sailing between the mainland and the low islands along the coast.

4. **mutabat**: neuter; the ebb tide set in, thus carrying them in the same direction as the wind.

eodem, *i.e. in the same direction.* This does not refer merely to the tide, but to the movement of the great waves, which was felt as soon as the southwest wind carried them out of the shelter of the shore. Pfitzner.

manantes, *leaking.*

mari Oceanus et truculentia caeli praestat Germania, tantum illa clades novitate et magnitudine excessit, nostilibus circum litoribus aut ita vasto et profundo
2 ut credatur novissimum ac sine terris mare. Pars navium haustae sunt, plures apud insulas longius sitas eiectae; milesque nullo illic hominum cultu fame absumptus, nisi quos corpora equorum eodem elisa toleraverant.

3 Sola Germanici triremis Chaucorum terram appulit; quem per omnes illos dies noctesque apud scopulos et prominentis oras, cum se tanti exitii reum clamitaret, vix cohibuere amici quo minus eodem mari oppeteret.
4 Tandem relabente aestu et secundante vento claudae naves raro remigio aut intentis vestibus, et quaedam a validioribus tractae, revertere; quas raptim refectas
5 misit ut scrutarentur insulas. Collecti ea cura plerique; multos Angrivarii nuper in fidem accepti redemptos ab interioribus reddidere; quidam in Britanniam
6 rapti et remissi a regulis. Ut quis ex longinquo revenerat, miracula narrabant, vim turbinum et inauditas volucres, monstra maris, ambiguas hominum et beluarum formas, visa sive ex metu credita.

24. vasto et profundo: supply *mari* from the following **mare.**

sine terris: qualifying **mare,** — a sea stretching to the end of the earth.

2. **insulas longius sitas**: they may have been driven upon any of the lands surrounding the North Sea; it appears from *Germ.* 44, that Tacitus considered Scandinavia an island. It is not likely, however, that in this case any tidings would have come from them, and the reference below, **ut scrutarentur insulas,** shows that it was probably the low uninhabited islands outside of those by which they were coasting.

3. **scopulos**: a rhetorical exaggeration, as this is a sandy coast.

oppeteret: *sc.* **mortem.**

4. **relabente aestu**: as in the last chapter, not the tide, but the stormy waves.

intentis, *stretched; i.e.* as sails.

5. **redemptos ab interioribus**: they had managed to escape from the shipwreck, but had been caught and reduced to slavery among the inland nations.

6. **monstra maris**: Pedo Albinovanus wrote of this expedition

Sed fama classis amissae ut Germanos ad spem **25**
belli, ita Caesarem ad coercendum erexit. C. Silio cum **2**
triginta peditum, tribus equitum milibus ire in Chattos
imperat; ipse maioribus copiis Marsos irrumpit, quorum
dux Mallovendus nuper in deditionem acceptus propin-
quo luco defossam Varianae legionis aquilam modico
praesidio servari indicat. Missa extemplo manus quae **3**
hostem a fronte eliceret, alii qui terga circumgressi
recluderent humum; et utrisque adfuit fortuna. Eo **4**
promptior Caesar pergit introrsus, populatur, exscindit
non ausum congredi hostem aut, sicubi restiterat, statim
pulsum nec umquam magis, ut ex captivis cognitum est,
paventem. Quippe invictos et nullis casibus supera- **5**
biles Romanos praedicabant, qui perdita classe, amissis
armis, post constrata equorum virorumque corporibus
litora eadem virtute, pari ferocia, et velut aucti numero
irrupissent. Reductus inde in hiberna miles, laetus **26**
animi, quod adversa maris expeditione prospera pen-
savisset. Addidit munificentiam Caesar, quantum quis
damni professus erat exsolvendo.

Nec dubium habebatur labare hostes petendaeque **2**
pacis consilia sumere, et si proxima aestas adiceretur,
posse bellum patrari. Sed crebris epistulis Tiberius **3**
monebat rediret ad decretum triumphum: satis iam

in these terms: — *illum, pigris immania monstra sub undis | qui ferat, Oceanum, qui saevas undique pristis, | aequoreosque canes, ratibus consurgere prensis.* (in Seneca, *Suasor.* I. 15.)

ambiguas . . . formas: these were the **monstra**, — partly human, partly animal, like mermaids. The genitive denotes the objects between which the doubt existed.

25. 2. **aquilam**: three eagles had been lost with Varus. The first was recovered the year before (I. 60. 4); the third, according to Dio, in the time of Claudius.

3. **hostem**: the *modicum praedidium.*

26. animi: Intr. 35 *e*; a construction especially common with *animi.*

quis, *any one* of the soldiers.

3. **decretum triumphum**: see I. 55. 1.

satis . . . casuum: the puzzling question why the frontier of the Elbe was given up by Tiberius, is

eventuum, satis casuum. Prospera illi et magna proelia: eorum quoque meminisset quae venti et fluctus, nulla ducis culpa, gravia tamen et saeva damna intulissent. Se noviens a divo Augusto in Germaniam missum plura consilio quam vi perfecisse. Sic Sugambros in deditionem acceptos, sic Suebos regemque Maroboduum pace obstrictum. Posse et Cheruscos ceterasque rebellium gentes, quoniam Romanae ultioni consultum esset, 4 internis discordiis relinqui. Precante Germanico annum efficiendis coeptis, acrius modestiam eius aggreditur alterum consulatum offerendo, cuius munia praesens 5 obiret. Simul adnectebat, si foret adhuc bellandum, relinqueret materiem Drusi fratris gloriae, qui nullo tum alio hoste non nisi apud Germanias adsequi nomen 6 imperatorium et deportare lauream posset. Haud cunctatus est ultra Germanicus, quamquam fingi ea seque per invidiam parto iam decori abstrahi intellegeret

answered by Mommsen (*Rom. Prov.* I. 61. seq.) by pointing to the uneasy condition of both Gaul and Pannonia, and the impossibility of maintaining so distant a frontier with the armies and resources of the empire. See also the advice of Augustus, *coercendi intra terminos imperii*, I. 11. 7.

noviens: these were B.C. 9 and 8, after the death of Drusus; A.D. 4 and 5, an independent command; and 9, 10, and 11, after the defeat of Varus. To these add an embassy, B.C. 7, and a campaign begun against Maroboduus, A.D. 6.

Sugambros: the Sugambri had formerly occupied the lands south of the Lippe, but had, like the Ubii, been transported across the Rhine, and received lands in the relation afterwards known as that of the *laeti*, rendering for them military service. See I. 31. 3 n. Their lands upon the Lippe appear to have been taken by the Tubantes, I. 51. 4 n.

Maroboduum: this was A.D. 6, when Tiberius, recalled by a revolt in Pannonia, had agreed to a peace with Maroboduus; see 46. 2.

ultioni consultum esset, *enough had been done for vengeance.*

4. **modestiam**, etc., *he assails his modesty; i.e.* tempts him on this side by this offer.

praesens: he entered upon the office, however, while absent from the city; see 53. 1.

5. **nullo hoste**: ablative absolute of cause.

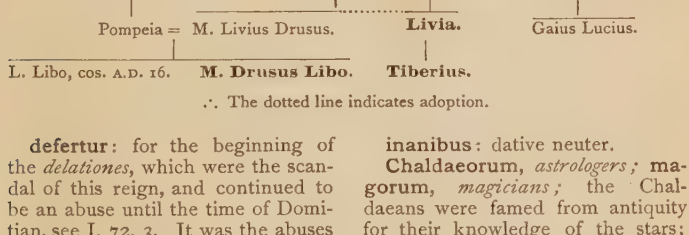
lauream (coronam): worn in a triumph, and afterwards consecrated to the Capitoline Jove.

6. **decori**: a new use of the *dativus incommodi*, for things; cf. *morti eximant*, I. 48. 2, and *extractum custodiae*, VI. 23. 5.

Sub idem tempus e familia Scriboniorum Libo 27
Drusus defertur moliri res novas. Eius negotii initium
ordinem finem curatius disseram, quia tum primum
reperta sunt quae per tot annos rem publicam exedere.
Firmius Catus senator, ex intima Libonis amicitia, 2
iuvenem improvidum et facilem inanibus ad Chaldaeo-
rum promissa, magorum sacra, somniorum etiam inter-

27. Libo Drusus: in the Kalendar of Amiternum he is called Marcus; both Suetonius (*Tib.* 25) and Dio Cassius (LVII. 15) call him Lucius, probably by a confusion with his brother, the consul of the present year (1. 1.). The family *Libo* was of the Scribonian gens (**e familia Scriboniorum**), but the father of the conspirator had been adopted by Marcus Livius Drusus, father of the empress Livia, and had assumed his name. It would seem, however, that both his sons had reentered the Scribonian gens, perhaps by re-adoption; for the consul of A.D. 16 is called Lucius Scribonius Libo, and the expression (32. 2) *ne quis Scribonius cognomentum Drusi assumeret* shows that Libo Drusus was a Scribonius, not a Livius.

The following table, from Nipperdey, will enable one to trace the complicated relationships of this family: —



∴ The dotted line indicates adoption.

defertur: for the beginning of the *delationes*, which were the scandal of this reign, and continued to be an abuse until the time of Domitian, see I. 72. 3. It was the abuses developed in this case **quae per tot annos rem publicam exedere.**

2. **senator**: as he is not designated as *consularis*, *praetorius*, or *aedilicius*, he probably received the praetorship as a reward (32. 1); he is, however, still called *senator*, A.D. 24 (IV. 31. 7).

amicitia: Intr. 35 *a*; cf. 77. 1.

inanibus: dative neuter.

Chaldaeorum, *astrologers*; **magorum**, *magicians*; the Chaldaeans were famed from antiquity for their knowledge of the stars; the *magi*, the priests of the Medes, ministers of a corrupted form of the religion of Zoroaster, readily converted their religious formalities into the practice of magic rites. In this way the word *magic* came to have its present meaning. Rome, under the empire, swarmed with these and other kinds of fortune-tellers.

pretes impulit, dum proavum Pompeium, amitam Scriboniam, quae quondam Augusti coniunx fuerat, consobrinos Caesares, plenam imaginibus domum ostentat, hortaturque ad luxum et aes alienum, socius libidinum et necessitatum, quo pluribus indiciis illigaret.

28 Ut satis testium et qui servi eadem noscerent reperit, aditum ad principem postulat, demonstrato crimine et reo per Flaccum Vescularium equitem Roma-
2 num, cui propior cum Tiberio usus erat. Caesar indicium haud aspernatus congressus abnuit; posse enim
3 eodem Flacco internuntio sermones commeare. Atque interim Libonem ornat praetura, convictibus adhibet, non vultu alienatus, non verbis commotior, — adeo iram con-

consobrinos Caesares: Gaius and Lucius, grandsons of Augustus. This near kinship to the imperial family, in the absence of a fixed rule of succession, appears to have inspired Libo with a dangerous ambition. The case was very similar to that of the Duke of Buckingham and other members of the royal family, whom Henry VIII. caused to be beheaded. (See Bailey, *Succession to the English Crown*, p. 106 *seq.*). But Libo appears to have gone a step further than Buckingham or Surrey.

plenam imaginibus domum: the *ius imaginum*, or right of having waxen masks, representing distinguished members of the family, which were kept in the *atrium*, and carried in funeral processions, was the distinguishing mark of nobility; it established the pedigree.

socius necessitatum: *i.e.* helping to borrow money for him. For a different use of *necessitas*, see I. 11. 6.

28. noscerent, *would acknowledge.*

repperit: *i.e.* Catus.

eadem: *i.e.* the alleged crimes.

Flaccum Vescularium: for his death, see VI. 10. 2.

cui . . . erat: we see the beginnings of a court in the modern sense, in this requirement of an intermediary. See Inge, *Society in Rome under the Cæsars*, p. 119.

2. **congressus**: *i.e.* with Catus.

commeare, *be carried on*, by message.

3. **interim**: Suetonius says (*Tib.* 25) that he waited two years before bringing the matter to a head, but that in the meantime he was constantly on his guard against assassination: *inter pontifices sacrificanti pro secespita plumbeum cultrum subiciendum curavit, et secretum petenti nonnisi adhibito Druso filio dedit, dextramque obambulantis, veluti incumbens, quoad perageretur sermo, continuit.* Suetonius, it may be added, represents Libo as unquestionably guilty, — *res novas clam moliebatur*, — and his guilt appears clearly enough from the account of Tacitus. Velleius (II. 129) represents the action of the emperor as very prompt, — *quam celeriter ingratum et nova molientem oppressit!*

diderat; cunctaque eius dicta factaque, cum prohibere posset, scire malebat, donec Iunius quidam, temptatus ut infernas umbras carminibus eliceret, ad Fulcinium Trionem indicium detulit. Celebre inter accusatores Trionis 4 ingenium erat avidumque famae malae. Statim corripit reum, adit consules, cognitionem senatus poscit. Et 5 vocantur patres, addito consultandum super re magna et atroci.

Libo interim veste mutata cum primoribus feminis 29 circumire domos, orare adfines, vocem adversum pericula poscere, abnuentibus cunctis, cum diversa praetenderent, eadem formidine. Die senatus metu et 2 aegritudine fessus, sive, ut tradidere quidam, simulato morbo, lectica delatus ad fores curiae innisusque fratri et manus ac supplices voces ad Tiberium tendens immoto eius vultu excipitur. Mox libellos et auctores reci-

cum prohibere posset: *i.e.* he allowed him to commit himself.

temptatus: *i.e.* by Libo.

infernas . . . eliceret: a form of magic resorted to on rare and momentous occasiŏns; as in the story of the witch of Endor. 1 Sam. 28.

Fulcinium Trionem: see III. 10. 1, and 13. 2.

indicium detulit: this was the first step in the procedure, which, it will be remembered, regularly emanated from private persons (Intr. 15 and 16). The witness (*index*) *laid his testimony* before the professional accuser, who then brought the case before the magistrates (**adit consules**).

4. **corripit**, *indicts;* a term properly used for physical arrest, but common in this sense.

adit consules: see I. 72. 4 n, and 73. 3 n.

cognitionem: the term properly used for a trial by the senate, as distinguished from the *iudicium* of the courts.

29. veste mutata, *putting on mourning*, — perhaps not formal mourning, the *toga pulla*, but with neglected robes, *toga sordida*.

vocem, *counsel;* finding none, he was obliged to enter the senate house *sine patrono;* see next chapter.

2. **fratri**: Lucius Libo, *consul ordinarius* of the year (1. 1). He is not mentioned here as consul, because his term expired July 1, while the trial took place in September (32. 4). The practice was introduced by the triumvirs, B.C. 39, and in the reign of Augustus it became the custom, to elect the consuls for only a part of the year, usually six months (I. 55. 1 n). After the reign of Tiberius, it was common to have three or four pairs of consuls or even more in a year. See Mommsen, *Röm.* St. II. p. 79.

libellos, *documents*.

tat Caesar ita moderans, ne lenire neve asperare crimina
30 videretur. Accesserant praeter Trionem et Catum accusatores Fonteius Agrippa et C. Vibius, certabantque cui ius perorandi in reum daretur, donec Vibius, quia nec ipsi inter se concederent et Libo sine patrono introisset, singillatim se crimina obiecturum professus, protulit libellos vecordes adeo ut consultaverit Libo an habiturus foret opes, quis viam Appiam Brundisium usque
2 pecunia operiret. Inerant et alia huiusce modi stolida vana, si mollius acciperes, miseranda. Uni tamen libello manu Libonis nominibus Caesarum aut senatorum additas atroces vel occultas notas accusator arguebat.
3 Negante reo agnoscentes servos per tormenta interrogari placuit. Et quia vetere senatus consulto quaestio in caput domini prohibebatur, callidus et novi iuris repertor Tiberius mancipari singulos actori publico iubet,

moderans: *sc.* **sibi** or **verbis.**

ne: expressing here in form a purpose rather than a result; — *showing such self-restraint as not to seem.*

30. certabant: when more than one person wished to conduct the prosecution, the decision between them was made by the magistrate, by a procedure known as *divinatio*, as in the case of Cicero and Cæcilius in the impeachment of Verres.

perorandi, *pleading* in a set speech.

singillatim: taking up the items of the indictment one by one, as Cicero had done against Verres.

consultaverit: *sc.* **Chaldaeos**, etc.

viam Appiam: this road was 360 miles long; it was a puerile charge, as Tacitus says, but it was implied that it was only as emperor that he could hope to possess such means.

2. **si mollius acciperes**: qualifies **miseranda**.

tamen: the rest was folly — this was crime.

notas: partly magic characters, (**occultas**), partly of a criminal nature (**atroces**).

3. **agnoscentes**: though they testified voluntarily, their testimony was not valid without torture.

quaestio in caput domini: see Cic. *pro Mil.* 22. 59; *pro Deiot.* 1. 3. *Incestus* and *coniuratio* were made exceptions, and afterwards *maiestas* and some other crimes. It is hard to see, therefore, why Tiberius should have recourse to the subterfuge here mentioned.

novi iuris repertor: as a matter of fact, this device had been employed by Augustus (Dio, LV. 5). With some reason, therefore, Stahr accuses Tacitus not only of inaccuracy, but of direct falsification.

actori publico, *treasury agent*, generally a slave or a freedman. By the sale of the slaves to him they became *servi publici*, and

scilicet ut in Libonem ex servis salvo senatus consulto quaereretur.

Ob quae posterum diem reus petivit, domumque di- 4
gressus extremas preces P. Quirinio propinquo suo ad
principem mandavit. Responsum est ut senatum ro- 31
garet. Cingebatur interim milite domus, strepebant
etiam in vestibulo, ut audiri, ut aspici possent, cum
Libo ipsis quas in novissimam voluptatem adhibuerat
epulis excruciatus vocare percussorem, prensare servo-
rum dextras, inserere gladium. Atque illis, dum trepi- 2
dant, dum refugiunt, evertentibus appositum *in* mensa
lumen, feralibus iam sibi tenebris duos ictus in viscera
derexit. Ad gemitum conlabentis accurrere liberti, et 3
caede visa miles abstitit.

Accusatio tamen apud patres asseveratione eadem 4
peracta, iuravitque Tiberius petiturum se vitam quam-
vis nocenti, nisi voluntariam mortem properavisset.
Bona inter accusatores dividuntur, et praeturae extra 32

might be questioned against their former owner.

salvo, *without violating.*

4. **posterum diem**: a delay, called *comperendinatio*, which allowed the accused to go into voluntary exile, or commit suicide.

P. Quirinio: see III. 22. 1, 48. 1.

31. ut senatum rogaret: the petition (**preces**) must be addressed to the senate, which had sole cognizance of the matter.

cingebatur, etc.: by order of the senate.

cum . . . vocare: Intr. 35 *k*.

excruciatus: *i.e.* with terror. He supposed the soldiers had come to put him to death.

percussorem: a slave who should put him to death.

inserere: *i.e.* in their hands.

2. **illis**, etc.: they were too much frightened to execute his wish.

feralibus, *of death;* predicate with **tenebris**. The darkness of the night was to him the darkness of death.

4. **peracta**, *carried through* to judgment.

petiturum: *sc.* **fuisse**. We see here an illustration of the peculiar formality of Tiberius' mind (Intr. 16). The law must take its course, and then mercy may interpose.

nocenti: dative of advantage.

32. bona . . . dividuntur: by the law of Augustus, the accusers received one-fourth of the property; here they received the whole. The rule by which the property of those who committed suicide before conviction was not confiscated (VI. 29. 2), was violated in this case; cf. IV. 20. 1.

praeturae extra ordinem: Tiberius had sworn (I. 14. 6) not to ex-

2 ordinem datae iis qui senatorii ordinis erant. Tunc Cotta Messalinus, ne imago Libonis exsequias posterorum comitaretur censuit, Cn. Lentulus, ne quis Scribo-
3 nius cognomentum Drusi assumeret. Supplicationum
4 dies Pomponii Flacci sententia constituti. Dona Iovi Marti Concordiae, utque iduum Septembrium dies, quo se Libo interfecerat, dies festus haberetur, L. *Piso* et Gallus Asinius et Papius Mutilus et L. Apronius decrevere; quorum auctoritates adulationesque rettuli, ut
5 sciretur vetus id in re publica malum. Facta et de mathematicis magisque Italia pellendis senatus consulta; quorum e numero L. Pituanius saxo deiectus est, in P.

ceed the legitimate number of twelve prætors. Dio, however (LVIII. 20), says that he appointed sometimes fifteen and sometimes sixteen. Probably the prætorship was now given to senators who had not reached the required age, or held the offices which by law should have preceded this. Pfitzner suggests that the office was assigned to them in advance.

2. **Cotta Messalinus**: son of the distinguished orator and statesman Messala, adopted by Aurelius Cotta.

imago: see 27. 2 n.

Cn. Lentulus: highly praised by Tacitus at his death: see IV. 44. 1.

cognomentum: there are several instances of a family agreeing never to use a particular prænomen, the most famous one being that of the Manlii, who forbade the name *Marcus* on account of the treason of Marcus Manlius (Liv. VI. 20); so *Lucius* in the Claudian gens, on account of the misdeeds of two of that name (Suet. *Tib.* 1). See also III. 17. 8. That the cognomen *Drusus* was prohibited in the present case, was probably because of its association with the imperial family, in the father of Germanicus and the sons of both Germanicus and Tiberius.

3. **Pomponii Flacci**: now *consul designatus*. — **L. Piso**: probably brother of Cn. Piso; 34. 1, III. 11. 1. — **Gallus Asinius**: see I. 12. 4. — **L. Apronius**: see I. 56. 1.

4. **Concordiae**; see Orelli, 25: *pro salute Tiberii Caesaris Augusti optimi ac iustissimi principis*. For other fragments of inscriptions found in the ruins of the Temple of Concord, above the arch of Septimius Severus, see Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*. I. 2. 333.

decrevere, *proposed*.

vetus id . . . malum: *i.e.* adulation: as old as the time of Tiberius, — in the time of Tacitus this abuse had reached a great height.

5. **de mathematicis**: *i.e.* astrologers; such votes were often passed, but never carried out persistently.

saxo: *sc.* **Tarpeio**; this punishment was inflicted for false witness, incest, sorcery, and perhaps other crimes.

Marcium consules extra portam Esquilinam, cum classicum canere iussissent, more prisco advertere.

Proximo senatus die multa in luxum civitatis dicta 33
a Q. Haterio consulari, Octavio Frontone praetura functo; decretumque ne vasa auro solida ministrandis cibis fierent, ne vestis serica viros foedaret. Ex- 2
cessit Fronto ac postulavit modum argento supellectili familiae. [Erat quippe adhuc frequens senatoribus, si quid e re publica crederent, loco sententiae promere.] Contra Gallus Asinius disseruit: auctu imperii adole- 3
visse etiam privatas opes, idque non novum, sed e vetustissimis moribus; aliam apud Fabricios, aliam apud

portam Esquilinam: within the modern *Porta Maggiore*, the regular place for such executions.

cum classicum . . . iussissent: on the morning of the day of trial, the trumpet was sounded on the citadel, *arx*, around the walls, and finally before the house of the accused.

more prisco advertere: the punishment **more prisco**, of one who was judged a public enemy, was to be put naked in the pillory and flogged to death: *cum comperisset nudi hominis cervicem inseri furcae, corpus virgis ad necem caedi* (Suet. *Nero*, 49). Usually, however, he was scourged for a while and then beheaded.

33. Q. Haterio: see I. 13. 4.

praetura functo: not merely of prætorian rank (*praetorius*), but having actually held the office; for many by special grant enjoyed the rank (*ornamenta*) without having held the office.

foedaret: the Romans in early times dressed wholly in wool, and silk (*serica*) was regarded as at once effeminate and indecent.

2. **excessit**: *i.e. went further* in his propositions; cf. 24. 1.

familiae, *slaves*. C. Cæcilius Claudius Isidorus left at his death, B.C. 8, 4116 slaves (Plin. *H. N.* XXXIII. 135).

erat quippe, etc.: when called upon by the consul to give their vote, *dicere sententiam*, upon any proposition, they would add to it *si quid e re publica crederent;* just as Cato the Censor ended every speech with the words *censeo Karthaginem esse delendam*. This passage really has no bearing on the subject, inasmuch as Fronto's proposition was a legitimate amendment; it is therefore placed by Nipperdey in brackets, as a gloss.

frequens, *a common practice*.

3. **id**: *i.e.* **adolevisse . . . opes**.

apud Fabricios: in the early part of the third century B.C.

apud Scipiones: during the second century B.C. In the mean time there had been a great increase of wealth and luxury. In the time of Fabricius it was forbidden to have of silver plate more than one dish and a saltcellar, and he, as censor, removed from the senate the consular and ex-dictator Publius Cornelius Rufinus, for having ten pounds of plate (Livy, *Epit.* 14).

Scipiones pecuniam; et cuncta ad rem publicam referri, qua tenui angustas civium domos, postquam eo magnifi-
4 centiae venerit gliscere singulos. Neque in familia et argento quaeque ad usum parentur nimium aliquid aut
5 modicum nisi ex fortuna possidentis. Distinctos senatus et equitum census, non quia diversi natura, sed, ut locis ordinibus dignationibus antistent, ita iis, quae ad requiem animi aut salubritatem corporum parentur, nisi forte clarissimo cuique plures curas, maiora pericula subeunda, delenimentis curarum et periculorum caren-
6 dum esse. Facilem assensum Gallo sub nominibus honestis confessio vitiorum et similitudo audientium dedit. Adiecerat et Tiberius non id tempus censurae nec, si quid in moribus labaret, defuturum corrigendi auctorem.

rem publicam: the state of society.

referri, *are referred to* as a standard, *are judged in relation to.*

qua tenui: ablative absolute of time, opposed to *postquam...venerit.*

angustas: *sc.* esse.

eo magnificentiae, *to that pitch of splendor.*

gliscere, *grow* in wealth, etc.

5. **distinctos**: *sc. a plebe.*

senatus et equitum census: the senatorial census was according to Mommsen (*Röm. St.* I. 400) fixed at 1,000,000 sesterces = $50,000; the equestrian census was 400,000 sesterces = $20,000 (*id.* III. 499).

locis: places in the theatre, where the senators occupied the *orchestra*, and the equites, by the Roscian law, the first fourteen rows of the *cavea*. **ordinibus** relates to the class (senatorial and equestrian); **dignationibus** (as distinguished from *dignitate*), to their qualifications, in property, birth, etc., for offices and responsibilities.

ita iis (*sc.* **antistare**), *so likewise they* (*have the advantage*) *in those things*, etc. The passage is harsh and very likely corrupt.

clarissimo: a standing epithet for senators, as *splendidus* for knights having a senatorial *census*.

subeunda, carendum esse: following **nisi**. The extension of the accusative with infinitive to dependent clauses in *oratio obliqua* had begun before Tacitus, though no case of protasis occurs before him; cf. Intr. 35 *s.*

delenimentis: the comforts of wealth.

6. **non id tempus censurae**: the *regimen morum* was a regular part of the duties of the censors during the republic, and during the empire was assumed by the emperors. Tiberius hints that he will himself see to that, when the time comes (**nec . . . defuturum corrigendi auctorem**),

Inter quae L. Piso ambitum fori, corrupta iudicia, 34
saevitiam oratorum accusationes minitantium increpans, abire se et cedere urbe, victurum in aliquo abdito et longinquo rure testabatur; simul curiam relinquebat. Commotus est Tiberius et, quamquam mitibus 2
verbis Pisonem permulsisset, propinquos quoque eius impulit ut abeuntem auctoritate vel precibus tenerent. Haud minus liberi doloris documentum idem Piso mox 3
dedit vocata in ius Urgulania, quam supra leges amicitia Augustae extulerat. Nec aut Urgulania obtem- 4
peravit, in domum Caesaris spreto Pisone vecta, aut ille abscessit, quamquam Augusta se violari et imminui quereretur. Tiberius hactenus indulgere matri 5
civile ratus ut se iturum ad praetoris tribunal, adfuturum Urgulaniae diceret, processit Palatio, procul sequi iussis militibus. Spectabatur occursante populo com- 6
positus ore et sermonibus variis tempus atque iter ducens, donec propinquis Pisonem frustra coercentibus, deferri Augusta pecuniam, quae petebatur, iuberet. Isque finis rei, ex qua neque Piso inglorius et Caesar 7
maiore fama fuit. Ceterum Urgulaniae potentia adeo 8
nimia civitati erat ut testis in causa quadam, quae apud senatum tractabatur, venire dedignaretur: missus est praetor qui domi interrogaret, cum virgines Vestales

34. L. Piso: for his death, a result, as was alleged, of the occurrence here related, see IV. 21. 4.

fori, *courts;* these were regularly held upon the *Forum*.

ambitum: see I. 2. 2 n.

abire, *was going away;* expressing future time, as frequently in colloquial language.

relinquebat = *relinquere parabat.*

3. **liberi**, *frank.* Cf. IV. 21. 1, *donio principis excire ausus est.*

4. **abscessit**, *desisted.*

violari, *suffered an affront.*

imminui: *i.e.* in her dignity.

5. **hactenus**: qualified by **ut . . . diceret.**

civile, *lawful* (for any citizen).

procul . . . militibus: in order to place no constraint upon the courts; see I. 7. 7.

6. **occursante**: *i.e.* casually.

coercentibus: attempting to dissuade him from his suit.

8. **virgines Vestales**: the most

in foro et iudicio audiri, quotiens testimonium dicerent, vetus mos fuerit.

35 Res eo anno prolatas haud referrem, ni pretium foret Cn. Pisonis et Asinii Galli super eo negotio
2 diversas sententias noscere. Piso, quamquam afuturum se dixerat Caesar, ob id magis agendas censebat, ut absente principe senatum et equites posse sua munia
3 sustinere decorum rei publicae foret. Gallus, quia speciem libertatis Piso praeceperat, nihil satis illustre aut ex dignitate populi Romani nisi coram et sub oculis Caesaris, eoque conventum Italiae et adfluentis provin-
4 cias praesentiae eius servanda dicebat. Audiente haec Tiberio ac silente magnis utrimque contentionibus acta,
36 sed res dilatae. Et certamen Gallo adversus Caesarem exortum est. Nam censuit in quinquennium magistratuum comitia habenda, utque legionum legati, qui ante praeturam ea militia fungebantur, iam tum praetores destinarentur; princeps duodecim candidatos in annos
2 singulos nominaret. Haud dubium erat eam senten-

sacred and highly privileged personages in the state.

35. res prolatas, *postponement of business.* Of this phrase *res dilatae* (4) is a variation.

pretium: used for *operae pretium* only by Tacitus; cf. I. 57. 4.

2. **agendas**: *sc.* **res.**

equites: *i.e.* as *iudices* in the courts, distinguished from the judicial action of the senate (I. 72. 4 n., and 73. 3 n.).

3. **conventum . . . provincias**: deputations from Italian towns and from the provinces; they came to Rome on business connected with taxes, public contracts, etc.

4. **haec**: nominative.

36. in quinquennium: the election, by the senate (I. 15. 1) should be made for five years in advance, as had been done under Cæsar; the intention probably was to establish the custom of each year designating those who should hold office five years later. Those who at present were in command of legions — *legati pro praetore*, many of whom were not yet of prætorian rank — were to be appointed at once to the prætorship, while the rest of the appointments for the five years were to be made by the emperor.

utque, etc.: Intr. 35 *r*.

2. **haud dubium erat**, etc.: the infinitive after negative expressions of doubt (for *quin* with subjunctive) belongs to Livy, Nepos, and late writers.

tiam altius penetrare et arcana imperii temptari. Tiberius tamen, quasi augeretur potestas eius, disseruit: grave moderationi suae tot eligere, tot differre; vix per 3
singulos annos offensiones vitari, quamvis repulsam propinqua spes soletur: quantum odii fore ab iis qui ultra quinquennium proiciantur? Unde prospici posse quae cuique tam longo temporis spatio mens, domus, fortuna? Superbire homines etiam annua designatione: quid si 4
honorem per quinquennium agitent? Quinquiplicari 5
prorsus magistratus, subverti leges, quae sua spatia exercendae candidatorum industriae quaerendisque aut potiundis honoribus statuerint. Favorabili in speciem oratione vim imperii tenuit.

Censusque quorundam senatorum iuvit. Quo magis **37**
mirum fuit quod preces Marci Hortali, nobilis iuvenis, in paupertate manifesta superbius accepisset. Nepos 2
erat oratoris Hortensii, illectus a divo Augusto liberali-

arcana imperii: by interfering with the details of administration, which were reserved to the emperor and his privy council. One of the principles of the imperial government was the withdrawal of the military authority from the senate, and its concentration in the hands of the emperor.

quasi, etc.: cf. I. 14. 6 n.

differre: *i.e. in quinquennium.*

3. **mens**, *sentiment* (loyalty, etc.); **domus**, *family connections:* **fortuna**, *means;* all of these might change in the course of five years.

4. **honorem**: as *magistratus designatus.* The consul elect ranked above the *consulares*, and was asked his opinion (*sententia*) in the senate before them; and so with the other magistracies. To enjoy this dignity for five years would excite arrogance and give rise to complications.

5. **leges**: the laws which fixed the age at which the several magistracies could be held, their order, and the intervals of time which must elapse between them.

vim imperii tenuit: he kept in his hands the substance of power.

37. census, *property-standing;* cf. Vell. Pat. II. 129: *senatorum censum . . . quam libenter supplevit, ut neque luxuriam invitaret, neque honestam paupertatem pateretur dignitate destitui.*

accepisset: the thought of those who felt surprise.

2. **oratoris Hortensii**: the orator, the rival of Cicero, but older than he, and opposed to him in the case of Verres. Hortensius was distinguished for prodigality and luxury, hence no doubt in part the poverty of the family; his son, father of this Hortalus, had gone over from the

tate deciens sestertii ducere uxorem, suscipere liberos,
3 ne clarissima familia exstingueretur. Igitur quattuor
filiis ante limen curiae adstantibus, loco sententiae, cum
in Palatio senatus haberetur, modo Hortensii inter ora-
tores sitam imaginem, modo Augusti intuens, ad hunc
4 modum coepit: 'Patres conscripti, hos, quorum nume-
rum et pueritiam videtis, non sponte sustuli, sed quia
princeps monebat; simul maiores mei meruerant ut
5 posteros haberent. Nam ego, qui non pecuniam, non
studia populi neque eloquentiam, gentile domus nostrae
bonum, varietate temporum accipere vel parare potuis-
sem, satis habebam, si tenues res meae nec mihi pudori
6 nec cuiquam oneri forent. Iussus ab imperatore uxo-
rem duxi. En stirps et progenies tot consulum, tot dic-
tatorum. Nec ad invidiam ista, sed conciliandae miseri-
7 cordiae refero. Adsequentur florente te, Caesar, quos
dederis honores; interim Q. Hortensii pronepotes, divi

side of Cæsar to that of Brutus and Cassius, and had consequently lost his life and property.

deciens sestertii: 1,000,000 sesterces = $50,000; see I. 8. 3 n.

ducere, etc.: Intr. 35 *l.*

suscipere: this word, like **sustuli** below, describes the formal act by which the father recognized his children and undertook to rear them. They were laid at his feet directly after birth, and if he lifted them up (*sustulit*), they were cared for; if he refused to do this, they were exposed in the mountains and forests, and allowed to die.

3. **loco sententiae**: *i.e.* when he was called upon for his opinion upon the question under discussion; an illustration of the custom described in 33. 2; cf. *egredi relationem*, 38. 3.

in Palatio: in the library upon the Palatine, where Augustus, in his old age, often held meetings of the senate (Suet. *Oct.* 29). As we see, it was adorned with images of distinguished men.

5. **studia populi**, *popularity.*

gentile, *hereditary* in our *gens.*

varietate temporum, *under the changed conditions of the time.*

accipere: by inheritance; **parare**: by his own exertions.

6. **tot consulum, tot dictatorum**: the Hortensian gens had contributed only one of each, — the orator Hortensius, consul B.C. 69, and Quintus Hortensius, dictator B.C. 286; on the mother's side, however, Hortalus was descended from the Marcian, and probably other distinguished *gentes.*

7. **florente te**, *under your reign; i.e.* conferred by you.

alumnos: because they were reared by the will and favor of Augustus.

Augusti alumnos ab inopia defende.' Inclinatio senatus 38
incitamentum Tiberio fuit quo promptius adversaretur,
his ferme verbis usus: 'Si quantum pauperum est venire 2
huc et liberis suis petere pecunias coeperint, singuli
numquam exsatiabuntur, res publica deficiet. Nec sane 3
ideo a maioribus concessum est egredi aliquando relatio-
nem et quod in commune conducat loco sententiae pro-
ferre, ut privata negotia et res familiares nostras hic
augeamus, cum invidia senatus et principum, sive in-
dulserint largitionem sive abnuerint. Non enim preces 4
sunt istud, sed efflagitatio, intempestiva quidem et im-
provisa, cum aliis de rebus convenerint patres, consur-
gere et numero atque aetate liberum suorum urgere
modestiam senatus, eandem vim in me transmittere, ac
velut perfringere aerarium, quod si ambitione exhauseri-
mus, per scelera supplendum erit. Dedit tibi, Hortale, 5
divus Augustus pecuniam, sed non compellatus nec ea
lege, ut semper daretur. Languescet alioqui industria, 6
intendetur socordia, si nullus ex se metus aut spes, et
securi omnes aliena subsidia exspectabunt, sibi ignavi,
nobis graves.' Haec atque talia, quamquam cum assensu 7
audita ab iis quibus omnia principum, honesta atque in-

38. inclinatio, *favorable disposition.*

incitamentum: explained by Furneaux in relation to **promptius**, —"he had made up his mind, and seeing the sympathy of the senate, spoke at once before it had gone too far."

2. **res publica,** *the public resources* (common wealth).

3. **egredi . . . relationem**: see note on *erat quippe*, 33. 2, and *relationi*, I. 13. 4.

senatus, principum: objective genitives.

indulserint: with the accusative of the thing granted; it would take a dative of the person.

4. **modestiam,** *delicacy of feeling.*

perfringere, *break by force into.*

ambitione, *desire of gaining favor.*

5. **compellatus,** *addressed; i.e.* requested.

6. **ex se**: their hopes and fears should depend upon their own exertions.

7. **haec atque talia**: they were wise and timely words, expressing the true principle of charitable action.

quamquam, etc.: for Tacitus'

honesta, laudare mos est, plures per silentium aut occul-
8 tum murmur excepere. Sensitque Tiberius; et cum paulum reticuisset, Hortalo se respondisse ait, ceterum si patribus videretur, daturum liberis eius ducena ses-
9 tertia singulis, qui sexus virilis essent. Egere alii grates: siluit Hortalus, pavore an avitae nobilitatis etiam inter
10 angustias fortunae retinens. Neque miseratus est post-hac Tiberius, quamvis domus Hortensii pudendam ad inopiam delaberetur.

39 Eodem anno mancipii unius audacia, ni mature subventum foret, discordiis armisque civilibus rem publicam
2 perculisset. Postumi Agrippae servus, nomine Clemens, comperto fine Augusti pergere in insulam Planasiam et fraude aut vi raptum Agrippam ferre ad exercitus Ger-
3 manicos non servili animo concepit. Ausa eius impedivit tarditas onerariae navis; atque interim patrata caede, ad maiora et magis praecipitia conversus furatur cineres vectusque Cosam, Etruriae promunturium, ignotis locis sese abdit donec crinem barbamque promitteret; nam
4 aetate et forma haud dissimili in dominum erat. Tum

false standard of judgment, see Intr. 34.

8. **ducena sestertia** = $10,000 apiece, the *census* of the fourth *decuria* of judges, which Augustus added to the three chosen from the senators, *equites*, and *tribuni aerarii*.

9. **retinens**: a participle having the regimen of the verbal adjective in *-ns*, governing the objective genitive; commoner in Tacitus than in any other writer.

10. **quamvis**: Intr. 35 *j*.

39. **mancipii**: see 2. 4 n.

2. **Postumi Agrippae**: see I. 3. 4, and 6. 1.

concepit, *conceived the purpose*; a very rare use of *concipio* with the infinitive.

3. **praecipitia**, *perilous*.

furatur cineres: in order to destroy the evidence of Agrippa's death.

Cosam: an old Etruscan city, occupying the principal promontory on the Etruscan coast, and the point most accessible from Planasia. A Latin colony was established here B.C. 273; so that it was, upon this coast, the northernmost seat of the Roman power at the time of the Punic Wars.

promitteret, *let grow*. Probably Agrippa, *rudis bonarum artium et robore corporis stolide ferox* (I. 3. 4), was of shaggy hair and beard. The Romans at this date regularly shaved.

in dominum: this is the only

per idoneos et secreti eius socios crebrescit vivere Agrippam, occultis primum sermonibus, ut vetita solent, mox vago rumore apud imperitissimi cuiusque promptas aures aut rursum apud turbidos eoque nova cupientes. Atque ipse adire municipia obscuro diei, neque propa- 5
lam aspici neque diutius isdem locis, sed quia veritas visu et mora, falsa festinatione et incertis valescunt, relinquebat famam aut praeveniebat. Vulgabatur in- **40**
terim per Italiam servatum munere deum Agrippam, credebatur Romae; iamque Ostiam invectum multitudo ingens, iam in urbe clandestini coetus celebrabant, cum Tiberium anceps cūra distrahere, vine militum servum suum coerceret an inanem credulitatem tempore ipso vanescere sineret; modo nihil spernendum, modo non 2
omnia metuenda ambiguus pudoris ac metus reputabat. Postremo dat negotium Sallustio Crispo. Ille e clienti- 3
bus duos (quidam milites fuisse tradunt) deligit atque hortatur, simulata conscientia adeant, offerant pecuniam, fidem atque pericula polliceantur. Exsequuntur ut ius- 4
sum erat. Dein speculati noctem incustoditam, accepta

instance of this construction after *similis* or *dissimilis*. Cf. Intr. 35 *i*.

4. **crebrescit**, *the rumor spreads*.

5. **relinquebat . . . praeveniebat**: he gave no opportunity for comparing the reality with the report, but relied upon expectation or memory for gaining adherents. The combination of these imperfects with the historical infinitives **adire** and **aspici** is peculiar.

40. Ostiam: the port of Rome, at the mouth of the Tiber.

celebrabant: this is taken by Doederlein to be a zeugma,—the populace thronged about Clemens in Ostia, and he was secretly talked about in Rome,—on the ground that the impostor did not probably enter the city until he was carried in chains to the emperor. The meaning seems, however, to be that he entered Ostia publicly, but Rome secretly; and the expression **in Palatium traxere**, after his arrest, implies that he was already in the city.

cum . . . distrahere: Intr. 35 *k*.

suum: because whatever had been Agrippa's he had inherited.

2. **pudoris, metus**: cf. 24. 6 n.

Sallustio Crispo: the one through whom the murder of Agrippa had been effected; see I. 6. 6.

3. **conscientia**, *complicity*.

pericula: participation in perils.

idonea manu, vinctum clauso ore in Palatium traxere.
5 Percontanti Tiberio quo modo Agrippa factus esset, respondisse fertur 'Quo modo tu Caesar.' Ut ederet
6 socios subigi non potuit. Nec Tiberius poenam eius palam ausus, in secreta Palatii parte interfici iussit corpusque clam auferri. Et quamquam multi e domo principis equitesque ac senatores sustentasse opibus, iuvisse consiliis dicerentur, haud quaesitum.

41 Fine anni arcus propter aedem Saturni ob recepta signa cum Varo amissa ductu Germanici, auspiciis Tiberii, et aedes Fortis Fortunae Tiberim iuxta in hortis quos Caesar dictator populo Romano legaverat, sacrarium genti Iuliae effigiesque divo Augusto apud Bovillas dicantur.

2 C. Caelio L. Pomponio consulibus Germanicus Caesar a. d. VII. Kal. Iunias triumphavit de Cheruscis Chat-

5. **quomodo tu Caesar**: persisting in his claim, or perhaps insolently reminding Tiberius that he was no real Cæsar. Furneaux takes it as imputing fraud to Tiberius; but his succession was public and regular.

6. **haud quaesitum**: a wise and mild policy. The rumor, however, of accomplices within the palace, following the discovery of Libo's conspiracy, must have been one of the predisposing causes of Tiberius' jealous and suspicious disposition in his later years.

41. arcus: this arch stood over the Sacred Way, at the point where it met the *Vicus Iugarius*, at the corner of the Basilica Julia, just below the Temple of Saturn.

aedem Saturni: the temple, at the foot of the *Clivus Capitolinus*, used as the treasury (*aerarium*). There still stand eight columns belonging to it, or rather to a restoration of it in the fourth century.

ob recepta signa: see I. 60. 4 and II. 25. 2.

ductu Germanici, auspiciis Tiberii: cf. 18. 2 n; even a victory gained by a colleague or crown prince, as Germanicus was, was referred to the auspices of the emperor, as in the case of an ordinary *legatus*. Momm. *Röm. St.* II. 1054.

Fortis Fortunae: the goddess of Chance; her temple, on the other side of the Tiber, was the scene of a popular festival, June 24, frequented especially by slaves and unfortunate people; the river was thronged with gayly-adorned boats. Ov. *Fast.* VI. 777.

in hortis, etc.: cf. Horace, *Sat.* I. 9. 18: *trans Tiberim . . . prope Caesaris hortos.* The plural **horti** denotes *pleasure-grounds, park.*

Bovillas: see I. 54. 1 n.

2. **triumphavit**: this was voted two years before (I. 55. 1; see also I. 72. 1 n.).

tisque et Angrivariis quaeque aliae nationes usque ad Albim colunt. Vecta spolia, captivi, simulacra montium fluminum proeliorum; bellumque, quia conficere prohibitus erat, pro confecto accipiebatur. Augebat intuentium visus eximia ipsius species currusque quinque liberis onustus. Sed suberat occulta formido, reputantibus haud prosperum in Druso patre eius favorem vulgi, avunculum eiusdem Marcellum flagrantibus plebis studiis intra iuventam ereptum: breves et infaustos populi Romani amores. 3 4 5

Ceterum Tiberius nomine Germanici trecenos plebi sestertios viritim dedit seque collegam consulatui eius destinavit. Nec ideo sincerae caritatis fidem adsecutus amoliri iuvenem specie honoris statuit struxitque causas aut forte oblatas arripuit. Rex Archelaus quinquagesimum annum Cappadocia potiebatur, invisus Tiberio, quod eum Rhodi agentem nullo officio coluisset. Nec id Archelaus per superbiam omiserat, sed ab intimis Augusti monitus, quia florente Gaio Caesare missoque 42 2 3

4. **augebat**, *enhanced.*
visus, *attention, interest.*
eximia . . . species: he inherited the physique of his father Drusus (I. 33. 3 n.); see portrait at end of book. *Omnes Germanico corporis animique virtutes, et quantas nemini cuiquam, contigisse satis constat: formam et fortitudinem egregiam, ingenium in utroque eloquentiae doctrinaeque genere praecellens, benevolentiam singularem, conciliandaeque hominum gratiae ac promerendi amoris mirum et efficax studium.* Suet. *Cal.* 3.
quinque liberis: Nero (V. 3. 2), Drusus (VI. 23. 4), Gaius (better known as Caligula), Agrippina (mother of Nero), and Drusilla; for the birth of his youngest child Julia (Livilla) see 54. 1.

5. **reputantibus**: ablative absolute. Intr. 35 *o.*
avunculum, *uncle* on the mother's side, — mother's brother. The mother of Germanicus was Antonia minor, and her half-brother was the Marcellus addressed by Vergil. The mother of Antonia and Marcellus was Octavia, sister of Augustus, who married first Gaius Marcellus, then Mark Antony. See table, Intr. p. xxix.
42. trecenos . . . sestertios: about $15 apiece.
consulatui: for the next year; see 53. 1.
2. **Rex Archelaus**: he received the kingdom of Cappadocia from Mark Antony, B.C. 36.
Rhodi agentem: see I. 4. 4.
3. **Gaio Caesare**: I. 3. 2. As long

4 ad res Orientis intuta Tiberii amicitia credebatur. Ut versa Caesarum subole imperium adeptus est, elicit Archelaum matris litteris, quae non dissimulatis filii offensionibus clementiam offerebat, si ad precandum 5 veniret. Ille ignarus doli vel, si intellegere crederetur, vim metuens in urbem properat; exceptusque immiti a principe et mox accusatus in senatu, non ob crimina quae fingebantur, sed angore, simul fessus senio et quia regibus aequa, nedum infima insolita sunt, finem vitae 6 sponte an fato implevit. Regnum in provinciam redactum est, fructibusque eius levari posse centesimae vectigal professus Caesar ducentesimam in posterum statuit. 7 Per idem tempus Antiocho Commagenorum, Philopatore Cilicum regibus defunctis turbabantur nationes, plerisque Romanum, aliis regium imperium cupientibus; et provinciae Suria atque Iudaea, fessae oneribus,

as he lived, Tiberius had no prospect of the throne.

4. **versa** = *eversa* (Intr. 35 *b*). With the death of Gaius and his brother Lucius, and the murder of Agrippa Postumus, the family of Augustus became extinct in the male line, and the succession passed to his step-son Tiberius. See I. 3. 3.

5. **si intellegere crederetur**: the apodosis is implied in **vim metuens**.

immiti: a case of enallage, the adjective, agreeing with **principe**, being put for the adverb.

non ob, etc.: construed with **finem . . . implevit**.

crimina: Dio Cassius (LVII. 17. 7) says that he was acquitted (ἐσώθη), being so weak (**fessus senio**) that he could not stand, and was carried into the senate in a litter.

aequa: to be treated like a common man.

6. **in provinciam**: this decree was carried out the next year (56. 4), and the number of organized provinces thus brought to twenty-nine. Cappadocia was governed by procurators until the time of Vespasian.

centesimae vectigal: see I. 78. 2. Tiberius had declared the year before that it could not be dispensed with; now the increase of revenue accruing from the new province warranted its reduction to one-half of one per cent (**ducentesimam partem**).

7. **Antiocho**: his kingdom, Commagene, lying north of Syria, was, as appears from 56. 5, annexed to the empire. It became a part of the province of Syria; but after twenty years its independence was restored by Caligula.

Philopatore: he ruled over the eastern part of Cilicia, lying between Commagene on the east and the Roman province of Cilicia on the west.

Iudaea: this country, conquered by Pompey, B.C. 64, was reckoned a

deminutionem tributi orabant. Igitur haec et de Ar- 43
menia quae supra memoravi apud patres disseruit, nec posse motum Orientem nisi Germanici sapientia componi; nam suam aetatem vergere, Drusi nondum satis adolevisse. Tunc decreto patrum permissae Germanico 2
provinciae quae mari dividuntur, maiusque imperium, quoquo adisset, quam iis qui sorte aut missu principis obtinerent. Sed Tiberius demoverat Suria Creticum 3
Silanum, per adfinitatem conexum Germanico (quia Silani filia Neroni vetustissimo liberorum eius pacta erat), praefeceratque Cn. Pisonem, ingenio violentum et obse-

part of the province of Syria, but had a separate financial administration, under a *procurator*. It became an independent province after its subjection by Titus, A.D. 70.

43. supra: see chaps. 3 and 4.

nec: connects **haec**, etc., with the clause **posse . . . componi**.

motum: used adjectively.

vergere: not used in relation to time by earlier writers. Tiberius was now fifty-nine, Drusus about thirty.

2. **provinciae quae mari dividuntur**: *i.e.* all the provinces of Asia, — Syria, Cilicia, Cyprus, Bithynia, Galatia, Pamphylia, and Asia. The republics of Rhodes and Lycia, the kingdom of Cappadocia for a short time, and that part of Pontus which lay north of Cappadocia, were still independent, but were shortly incorporated in the empire. Egypt was not included in his command, for the reason that Egypt was never reckoned as a province, but as a kingdom; see 59. 4 n.

maius imperium: so that the governors of the provinces were placed under his authority. Momm. *Röm. St.* I. 57.

sorte aut missu principis: *i.e.* imperial or senatorial governors (Intr. 17). The governors of the senatorial provinces were assigned by lot; those of the imperial provinces were appointed by the emperor.

3. **Creticum Silanum**: see 4. 4.

Cn. Pisonem: the family of the Pisos was among the oldest and most powerful of the noble families of Rome, and Gnaeus was at this time perhaps its leading member. He was a man of large experience, ambitious, and self-asserting (see I. 13. 3), and of a violent temper. Seneca (*de Ira*, I. 18. 3), relating a gross instance of cruelty and injustice perpetrated by him as governor of Spain, calls him *vir a multis vitiis integer, sed pravus et cui placebat pro constantia rigor*. That he was appointed by Tiberius with the commission to murder Germanicus, as Tacitus insinuates, there is absolutely no evidence; if the emperor wished to be rid of his adopted son, he needed not to resort to this clumsy method of attaining his end. That Piso committed the murder for his own end has as little evidence, and is in the highest degree improbable; if he had intended to do this, he would not have begun by insubordination and insult, but

quii ignarum, insita ferocia a patre Pisone, qui civili bello resurgentes in Africa partes acerrimo ministerio adversus Caesarem iuvit, mox Brutum et Cassium secutus, concesso reditu petitione honorum abstinuit, donec ultro ambiretur delatum ab Augusto consulatum acci-
4 pere. Sed praeter paternos spiritus uxoris quoque Plancinae nobilitate et opibus accendebatur: vix Tiberio concedere, liberos eius ut multum infra despectare. Nec dubium habebat se delectum qui Suriae imponeretur ad spes Germanici coercendas. Credidere quidam
5 data et a Tiberio occulta mandata; et Plancinam haud dubie Augusta monuit aemulatione muliebri Agrippinam insectandi. Divisa namque et discors aula erat tacitis
6 in Drusum aut Germanicum studiis. Tiberius ut proprium et sui sanguinis Drusum fovebat; Germanico alienatio patrui amorem apud ceteros auxerat, et quia claritudine materni generis anteibat, avum M. Antonium,
7 avunculum Augustum ferens. Contra Druso proavus

by courting the favor and confidence of his intended victim. That he rejoiced at his death seems, however, certain. Furneaux's suggestion seems reasonable, that the emperor, whose suspicious disposition was excited by the popularity of Germanicus,—and, it must be added, the scheming ambition of Agrippina,—and who at the same time was somewhat apprehensive of Piso, as a man *adipisci principem locum non indignum, et si casus daretur, ausurum*, placed them together of set purpose — that Piso "was to be some check on his young 'imperator,' who in turn was to check him by an 'imperium maius' on the spot." What seemed a sagacious piece of policy resulted in a tragedy.

partes: *i.e.* the republican party. After the defeat of Pompey at Pharsalus, B.C. 48, the senatorial leaders gathered their forces in Africa, where they were defeated by Cæsar at Thapsus, B.C. 46.

reditu: to Rome as a citizen.

abstinuit: as a sign of dissatisfaction.

ambiretur, *was solicited.*

consulatum: he was *consul suffectus*, B.C. 23.

4. **Plancinae**: probably daughter or grand-daughter of Lucius Munatius Plancus (censor B.C. 22); sister of the Plancus mentioned, I. 39. 4.

5. **insectandi**: appears to limit **monuit**. Nipperdey, however, declares this to be an impossible construction, and explains it as a genitive of purpose, like *cognoscendae antiquitatis*, 59. 1.

tacitis . . . studiis: cf. *quandoque distrahant*, I. 4. 5.

6. **avunculum**, really his *great-*

eques Romanus Pomponius Atticus dedecere Claudiorum imagines videbatur; et coniunx Germanici Agrippina fecunditate ac fama Liviam uxorem Drusi praecellebat. Sed fratres egregie concordes et proximorum certaminibus inconcussi.

Nec multo post Drusus in Illyricum missus est, ut **44** suesceret militiae studiaque exercitus pararet: simul iuvenem urbano luxu lascivientem melius in castris haberi Tiberius, seque tutiorem rebatur utroque filio legiones obtinente. Sed Suebi praetendebantur auxi- 2 lium adversus Cheruscos orantes; nam discessu Romanorum ac vacui externo metu gentis adsuetudine et tum aemulatione gloriae arma in se verterant. Vis nationum, 3 virtus ducum in aequo; sed Maroboduum regis nomen invisum apud populares, Arminium pro libertate bellantem favor habebat. Igitur non modo Cherusci soci- **45** ique eorum, vetus Arminii miles, sumpsere bellum, sed

uncle, brother of his grandmother Octavia. See 41. 5 n.

7. **Druso**: dative of reference — *in the case of Drusus.*

Pomponius Atticus: Cicero's well-known correspondent. His daughter Pomponia married Agrippa, and was mother of Vipsania, mother of Drusus; see I. 3. 1 n. and 12. 6 n.

Liviam: sister of Germanicus and better known as Livilla (IV. 3. 3 *seq.*).

44. **Illyricum**: see I. 5. 5 n.

suesceret: neuter.

pararet, *gain.*

2. **Suebi** (*Swabians*): the great race of south Germany (the *Hoch-Deutsch*), divided into a number of independent nations. Most of these had united under the rule of Maroboduus, the seat of whose kingdom was in Bohemia. The name of the nation thus formed was *Marcomani*, 'men of the frontier'; *ea Germaniae velut frons est* (*Germ.* 42). They were the source of the modern Bavarians.

praetendebantur, etc., *the pretext put forward was that the Suevi*, etc.; Intr. 35 *q.*

vacui, *because free;* joined by **ac** to the causal ablative **discessu.**

et tum, *and on this occasion;* the desire of glory being added to the usual motives (**gentis adsuetudine**).

arma in se verterant: this is what Tiberius had anticipated in withdrawing Germanicus; see 26. 3, *internis discordiis relinqui.*

3. **favor habebat**: opposed to **regis nomen invisum [habebat]**; a change of phrase involving a kind of zeugma, *habeo* being used in a different sense in the two clauses: his royal title *rendered* Maroboduus unpopular, while popularity *came* to

e regno etiam Marobodui Suebae gentes, Semnones ac
2 Langobardi, defecere ad eum. Quibus additis praepollebat, ni Inguiomerus cum manu clientium ad Maroboduum perfugisset, non aliam ob causam quam quia fratris filio iuveni patruus senex parere dedignabatur.
3 Deriguntur acies, pari utrimque spe, nec, ut olim apud Germanos, vagis incursibus aut disiectas per catervas: quippe longa adversum nos militia insueverant sequi signa, subsidiis firmari, dicta imperatorum accipere.
4 Ac tunc Arminius equo conlustrans cuncta, ut quosque advectus erat, reciperatam libertatem, trucidatas legiones, spolia adhuc et tela Romanis derepta in manibus multorum ostentabat; contra fugacem Maroboduum appellans, proeliorum expertem, Hercyniae latebris defensum; ac mox per dona et legationes petivisse foedus, proditorem patriae, satellitem Caesaris, haud minus infensis animis exturbandum quam Varum Quintilium interfecerint.
5 Meminissent modo tot proeliorum, quorum eventu et ad postremum eiectis Romanis satis probatum penes utros
46 summa belli fuerit. Neque Maroboduus iactantia sui aut probris in hostem abstinebat, sed Inguiomerum

Arminius (Intr. 35 *r*). Only a part of the German nations had kings, and even with these the royal power was very weak. *Germ.* 7.

45. Semnones et Langobardi: see the *Germania*, 39 and 40. They occupied the country upon the Elbe. The Langobardi are those who invaded Italy in the sixth century and are known as Lombards.

2. **clientium**: no doubt the personal followers (*comites*) described in the *Germania*, 13, 14, and 15. They were the *thegns* and *gesithcundmen* of the Anglo-Saxons.

iuveni: Arminius was now thirty-five years old (88. 4).

3. **incursibus**: ablative of manner.

sequi signa, etc.: cf. the description of the Chatti, *Germ.* 30.

4. **adhuc**, *moreover*.

proeliorum expertem: because Maroboduus had never fought with the Romans; he had, however, fought with other Germans.

Hercyniae: the great mountain ranges of Germany, especially those which surround Bohemia, the seat of the kingdom of Maroboduus.

proditorem patriae: he had made an honorable peace with Tiberius (26. 3 n.).

46. iactantia sui: cf. note on *sui*, 13. 1.

tenens, illo in corpore decus omne Cheruscorum, illius consiliis gesta quae prospere ceciderint testabatur; vecordem Arminium et rerum nescium alienam gloriam in se trahere, quoniam tres vacuas legiones et ducem fraudis ignarum perfidia deceperit, magna cum clade Germaniae et ignominia sua, cum coniunx, cum filius eius servitium adhuc tolerent. At se duodecim legioni- 2
bus petitum duce Tiberio inlibatam Germanorum gloriam servavisse, mox condicionibus aequis discessum; neque paenitere quod ipsorum in manu sit, integrum adversum Romanos bellum an pacem incruentam malint. His vocibus instinctos exercitus propriae quoque causae 3
stimulabant, cum a Cheruscis Langobardisque pro antiquo decore aut recenti libertate et contra augendae dominationi certaretur.

Non alias maiore mole concursum neque ambiguo 4
magis eventu, fusis utrimque dextris cornibus; sperabaturque rursum pugna, ni Maroboduus castra in colles subduxisset. Id signum perculsi fuit; et transfugiis 5
paulatim nudatus in Marcomanos concessit, misitque legatos ad Tiberium oraturos auxilia. Responsum est 6

tenens: *i.e.* by the hand.

corpore, *person;* a not uncommon use of the word.

illius consiliis: but (I. 68. 1) it was by the advice of Inguiomerus, against the judgment of Arminius, that the Germans made their unsuccessful attack upon the Roman camp.

vacuas, *unprepared*, as in *Agr.* 37, *paucitatem nostrorum vacui spernebant.* The reading is not very satisfactory, and is changed by Dräger to *vagas*, which would describe their condition after leaving the main road, while traversing the Teutoburg Forest.

coniunx, etc.: I. 57. 5.

2. **duodecim legionibus**: this was A.D. 6. The size of this army, four times the size of that of Varus, shows the strength of the kingdom of Maroboduus. Peace was made before they came to blows.

ipsorum: the Marcomani.

3. **aut**: the ancient glory of the Cherusci contrasted with the newly established independence of the Langobardi.

contra: *i.e.* by Maroboduus.

5. **perculsi**: *sc.* **eius.**

in Marcomanos: his home, Bohemia, — the nation being put for the territory.

non iure eum adversus Cheruscos arma Romana invocare, qui pugnantis in eundem hostem Romanos nulla ope iuvisset. Missus tamen Drusus, ut rettulimus, paci firmator.

47 Eodem anno duodecim celebres Asiae urbes collapsae nocturno motu terrae, quo improvisior graviorque pestis
2 fuit. Neque solitum in tali casu effugium subveniebat, in aperta prorumpendi, quia diductis terris hauriebantur. Sedisse immensos montes, visa in arduo quae plana fue-
3 rint, effulsisse inter ruinam ignes memorant. Asperrima in Sardianos lues plurimum in eosdem misericordiae traxit; nam centiens sestertium pollicitus Caesar, et quantum aerario aut fisco pendebant, in quinquennium
4 remisit. Magnetes a Sipylo proximi damno ac remedio habiti. Temnios, Philadelphenos, Aegeatas, Apollonidenses, quique Mosteni aut Macedones Hyrcani vocantur, et Hierocaesariam, Myrinam, Cymen, Tmolum levari idem in tempus tributis mittique ex senatu placuit, qui
5 praesentia spectaret refoveretque. Delectus est M. Ateius e praetoriis, ne consulari obtinente Asiam aemulatio inter pares et ex eo impedimentum oreretur.

6. **paci**: Intr. 35 *f*; the dative is often used, instead of a genitive, to express the function which one is designed to fulfil.

47. duodecim urbes: an inscription of the year 30 (Orelli, 687) mentions fourteen: Ephesus and Cibyra, in addition to the twelve here given. For the destruction of Cibyra, see IV. 13. 1; that of Ephesus may have been related in the lost portion of the fifth book.

celebres, *populous.*

Asiae: the province of Asia, comprising the west of Asia Minor.

3. **nam**, etc.: for the emperor's care for the provinces see I. 2. 2 n.

aerario aut fisco, *the treasury of the state or the privy purse.*

remisit: no doubt by a *senatus consultum*; cf. IV. 13. 1.

4. **damno ac remedio**, *in amount of loss and need of relief.*

Mosteni . . . Hyrcani: two towns, called respectively Hyrcania Mostenorum and Hyrcania Macedonum. For this use of **aut** cf. 46. 3 n.

5. **consulari obtinente Asiam**: the proconsul of Asia was regularly of consular rank; if, therefore, a commissioner of the same rank should be sent, questions of precedence and authority might arise.

Magnificam in publicum largitionem auxit Caesar haud 48
minus grata liberalitate, quod bona Aemiliae Musae,
locupletis intestatae, petita in fiscum, Aemilio Lepido,
cuius e domo videbatur, et Patulei divitis equitis Ro-
mani hereditatem, quamquam ipse heres in parte legere-
tur, tradidit M. Servilio, quem prioribus neque suspectis
tabulis scriptum compererat, nobilitatem utriusque pecu-
nia iuvandam praefatus. Neque hereditatem cuiusquam 2
adiit nisi cum amicitia meruisset; ignotos et aliis in-
fensos eoque principem nuncupantes procul arcebat.
Ceterum ut honestam innocentium paupertatem levavit, 3
ita prodigos et ob flagitia egentes, Vibidium Virronem,
Marium Nepotem, Appium Appianum, Cornelium Sul-
lam, Q. Vitellium movit senatu aut sponte cedere
passus est.

Isdem temporibus deum aedes vetustate aut igni abo- 49

48. in publicum, *of a public character*. It cannot be intended to contrast the liberality of the state with that of Tiberius as an individual, because, although the remission of tribute was made by the senate, the gift of ten million sesterces was made by the emperor himself. The next case was one of private necessity.

Aemiliae Musae: probably a *libertina*, or freedwoman. As her property was to go to the *fiscus*, it would seem probable that she not only had no heirs, but that even her *manumissor* was uncertain; the kinship of Aemilius Lepidus was not certain (**videbatur**). He is probably the one who is called (III. 32. 2 and 72. 3) *inops* and *pecuniae modicus*.

Aemilio Lepido: dative after **tradidit**.

in parte: it was common to associate the emperor with the legitimate heirs; Augustus is said in this way to have inherited, in the last twenty years of his life, about $70,000,000 (Suet. *Oct.* 101). Cf. Tac. *Agric.* 43.

prioribus ... tabulis, *an earlier will*. Wills might still be made orally, but were regularly written on waxen tablets, which were then tied together and sealed.

scriptum: *i.e.* as sole heir.

nobilitatem, etc.: showing that his reluctance in the case of Hortalus (38) was on the ground of unworthiness; see below.

2. **nuncupantes**: this word, originally meaning to name the heir orally in the presence of witnesses, appears to be used here for any form of appointment, as in Pliny (*Paneg.* 43), *nec quia offendit alius nuncuparis, sed quia ipse meruisti.*

3. **Q. Vitellium**: an uncle of the emperor, and brother of Publius Vitellius (I. 70. 1); cf. Suet. *Vit.* 2.

litas coeptasque ab Augusto dedicavit, Libero Liberaeque et Cereri iuxta circum maximum, quam A. Postumius dictator voverat, eodemque in loco aedem Florae ab Lucio et Marco Publiciis aedilibus constitutam, et Iano templum, quod apud forum holitorium C. Duilius struxerat, qui primus rem Romanam prospere mari gessit triumphumque navalem de Poenis meruit. Spei aedes a Germanico sacratur; hanc A. Atilius voverat eodem bello. Adolescebat interea lex maiestatis. Et Appuleiam Varillam, sororis Augusti neptem, quia probrosis sermonibus divum Augustum ac Tiberium et matrem eius illusisset Caesarique conexa adulterio teneretur, maies-

49. coeptas ab Augusto: it was the policy of Augustus to revive early forms of Roman worship, which had fallen into disuse, being obscured by the more fashionable rites of Greece and the Orient. This revival of the national deities had a certain value as a conservative force in society, and especially in quickening the sense of patriotism; but as a religion, it was a mere piece of antiquarianism, with no vitality.

Libero, etc.: this is the Eleusinian triad, introduced very early in the republic, as the first Greek rite formally established in Rome. The Roman deities identified with Demeter, Dionysus, and Core hardly appear at all in the primitive religion of Rome, and their worship is purely Greek. The temple in question was vowed by the dictator Aulus Postumius, at the battle of Lake Regillus, B.C. 496, and dedicated by Spurius Cassius, three years later.

Lucio et Marco Publiciis: they were brothers, and aediles, B.C. 240 or 238.

apud forum holitorium: the vegetable market was north of the Forum Boarium, or cattle market, between the Capitoline and the river, outside of the walls. Janus was one of the most ancient gods of Rome, originally a god of the sun, but who had come to be regarded as the god of beginnings. The victory of Gaius Duilius here mentioned, the first naval battle gained by the Romans, was in the first Punic War, B.C. 260.

2. **Spei**: the deification of abstract qualities, — Concordia, Pudicitia, Honor, etc., — was very characteristic of the Roman religion.

50. adolescebat: its beginnings have been described (I. 72–74); it afterwards became the curse of society in this reign. On this occasion the emperor set himself against the abuses of this law, and mitigated the punishment of adultery.

neptem: her mother was probably one of the two daughters of Octavia, by her first husband, Marcellus. The other daughter married Agrippa, and was mother of Haterius Agrippa, mentioned in the next chapter.

conexa, *being related;* her connection with the imperial family

tatis delator arcessebat. De adulterio satis caveri lege 2
Iulia visum: maiestatis crimen distingui Caesar postulavit, damnarique si qua de Augusto irreligiose dixisset; in se iacta nolle ad cognitionem vocari. Interrogatus a 3
consule quid de iis censeret quae de matre eius locuta secus argueretur, reticuit; dein proximo senatus die illius quoque nomine oravit, ne cui verba in eam quoquo modo habita crimini forent. Liberavitque Appuleiam 4
lege maiestatis: adulterii graviorem poenam deprecatus, 5
ut exemplo maiorum propinquis suis ultra ducentesimum lapidem removeretur suasit. Adultero Manlio Italia atque Africa interdictum est.

De praetore in locum Vipstani Galli, quem mors 51
abstulerat, subrogando certamen incessit. Germanicus 2
atque Drusus (nam etiam tum Romae erant) Haterium Agrippam propinquum Germanici fovebant; contra plerique nitebantur ut numerus liberorum in candidatis

gave ground for bringing her offence under the charge of *maiestas*. This interpretation had been given to the law by Augustus, and is contained even in the English law of treason of Edward III. But Tiberius rejected the principle, by declaring that the charge of adultery should be tried by the Julian Law, just as in the case of other persons, while that of *maiestas* should be limited to language in disparagement of Augustus.

2. **lege Iulia** [*de adulteriis et stupris*]: passed by Augustus, B.C. 17; it established fine and banishment in place of the punishment by the husband, which had been allowed by the old law. See below.

distingui: that the two charges should be considered separately.

3. **eius**: of Tiberius.

secus: *i.e.* otherwise than was true and fitting.

illius: his mother.

5. **graviorem poenam deprecatus**: the punishment, by the Julian Law, was deportation to an island, and the confiscation of one-third of the fortune and half of the dowry, while the man lost half his property; this he would commute to banishment within Italy, with no confiscation.

propinquis: dative of agent; by a council of kinsmen, as in ancient times.

Italia atque Africa: ablative of separation with **interdictum est.**

51. subrogando: the prefix **sub**, as in *consul suffectus*, indicates an election to fill a vacancy.

2. **propinquum Germanici**: he was grandson of Agrippa, and, therefore, nephew of Agrippina, wife of Germanicus. See note on *neptem*, 50. 1; also I. 77. 3.

praepolleret, quod lex iubebat. Laetabatur Tiberius cum inter filios eius et leges senatus disceptaret. Victa est sine dubio lex, sed neque statim et paucis suffragiis, quo modo, etiam cum valerent, leges vincebantur.

52 Eodem anno coeptum in Africa bellum, duce hostium Tacfarinate. Is natione Numida, in castris Romanis auxiliaria stipendia meritus, mox desertor, vagos primum et latrociniis suetos ad praedam et raptus congregare, dein more militiae per vexilla et turmas componere, postremo non inconditae turbae, sed Musulamiorum dux haberi. Valida ea gens et solitudinibus Africae propinqua, nullo etiam tum urbium cultu, cepit arma Maurosque accolas in bellum traxit: dux et his, Mazippa.

lex: *sc.* **Papia Poppaea**; by this law Augustus attempted (A.D. 9) to check the growing tendency to an unmarried life; see III. 25. 1. For the preference of fathers as candidates, cf. XV. 19, Plin. *Ep.* VII. 16. 2.

3. laetabatur: the imperfect would seem to show that he was always glad to throw the responsibility on the senate. Nothing in the language implies a triumph over law "in the interest of autocracy," as Furneaux says: although the words **sine dubio**, *of course*, indicate that Tacitus so regarded it.

etiam cum valerent: *i.e.* during the republic.

52. Tacfarinate: called by Mommsen "an African Arminius." This insurrection, he tells us, was only one incident, "of unusual proportions," of a warfare between the civilized province and the wild tribes of the south, which "must have been permanent" (*Provinces*, II. p. 345).

2. Numida: Numidia corresponded in general to the eastern half (*Constantine*) of the modern Algiers. It lost its independence after the battle of Thapsus, B.C. 46, and was united with the province of Africa, B.C. 25 (Intr. 18. A. 1): after the reign of Tiberius it was placed under the military government of a *legatus* of the emperor, of prætorian rank, and was at last organized as a separate province, probably in the time of Septimius Severus.

auxiliaria . . . meritus, *having served in the auxiliaries* (I. 36. 4 n.).

per vexilla et turmas: *turmae* were divisions of cavalry; the *vexillum* was used for cavalry, and also for squads and detached bodies of infantry. As the Numidians were almost exclusively a nation of horsemen, it is likely that their infantry was composed of only a few scattered companies, not organized into cohorts and maniples (which would have used metal *signa*), but having each its own *vexillum*. The phrase means, therefore, *in companies of foot and horse.*

Musulamiorum: these were a people of western Numidia, near Mauretania — **Mauros accolas.**

3. dux et his, *these also had a leader.*

Divisusque exercitus, ut Tacfarinas lectos viros et 4
Romanum in modum armatos castris attineret, disciplina et imperiis suesceret, Mazippa levi cum copia incendia et caedes et terrorem circumferret. Compule- 5
rantque Cinithios, haud spernendam nationem, in eadem, cum Furius Camillus pro consule Africae legionem et quod sub signis sociorum in unum conductos ad hostem duxit, modicam manum, si multitudinem Numidarum atque Maurorum spectares; sed nihil aeque cavebatur quam ne bellum metu eluderent: spe victoriae inducti sunt ut vincerentur. Igitur legio medio, leves cohortes 6
duaeque alae in cornibus locantur. Nec Tacfarinas 7
pugnam detrectavit. Fusi Numidae, multosque post annos Furio nomini partum decus militiae. Nam post 8
illum reciperatorem urbis filiumque eius Camillum penes alias familias imperatoria laus fuerat; atque hic, quem memoramus, bellorum expers habebatur. Eo pronior 9
Tiberius res gestas apud senatum celebravit; et decrevere patres triumphalia insignia, quod Camillo ob modestiam vitae impune fuit.

4. **attineret,** *held,* a favorite word with Tacitus.

disciplina: suesceret is used here as a transitive verb, and with the ablative, like *adsuescere;* many editions change to *disciplinae.*

5. **Cinithios:** these lived further east, near the Lesser Syrtis.

pro consule Africae: this is the original and correct term, the proconsul acting for the consul.

spectares: subjunctive of indefinite subject, in the second person singular.

eluderent: *i.e.* the Numidians, "if a larger force was brought against them." Furneaux. The chief point in his strategy was not to alarm the enemy.

6. **leves cohortes duaeque alae:** these were auxiliary troops; Roman troops were organized in maniples of infantry, and *turmae* of cavalry.

8. **reciperatorem urbis:** the great Camillus, who recovered the city after its capture by the Gauls, B.C. 390. The Lucius Camillus who triumphed B.C. 338 was probably not his son, but grandson.

familias: Publius Furius Philus triumphed B.C. 223, and Lucius Furius Purpureo, B.C. 200; they were of the same *gens,* but not the same *family* as Camillus.

9. **triumphalia insignia:** see I. 72. 1 n.

impune: *i.e.* this distinction did

53 Sequens annus Tiberium tertio, Germanicum iterum consules habuit. Sed eum honorem Germanicus iniit apud urbem Achaiae Nicopolim, quo venerat per Illyricam oram viso fratre Druso in Dalmatia agente, Hadriatici ac mox Ionii maris adversam navigationem perpessus. 2 Igitur paucos dies insumpsit reficiendae classi; simul sinus Actiaca victoria inclutos et sacratas ab Augusto manubias castraque Antonii cum recordatione maiorum 3 suorum adiit. Namque ei, ut memoravi, avunculus Augustus, avus Antonius erant, magnaque illic imago tristium laetorumque. Hinc ventum Athenas, foederique sociae et vetustae urbis datum, ut uno lictore uteretur. 4 Excepere Graeci quaesitissimis honoribus, vetera suorum facta dictaque praeferentes, quo plus dignationis adulatio **54** haberet. Petita inde Euboea tramisit Lesbum, ubi 2 Agrippina novissimo partu Iuliam edidit. Tum extrema

not cause him to be an object of envy and suspicion to the emperor.

53. annus . . . habuit: Tacitus is very fond of personification with expressions of time; cf. *annus*, I. 54. 1, *nox*, I. 28. 1, *dies*, I. 49. 2, *lux*, I. 70. 7.

tertio: the regular form of the adverb is *tertium*; but both forms were in use in the time of Cicero (Aul. Gell. X. 1. 7). It was probably preferred here to avoid the jingle, Tiberi*um* tertiu*m* Germanicu*m* iteru*m*.

Nicopolim, *city of victory*; built by Augustus in the neighborhood of the promontory of Actium, in order to celebrate his victory over Mark Antony, B.C. 31. Epirus, in which this city was situated, was a part of the province of Achaia, and was made a separate province perhaps in the reign of Vespasian.

2. **sinus**: the shores of the Ambracian Gulf.

manubias: Suetonius (*Oct.* 18) says, *locum castrorum, quibus fuerat usus, exornatum navalibus spoliis, Neptuno ac Marti consecravit.*

castra Antonii: this was on the promontory of Actium, opposite the promontory on which Nicopolis was situated.

3. **avunculus Augustus, avus Antonius**: see 41. 5 n.; it was a cheerful association with the former, a sorrowful one with the latter.

uno lictore: he was entitled to twelve lictors; this concession was made to the ancient glories of Athens. According to Suetonius (*Calig.* 3), *libera ac foederata oppida sine lictoribus adibat.*

4. **praeferentes**, *displaying, mentioning with pride.*

dignationis (not *dignitatis*): it implies, as a verbal noun, the regard which they bestowed, the action of the verb *dignari*.

54. Iuliam: also called *Livilla*.

Asiae Perinthumque ac Byzantium, Thraecias urbes, mox Propontidis angustias et os Ponticum intrat, cupidine veteres locos et fama celebratos noscendi; pariterque provincias internis certaminibus aut magistratuum iniuriis fessas refovebat. Atque illum in regressu sacra 3
Samothracum visere nitentem obvii aquilones depulere. Igitur adito Ilio quaeque ibi varietate fortunae et nostri origine veneranda, relegit Asiam appellitque Colophona, ut Clarii Apollinis oraculo uteretur. Non femina illic, 4
ut apud Delphos, sed certis e familiis et ferme Mileto accitus sacerdos numerum modo consultantium et nomina audit; tum in specum degressus, hausta fontis arcani aqua, ignarus plerumque litterarum et carminum edit responsa versibus compositis super rebus quas quis mente concepit. Et ferebatur Germanico per ambages, 5
ut mos oraculis, maturum exitium cecinisse.

At Cn. Piso, quo properantius destinata inciperet, civi- 55
tatem Atheniensium turbido incessu exterritam oratione saeva increpat, oblique Germanicum perstringens, quod

2. **Perinthum**: on a promontory of the Propontis; **Byzantium,** on the site of Constantinople.

Propontidis angustias: the straits of Constantinople, beyond the Propontis, or Sea of Marmora; **os Ponticum** is the entrance to the Black Sea.

magistratuum: both Roman governors and native magistrates.

3. **sacra Samothracum**: the mysteries celebrated in the island of Samothrace by the Cabiri.

Ilio: a recent city, built on the supposed site of Troy, by Sulla. It was on the hill of Hissarlik, recently explored by Dr. Schliemann.

quae: its antecedent is in the same construction as **Ilio.**

nostri: a subjective use of this genitive, common in late writers. But it is objective in a certain sense — *that which gave origin to us.*

Colophona: one of the lesser cities of the famous Ionian league; Miletus was one of the most important of these.

Clarii Apollinis oraculo: this oracle was, according to tradition, founded by Manto, daughter of the seer Tiresias, and was afterwards presided over by her son Mopsus.

4. **modo**, *only.*

5. **ut mos oraculis**: the oracles being generally easy to interpret after the event.

55. destinata: referring to the supposed intent of Tiberius to procure the death of Germanicus.

oblique . . . perstringens: not

contra decus Romani nominis non Athenienses tot cladibus exstinctos, sed colluviem illam nationum comitate nimia coluisset: hos enim esse Mithridatis adversus Sullam, Antonii adversus divum Augustum socios.
2 Etiam vetera obiectabat, quae in Macedones improspere, violenter in suos fecissent, offensus urbi propria quoque ira, quia Theophilum quendam Areo iudicio falsi damna-
3 tum precibus suis non concederent. Exim navigatione celeri per Cycladas et compendia maris adsequitur Germanicum apud insulam Rhodum, haud nescium quibus insectationibus petitus foret: sed tanta mansuetudine agebat ut, cum orta tempestas raperet in abrupta possetque interitus inimici ad casum referri, miserit triremis
4 quarum subsidio discrimini eximeretur. Neque tamen mitigatus Piso, et vix diei moram perpessus linquit Germanicum praevenitque. Et postquam Suriam ac legiones attigit, largitione ambitu infimos manipularium iuvando, cum veteres centuriones, severos tribunos demoveret locaque eorum clientibus suis vel deterrimo cuique attribueret, desidiam in castris, licentiam in urbibus, vagum ac lascivientem per agros militem sineret, eo usque cor-

by name; the reproaches against the city necessarily reflected upon Germanicus.

colluviem illam nationum: Demosthenes upbraided his countrymen for their lavishness in bestowing citizenship. In later days this privilege was openly sold.

adversus Sullam: Athens was occupied forcibly by Mithridates; *oppugnabantur ab amicis, et animos extra moenia, corpora necessitati servientes intra muros habebant* (Vell. Pat. II. 23). For their subservience to Antony, Augustus deprived them of the privilege of selling their citizenship.

2. **vetera**, *their ancient misdemeanors*, — their feebleness against Philip, their injustice towards Aristides and others.

Areo iudicio = *Arei pagi iudicio, by a judgment of the Areopagus*, the chief court of Athens.

falsi, *forgery*.

3. **compendia maris**: cf. *compendiis viarum*, I. 63. 6.

raperet: *sc. Pisonem*.

4. **veteres centuriones**, etc.: here he went beyond his powers, as the appointment of these officers belonged exclusively to the emperor. Momm. *Röm. St.* II. 798.

desidiam, etc.: see III. 13. 3.

ruptionis provectus est ut sermone vulgi parens legionum haberetur. Nec Plancina se intra decora feminis tene- 5
bat, sed exercitio equitum, decursibus cohortium interesse, in Agrippinam, in Germanicum contumelias iacere, quibusdam etiam bonorum militum ad mala obsequia promptis, quod haud invito imperatore ea fieri occultus rumor incedebat.

Nota haec Germanico, sed praeverti ad Armenios 6
instantior cura fuit. Ambigua gens ea antiquitus homi- 56
num ingeniis et situ terrarum, quoniam nostris provinciis late praetenta penitus ad Medos porrigitur; maximisque imperiis interiecti et saepius discordes sunt, adversus Romanos odio et in Parthum invidia. Regem illa tem- 2
pestate non habebant, amoto Vonone: sed favor nationis inclinabat in Zenonem, Polemonis regis Pontici filium, quod is prima ab infantia instituta et cultum Armeniorum aemulatus, venatu epulis et quae alia barbari celebrant, proceres plebemque iuxta devinxerat. Igitur 3
Germanicus in urbe Artaxata, approbantibus nobilibus,

5. **feminis**: dative after **decora**.

decursibus: a military review which, by order of Augustus, took place three times a month (Veg. I. 27).

6. **praeverti**: the prefix **prae** expresses his desire to anticipate any further movements in this place.

56. ambigua: the twofold application of this word is expressed in the chiastic order — **hominum ingeniis**, as being divided in sympathy between the Romans and the Parthians; **situ terrarum**, as their land stretched along the Roman provinces and reached to Media, **maximis imperiis interiecti**.

discordes: not *inter se*, but towards both empires.

odio, invidia: the Romans were enemies; the Parthians, rivals.

2. **amoto Vonone**: see 4. 4.

Polemonis, regis Pontici: this Polemo was made king of that part of Pontus which lay east of the Thermodon, by Antony and Octavius, B.C. 34, his kingdom also including Armenia Minor. It was annexed to the Roman empire by Nero, A.D. 63, and became a part of the province of Galatia, under the name Pontus Polemoniacus.

instituta . . . aemulatus: compare the demeanor of Vonones, 2. 5.

3. **Artaxata**: capital of Armenia, founded by King Artaxias, on the advice of Hannibal; the name of this founder was now bestowed upon the new king. The word is generally a neuter plural.

approbantibus nobilibus, etc.: as usual, in barbarous states, the no-

circumfusa multitudine, insigne regium capiti eius imposuit. Ceteri venerantes regem Artaxiam consalutavere, quod illi vocabulum indiderant ex nomine urbis. 4 At Cappadoces in formam provinciae redacti Q. Veranium legatum accepere; et quaedam ex regiis tributis deminuta, quo mitius Romanum imperium speraretur. 5 Commagenis Q. Servaeus praeponitur, tum primum ad ius praetoris translatis.

57 Cunctaque socialia prospere composita non ideo laetum Germanicum habebant ob superbiam Pisonis, qui iussus partem legionum ipse aut per filium in Armeniam 2 ducere utrumque neglexerat. Cyrri demum apud hiberna decimae legionis convenere, firmato vultu, Piso adversus metum, Germanicus, ne minari crederetur; et 3 erat, ut rettuli, clementior. Sed amici accendendis offensionibus callidi intendere vera, adgerere falsa ipsumque 4 et Plancinam et filios variis modis criminari. Postremo paucis familiarium adhibitis sermo coeptus a Caesare, qualem ira et dissimulatio gignit, responsum a Pisone precibus contumacibus; discesseruntque apertis odiis. Post quae rarus in tribunali Caesaris Piso, et si quando

bles gave their consent, the people their acclamations.

quod: a relative.

4. **Cappadoces**, etc.: see 42, with notes. The officers here named, Veranius and Servaeus, devoted friends of Germanicus, were commissioners to organize the new government; this being done, they returned to him.

5. **ad ius praetoris**: *i.e.* to the condition of a province. The imperial governor (*legatus Caesaris pro praetore*), exercised essentially prætorian powers. Commagene was annexed to Syria, its independence was restored by Caligula, and it was again annexed by Vespasian.

57. socialia, *the affairs of the allies.*

2. **Cyrri**: a town upon the principal road from Antioch to Commagene.

decimae legionis: the name of this legion was *Fretensis.*

firmato = *composito*: each tried to conceal his feelings. The same idea is expressed by **dissimulatio** below.

3. **intendere**, *exaggerate* (Intr. 35 *k*).

4. **precibus contumacibus**, *requests which betrayed an insubordinate spirit.*

apertis: see App. I.

in tribunali Caesaris: the governor of Syria would naturally be

assideret, atrox ac dissentire manifestus. Vox quoque 5
eius audita est in convivio, cum apud regem Nabataeorum coronae aureae magno pondere Caesari et Agrippinae, leves Pisoni et ceteris offerrentur, principis Romani, non Parthi regis filio eas epulas dari; abiecitque simul coronam et multa in luxum addidit, quae Germanico quamquam acerba tolerabantur tamen.

Inter quae ab rege Parthorum Artabano legati venere. 58
Miserat amicitiam ac foedus memoraturos, et cupere renovari dextras, daturumque honori Germanici, ut ripam Euphratis accederet: petere interim ne Vonones in Suria haberetur neu proceres gentium propinquis nuntiis ad discordias traheret. Ad ea Germanicus de soci- 2
etate Romanorum Parthorumque magnifice, de adventu regis et cultu sui cum decore ac modestia respondit. Vonones Pompeiopolim, Ciliciae maritimam urbem, amo- 3
tus est. Datum id non modo precibus Artabani, sed contumeliae Pisonis, cui gratissimus erat ob plurima officia et dona quibus Plancinam devinxerat.

M. Silano L. Norbano consulibus Germanicus Aegyp- 59
tum proficiscitur cognoscendae antiquitatis. Sed cura 2

invited to sit upon the tribunal by the side of Germanicus.

dissentire manifestus: a very rare Græcism (cf. *properus clarescere*, IV. 52. 2; Intr. 35 *s*).

5. **Nabataeorum**: a people of Arabia, whose power at this period stretched from Damascus to the confines of Egypt, having Petra for their capital. They were conquered by Trajan, and their territory erected into the province Arabia.

principis Romani, etc.: *i.e.* the banquet and presents would have better befitted a Parthian than a Roman prince.

in luxum, *in condemnation of*, etc.; pointing at Germanicus.

58. amicitiam ac foedus: cf. 1.

accederet: *i.e.* Artabanus; the clause is the object of **daturum**.

gentium: *i.e.* Parthia and Armenia.

2. **cultu sui**, *the honor to be paid to himself.*

3. **Pompeiopolim**: the ancient Soli, a city of Cilicia, rebuilt by Pompey, after subduing the pirates of Cilicia, B.C. 67.

Pisonis: objective genitive.

gratissimus: *i.e.* Vonones.

59. cognoscendae antiquita-

provinciae praetendebatur, levavitque apertis horreis pretia frugum multaque in vulgus grata usurpavit: sine milite incedere, pedibus intectis et pari cum Graecis amictu, P. Scipionis aemulatione, quem eadem factitavisse apud Siciliam, quamvis flagrante adhuc Poenorum
3 bello, accepimus. Tiberius cultu habituque eius lenibus verbis perstricto, acerrime increpuit, quod contra instituta Augusti non sponte principis Alexandriam introis-
4 set. Nam Augustus inter alia dominationis arcana, vetitis nisi permissu ingredi senatoribus aut equitibus Romanis illustribus, seposuit Aegyptum, ne fame urgeret Italiam, quisquis eam provinciam claustraque terrae ac maris quamvis levi praesidio adversum ingentes exer-
60 citus insedisset. Sed Germanicus nondum comperto profectionem eam incusari Nilo subvehebatur, orsus

tis: a causal genitive, common in Tacitus, rare in other writers (Intr. 35 *n*).

2. **provinciae**: Egypt was not strictly a province (see 4 n, and Intr. 18. B. iv).

horreis: the public granaries, — an object of great importance in Egypt, as illustrated in the story of Joseph.

pretia frugum: Suetonius (*Tib.* 52) says that he went to Egypt *propter immensam et repentinam famem*.

P. Scipionis aemulatione: Livy (XXIX. 19) says of Scipio, *cum pallio crepidisque inambulare in gymnasio*. The Greek *pallium* was a square garment, the Roman toga was long and with partly rounded ends; both were worn in nearly the same way, folded over the shoulders and around the body. The κρηπίς was a sandal — **pedibus intectis**, — while the Roman *calceus* was a shoe, covering the foot.

3. **sponte**, *consent;* properly used with a possessive, in late writers with a genitive.

4. **illustribus**: *i.e.* those *equites* who had a senatorial fortune, one million sesterces.

seposuit Aegyptum: Egypt was never formally made into a province, but was governed by the emperor as a separate kingdom, always having common *equites* as its governors. It was, therefore, a serious offence in Germanicus to visit it without permission.

fame urgeret: Egypt was one of the chief sources of the corn supply for Italy, and must not be exposed to the chances of war and revolution.

quisquis, *whoever*, pretender or rebel; subject of **urgeret**.

claustra terrae ac maris: Alexandria and Pelusium, at the extreme west and east, which could be easily held **adversum ingentes exercitus**.

oppido a Canopo. Condidere id Spartani ob sepultum 2
illic rectorem navis Canopum, qua tempestate Menelaus
Graeciam repetens diversum ad mare terramque Libyam
deiectus *est*. Inde proximum amnis os dicatum Herculi, 3
quem indigenae ortum apud se et antiquissimum perhi-
bent eosque, qui postea pari virtute fuerint, in cogno-
mentum eius adscitos; mox visit veterum Thebarum
magna vestigia. Et manebant structis molibus litterae 4
Aegyptiae, priorem opulentiam complexae: iussusque
e senioribus sacerdotum patrium sermonem interpretari,
referebat habitasse quondam septingenta milia aetate
militari, atque eo cum exercitu regem Rhamsen Libya
Aethiopia Medisque et Persis et Bactriano ac Scytha
potitum quasque terras Suri Armeniique et contigui
Cappadoces colunt, inde Bithynum, hinc Lycium ad
mare imperio tenuisse. Legebantur et indicta gentibus 5
tributa, pondus argenti et auri, numerus armorum equo-

60. Canopo: spelt also *Canobus;* an ancient city upon the westernmost mouth of the Nile; its prosperity was ruined by the founding of Alexandria, near by.

3. **proximum amnis os**: object of **visit**: the Canopic mouth was called also Heracleotic.

antiquissimum: of all the Hercules of tradition.

in cognomentum eius ascitos: identified with the hero.

veterum Thebarum: it appears from Pliny (*N. H.* VIII. 185) that he visited Memphis also, where he received an omen of his approaching death from the Bull Apis; *Germanici Caesaris manus aversatus est haud multo postea exstincti.* According to Ammianus Marcellinus (XXII. 14. 8), the bull refused food from his hand.

4. **structis molibus**: the immense structures, the ruins of which still stand, — temples, palaces, tombs, etc.; ablative of place.

litterae: written characters (hieroglyphics).

complexae, *containing a statement of.*

regem Rhamsen: Rameses II., the Great (Sesostris), of the 19th dynasty, in the 15th century, B.C. For a graphic delineation of this king and of Egyptian life at this period, see Eber's *Uarda.*

Libya, etc.: they boasted overmuch, as the monuments show that the conquests of Rameses never extended beyond Syria.

Bithynum . . . Lycium ad mare: the Bithynian Sea was the Euxine; the Lycian, that part of the Mediterranean which lay between Cyprus and Rhodes.

5. **legebantur**: all these are read

rumque et dona templis ebur atque odores, quasque copias frumenti et omnium utensilium quaeque natio penderet, haud minus magnifica quam nunc vi Parthorum aut potentia Romana iubentur. Ceterum Germanicus aliis quoque miraculis intendit animum, quorum praecipua fuere Memnonis saxea effigies, ubi radiis solis icta est, vocalem sonum reddens, disiectasque inter et vix pervias harenas instar montium eductae pyramides certamine et opibus regum, lacusque effossa humo, superfluentis Nili receptacula; atque alibi angustiae et profunda altitudo, nullis inquirentium spatiis penetrabilis. Exim ventum Elephantinen ac Syenen, claustra olim Romani imperii, quod nunc rubrum ad mare patescit.

Dum ea aestas Germanico plures per provincias transigitur, haud leve decus Drusus quaesivit illiciens Germanos ad discordias utque fracto iam Maroboduo usque

at the present day in the same hieroglyphics.

odores: spices and perfumes.

61. Memnonis saxea effigies: this was a colossal statue of King Amenophis III. of the 18th dynasty, sixty feet in height, cut from a single block of granite. It was believed by the Greeks to represent the hero Memnon, son of Eos, slain in the Trojan war; and the sound heard at sunrise was explained as his salutation to his mother, the Dawn. The name *Memnon* would seem to have been an easy confusion of sound with *Amenophis;* the sounds heard were probably caused by some expansion of the stones in the heat of the sun.

pyramides: these works of the 4th dynasty are in the neighborhood of Memphis.

lacus: the lake, or reservoir, of Moeris, somewhat further up the river, constructed by a king of the 12th dynasty, about 2200 B.C. This also has been recently discovered.

angustiae . . . altitudo: *sc.* **fluminis**: this refers to the first cataract, where the river is narrow and so swift that it cannot be sounded.

spatiis: *i.e.* of line.

2. **Elephantinen ac Syenen**: the proper limits of Egypt towards Ethiopia.

rubrum ad mare: the Indian Ocean, comprehending also the Arabian and Persian Gulfs. The reference is to the expedition of Trajan, A.D. 116, when he launched upon the Persian Gulf, which he had now made the boundary of his empire. This passage, therefore, gives a clew to the date of composition of the *Annals* (Intr. 2).

in exitium insisteretur. Erat inter Gotones nobilis 2
iuvenis nomine Catualda, profugus olim vi Marobodui et
tunc dubiis rebus eius ultionem ausus. Is valida manu 3
fines Marcomanorum ingreditur corruptisque primoribus
ad societatem irrumpit regiam castellumque iuxta situm.
Veteres illic Sueborum praedae et nostris e provinciis 4
lixae ac negotiatores reperti, quos ius commercii, dein
cupido augendi pecuniam, postremum oblivio patriae
suis quemque ab sedibus hostilem in agrum transtulerat.
Maroboduo undique deserto non aliud subsidium quam 63
misericordia Caesaris fuit. Transgressus Danuvium,
qua Noricam provinciam praefluit, scripsit Tiberio non
ut profugus aut supplex, sed ex memoria prioris for-
tunae: nam multis nationibus clarissimum quondam
regem ad se vocantibus Romanam amicitiam praetulisse.
Responsum a Caesare tutam ei honoratamque sedem in 2
Italia fore, si maneret; sin rebus eius aliud conduceret,
abiturum fide qua venisset. Ceterum apud senatum 3
disseruit non Philippum Atheniensibus, non Pyrrhum aut
Antiochum populo Romano perinde metuendos fuisse.
Exstat oratio, qua magnitudinem viri, violentiam subiec- 4

62. ut insisteretur: depends upon **illiciens Germanos**, connected by **que** to **ad discordias.**

2. **Gotones**: the Goths, who were at this time upon the mouth of the Vistula (see *Germ.* 43). They afterwards migrated to the regions north of the Lower Danube and the Black Sea. It has been suggested that the tribe in question was not the German *Gothones*, but the Celtic *Gothini* (*Germ.* 43), who lived much nearer, in Silesia; and this suggestion is supported by the Celtic-sounding name of the prince Catualda.

3. **regiam**: Ptolemy (2, 11, § 29) mentions a place named Μαρόβουδον, probably near Budweis in Bohemia.

4. **ius commercii**: granted by a treaty between Maroboduus and the Romans.

63. Noricam: used here as an adjective. The province of Noricum comprised Eastern Bavaria and Upper Austria, bordering upon the dominions of Maroboduus.

ad se: *i.e.* in alliance.

2. **aliud**: the refuge with **multis nationibus.**

fide qua: Dräger remarks that this ellipsis does not occur earlier than the Annals; cf. 78. 1, *eadem fide qua.*

4. **exstat oratio**, etc.; with the

tarum ei gentium et quam propinquus Italiae hostis,
5 suaque in destruendo eo consilia extulit. Et Maroboduus quidem Ravennae habitus, si quando insolescerent Suebi, quasi rediturus in regnum ostentabatur; sed non excessit Italia per duodeviginti annos consenuitque multum imminuta claritate ob nimiam vivendi cupidi-
6 nem. Idem Catualdae casus neque aliud perfugium.
7 Pulsus haud multo post Hermundurorum opibus et Vibilio duce receptusque, Forum Iulium, Narbonensis Galliae coloniam, mittitur. Barbari utrumque comitati, ne quietas provincias immixti turbarent, Danuvium ultra inter flumina Marum et Cusum locantur, dato rege Vannio gentis Quadorum.

64 Simul nuntiato regem Artaxian Armeniis a Germanico datum, decrevere patres ut Germanicus atque
2 Drusus ovantes urbem introirent. Structi et arcus cir-

fall of Maroboduus the power of the Marcomani collapsed; and Tacitus, in his *Germania* (42), says of them: *iam et externos patiuntur, sed vis et potentia regibus ex auctoritate Romana.* About 140 years later they had again become a formidable power, and the Marcomanic wars of Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 166–179) were the beginning of the great German invasions.

5. **Ravennae**: this old Etruscan town had been made by Augustus his principal naval station upon the Adriatic; from this it rapidly grew in importance, until it became, in the 5th century, the residence of the emperors. It was the residence assigned also to the son of Arminius (I. 58. 9).

si quando, etc.: *i.e.* if at any time the Suevi should become dangerous, Maroboduus would be sent to hold them in check.

7. **Hermundurorum**: they lived in Northern Bavaria (see *Germ.* 41), and were known in later times as Thuringians.

Vibilio: he was still king of the Hermunduri, A.D. 50 (XII. 29. 2).

Forum Iulium: the modern *Fréjus;* a colony had been established there by Julius Cæsar, and Augustus sent there the ships captured at Actium. It was now the chief naval station west of Italy (see IV. 5. 1).

comitati: a participle; referring to the personal followers (cf. *manu clientium*, 45. 2).

immixti: *i.e.* with the population.

Marum et Cusum: the March and probably the Waag. This region was outside the bounds of the Empire.

Quadorum: they inhabited Moravia, east of the Marcomani (see *Germ.* 42).

64. regem Artaxian: 56. 2.

ovantes: the *ovation* was an

cum latera templi Martis Ultoris cum effigie Caesarum, laetiore Tiberio, quia pacem sapientia firmaverat, quam si bellum per acies confecisset.

Igitur Rhescuporim quoque, Thraeciae regem, astu 3
aggreditur. Omnem eam nationem Rhoemetalces tenuerat; quo defuncto Augustus partem Thraecum Rhescuporidi fratri eius, partem filio Cotyi permisit. In ea 4
divisione arva et urbes et vicina Graecis Cotyi, quod incultum ferox annexum hostibus, Rhescuporidi cessit; ipsorumque regum ingenia, illi mite et amoenum, huic atrox avidum et societatis impatiens erat. Sed primo 5
subdola concordia egere; mox Rhescuporis egredi fines, vertere in se Cotyi data et resistenti vim facere, cunctanter sub Augusto, quem auctorem utriusque regni, si sperneretur, vindicem metuebat. Enimvero audita mu- 6
tatione principis immittere latronum globos, exscindere castella, causas bello. Nihil aeque Tiberium anxium 65
habebat quam ne composita turbarentur. Deligit centurionem, qui nuntiaret regibus ne armis disceptarent;

inferior form of triumph, granted for less considerable victories, or when the victory was gained under the auspices of another. It differed from the triumph, in that the victor did not ride in a chariot, but walked or rode on horseback; wore, not the *toga picta*, but the *praetexta*, and a wreath of myrtle instead of laurel.

2. **Martis Ultoris**: erected by Augustus, B.C. 2, in commemoration of the vengeance inflicted by him upon the murderers of Julius Cæsar. It was upon his forum, east of the Forum Romanum. Three columns of it are still standing; but the arches here spoken of have disappeared.

3. **Thraeciae**: *i.e.* of the interior parts of Thrace; for the sea-coast was under the Roman rule, administered by the governor of Macedonia. The free Thracians here spoken of are the ancient nation of the Odrysae, which occupied the valley of the Hebrus. Rhœmetalces had succeeded his brother, Cotys IV., B.C. 20. The whole of Thrace was made a Roman province by Claudius.

4. **hostibus**: the Dacians, etc., on the north.

ipsorum, etc.: a confused construction, the genitive of possession passing into the dative of possession.

5. **data**: object of **vertere**.

6. **enimvero**: this word, here as elsewhere, "marks the transition from the less to the more important." Furneaux.

causas: in apposition with the

statimque a Cotye dimissa sunt quae paraverat auxilia.
2 Rhescuporis ficta modestia postulat eundem in locum
3 coiretur: posse de controversiis colloquio transigi. Nec diu dubitatum de tempore loco dein condicionibus, cum alter facilitate, alter fraude cuncta inter se concederent
4 acciperentque. Rhescuporis sanciendo, ut dictitabat, foederi convivium adicit, tractaque in multam noctem laetitia per epulas ac vinolentiam incautum Cotyn et, postquam dolum intellexerat, sacra regni, eiusdem familiae deos, et hospitalis mensas obtestantem catenis
5 onerat. Thraeciaque omni potitus scripsit ad Tiberium structas sibi insidias, praeventum insidiatorem; simul bellum adversus Bastarnas Scythasque praetendens novis peditum et equitum copiis sese firmabat.

6 Molliter rescriptum, si fraus abesset, posse eum innocentiae fidere; ceterum neque se neque senatum nisi cognita causa ius et iniuriam discreturos; proinde tradito Cotye veniret transferretque invidiam criminis.

66 Eas litteras Latinius Pandusa pro praetore Moesiae cum militibus, quis Cotys traderetur, in Thraeciam misit.
2 Rhescuporis inter metum et iram cunctatus maluit patrati quam incepti facinoris reus esse: occidi Cotyn
3 iubet mortemque sponte sumptam ementitur. Nec tamen Caesar placitas semel artes mutavit, sed defuncto

phrases that precede (I. 27. 1 n.).

65. anxium habebat: cf. *laetum habebant*, 57. 1.

2. **modestia**, *compliance*.

coiretur: *i.e.* with his nephew.

4. sanciendo foederi: Intr. 35 *f.*

per epulas, etc.: Intr. 35 *i*.

sacra, *the sacred character*.

eiusdem . . . mensas: he violated the two most solemn obligations among primitive nations, those of kinship and those of hospitality.

5. **Bastarnas**: represented in the *Germania* (46) as a German nation. They lived in southern Russia; the Scythians, further east.

6. **transferret invidiam**: *sc. a se in Cotyn*.

66. Pandusa: the manuscript gives **Pandus**, corrected to **Padusa**; the correct form is found in inscriptions.

3. **placitas**, *decided upon*.

artes, *policy*.

Pandusa, quem sibi infensum Rhescuporis arguebat, Pomponium Flaccum, veterem stipendiis et arta cum rege amicitia eoque accommodatiorem ad fallendum, ob id maxime Moesiae praefecit. Flaccus in Thraeciam 67
transgressus per ingentia promissa quamvis ambiguum et scelera sua reputantem perpulit ut praesidia Romana intraret. Circumdata hinc regi specie honoris valida 2
manus, tribunique et centuriones monendo, suadendo, et quanto longius abscedebatur, apertiore custodia, postremo gnarum necessitatis in urbem traxere. Accusa- 3
tus in senatu ab uxore Cotyis damnatur ut procul regno teneretur. Thraecia in Rhoemetalcen filium, quem pa- 4
ternis consiliis adversatum constabat, inque liberos Cotyis dividitur; iisque nondum adultis Trebellienus Rufus praetura functus datur qui regnum interim tractaret, exemplo quo maiores M. Lepidum Ptolemaei liberis tutorem in Aegyptum miserant. Rhescuporis 5
Alexandriam devectus atque illic fugam temptans an ficto crimine interficitur.

Per idem tempus Vonones, quem amotum in Ciliciam 68
memoravi, corruptis custodibus effugere ad Armenios, inde Albanos Heniochosque et consanguineum sibi regem Scytharum conatus est. Specie venandi omissis 2
maritimis locis avia saltuum petiit, mox pernicitate equi

veterem stipendiis, *grown old in military service.*

amicitia: ablative of quality.

rege: Rhescuporis.

67. ambiguum, reputantem: *sc.* **Rhescuporida.**

praesidia: the military posts upon the frontier.

2. **abscedebatur**: *i.e.* from his home.

4. **in . . . inque**: a peculiar meaning of *in*, — *between.*

iis: the children of Cotys.

Ptolemaei: Ptolemy Epiphanes; at his death, B.C. 181, Egypt was inherited by his two sons, Philometor and Physcon, to whom Lepidus was given as a guardian.

68. memoravi: 58. 3.

Albanos, etc.: these nations were north of Armenia, the Albanians upon the Caspian Sea, the Heniochians upon the Euxine, the Scythians further north.

ad amnem Pyramum contendit, cuius pontes accolae ruperant audita regis fuga; neque vado penetrari poterat.
3 Igitur in ripa fluminis a Vibio Frontone praefecto equitum vincitur; mox Remmius evocatus, priori custodiae regis appositus, quasi per iram gladio eum transigit.
4 Unde maior fides conscientia sceleris et metu indicii mortem Vononi inlatam.

69 At Germanicus Aegypto remeans cuncta, quae apud legiones aut urbes iusserat, abolita vel in contrarium
2 versa cognoscit. Hinc graves in Pisonem contumeliae, nec minus acerba quae ab illo in Caesarem intentabantur.
3 Dein Piso abire Suria statuit. Mox adversa Germanici valetudine detentus, ubi recreatum accepit votaque pro incolumitate solvebantur, admotas hostias, sacrificalem apparatum, festam Antiochensium plebem
4 per lictores proturbat. Tum Seleuciam degreditur, opperiens aegritudinem quae rursum Germanico acciderat.
5 Saevam vim morbi augebat persuasio veneni a Pisone accepti; et reperiebantur solo ac parietibus erutae humanorum corporum reliquiae, carmina et devotiones et

2. **Pyramum**: a river of Cilicia, which flows into the sea.

penetrari, *crossed*.

3. **evocatus**: a picked veteran soldier, who continued to serve after his term was completed, with the rank and duties of centurion.

priori: *i.e.* before his flight.

4. **unde**: relates to the murder.

conscientia sceleris: *i.e.* as having connived at his flight, and being now in danger of detection. Suetonius speaks of Vonones (*Tib.* 49) as *spoliatum perfidia et occisum*, apparently throwing the blame of the perfidy upon Tiberius.

metu indicii: *i.e.* in case Vonones should be allowed to live.

69. Aegypto: Intr. 35 *h*.

versa: *i.e.* by Piso; Intr. 35 *b*.

3. **dein** = *proinde, therupon.*

admotas: *sc.* **altaribus.**

proturbat: this action is explained by Mommsen (*Röm. St.* II. 776), as meaning that formal vows in behalf of male members of the imperial family would establish a dangerous precedent; cf. IV. 17. 1.

4. **Seleuciam**: upon the seacoast, fifteen miles west of Antioch, of which it served as the port.

5. **persuasio**, *the conviction* on the part of Germanicus.

parietibus, *about the walls of the house.*

carmina et devotiones: a hendiadys, — *verses containing curses*, *i.e.*, consigning to the infernal gods

nomen Germanici plumbeis tabulis insculptum, semusti cineres ac tabo obliti aliaque malefica, quis creditur animas numinibus infernis sacrari. Simul missi a Pisone incusabantur ut valetudinis adversa rimantes. Ea Germanico haud minus ira quam per metum accepta. **70** Si limen obsideretur, si effundendus spiritus sub oculis 2 inimicorum foret, quid deinde miserrimae coniugi, quid infantibus liberis eventurum? Lenta videri veneficia; festinare et urgere ut provinciam, ut legiones solus habeat. Sed non usque eo defectum Germanicum, 3 neque praemia caedis apud interfectorem mansura. Componit epistulas quis amicitiam ei renuntiabat; addunt plerique iussum provincia decedere. Nec Piso 4 moratus ultra navis solvit, moderabaturque cursui quo propius regrederetur, si mors Germanici Suriam aperuisset.

plumbeis tabulis: this inscription, cut on a leaden tablet, was found in a tomb upon the Latin Way: — *Quomodo mortuos qui istic | sepultus est nec loqui | nec sermonare potest, seic | Rhodine apud M. Licinium | Faustum mortua sit nec | loqui nec sermonare possit | ita uti mortuos nec ad deos | nec ad homines acceptus est | seic Rhodine aput M. Licinium accepta sit et tantum valeat | quantum ille mortuos quei | istic sepultus est Dite Pater Rhodi | ne tibi commendo uti semper odio sit M. Licinio Fausto*, etc. (C. I. L., I. 818; Orelli-Henzen, 6114). For analogous superstitions, cf. Verg. *Buc.* VIII., and the famous case of Robert of Artois, A.D. 1329.

missi a Pisone: compare the messengers sent by Domitian during the sickness of Agricola (*Agr.* 43).

70. 2. liberis: these were Gaius (Caligula) and Julia (54. 1); the others had been left in Rome.

festinare et urgere: *i.e.* Piso; he could not wait for the slow working of poison.

3. **defectum**: *i.e.* in strength.

epistulas: cf. I. 30. 4 n.

renuntiabat: Suetonius (*Calig.* 3) says, *ne tunc quidem ultra progressus quam ut amicitiam ei more maiorum renuntiaret mandaretque domesticis ultionem, si quid sibi accideret.*

iussum . . . decedere: it does not appear that Germanicus had the power to dismiss a governor appointed by the emperor; but the quarrel had reached such proportions that Piso seems to have thought it advisable to leave the province, only returning when he learned of the death of Germanicus (75. 2). His attempt then to resume his command is a proof that in his own opinion he had not been lawfully deprived of it.

4. **propius**: from a nearer point.

71 Caesar paulisper ad spem erectus, dein fesso corpore, ubi finis aderat, adsistentes amicos in hunc modum ad-
2 loquitur: 'Si fato concederem, iustus mihi dolor etiam adversus deos esset, quod me parentibus liberis patriae
3 intra iuventam praematuro exitu raperent: nunc scelere Pisonis et Plancinae interceptus ultimas preces pectoribus vestris relinquo; referatis patri ac fratri, quibus acerbitatibus dilaceratus, quibus insidiis circumventus
4 miserrimam vitam pessima morte finierim. Si quos spes meae, si quos propinquus sanguis, etiam quos invidia erga viventem movebat, illacrimabunt quondam florentem et tot bellorum superstitem muliebri fraude cecidisse. Erit vobis locus querendi apud senatum, invocandi leges.
5 Non hoc praecipuum amicorum munus est, prosequi defunctum ignavo questu, sed quae voluerit meminisse,
6 quae mandaverit exsequi. Flebunt Germanicum etiam ignoti: vindicabitis vos, si me potius quam fortunam meam fovebatis. Ostendite populo Romano divi Augusti neptem eandemque coniugem meam, numerate sex
7 liberos. Misericordia cum accusantibus erit, fingentibusque scelesta mandata aut non credent homines aut
8 non ignoscent.' Iuravere amici, dextram morientis con-
72 tingentes, spiritum ante quam ultionem amissuros. Tum ad uxorem versus per memoriam sui, per communes liberos oravit, exueret ferociam, saevienti fortunae sub-

71. 2. **fato**: ablative; cf. *vita concessit* (I. 3. 3), and *concessero* (IV. 38. 3), of a natural death.

parentibus: his mother Antonia, and his adoptive father Tiberius.

3. **fratri**: his adoptive brother Drusus: his brother Claudius, afterwards emperor, was weak minded, and besides stood in no relation to the present government.

4. **quos**: indefinite, as **si quos** above.

7. **cum accusantibus**, *on the side of*, etc.

fingentibus scelesta mandata: *i.e.* if Piso and Plancina should attempt to justify themselves by appealing to this commission (43. 5).

72. ferociam: for Agrippina's high temper, see I. 33. 6, IV. 12. 2 and 53. 1.

mitteret animum, neu regressa in urbem aemulatione potentiae validiores irritaret. Haec palam et alia se- 2
creto, per quae ostendere credebatur metum ex Tiberio. Neque multo post exstinguitur, ingenti luctu provinciae et circumiacentium populorum. Indoluere exterae na- 3
tiones regesque: tanta illi comitas in socios, mansuetudo in hostis; visuque et auditu iuxta venerabilis, cum magnitudinem et gravitatem summae fortunae retineret, invidiam et arrogantiam effugerat.

Funus sine imaginibus et pompa per laudes ac me- **73**
moriam virtutum eius celebre fuit. Et erant qui for- 2
mam aetatem genus mortis ob propinquitatem etiam locorum in quibus interiit, magni Alexandri fatis adaequarent. Nam utrumque corpore decoro, genere insigni, 3
haud multum triginta annos egressum, suorum insidiis externas inter gentes occidisse: sed hunc mitem erga amicos, modicum voluptatum, uno matrimonio, certis liberis egisse, neque minus proeliatorem, etiam si temeritas afuerit praepeditusque sit perculsas tot victoriis Germanias servitio premere. Quod si solus arbiter 4
rerum, si iure et nomine regio fuisset, tanto promptius

aemulatione potentiae: as if foreseeing her ambitious designs.

2. **ingenti luctu**: Suetonius says (*Calig.* 5), *quo defunctus est die, lapidata sunt templa, subversae deum aras*, — the temples and altars of the pitiless gods.

3. **indoluere**: Suetonius (*Calig.* 5) says, *regulos quosdam barbam posuisse et uxorum capita rasisse, ad indicium maximi luctus: regum etiam regem et exercitatione venandi et convictu megistanum abstinuisse, quod apud Parthos iustitii instar est.*

73. sine imaginibus et pompa: the *imagines*, or wax busts of ancestors, were kept in the *atrium* of the house, and were, therefore, not with him; the procession also appears to have been omitted.

2. **ob propinquitatem**: hundreds of miles apart, but alike in the far east.

magni Alexandri: he died at Babylon, B.C. 323, aged thirty-two; Germanicus was thirty-three. In the case of Alexander, too, there was suspicion of poison.

3. **mitem**, etc.: a strong contrast with Alexander's ferocity and intemperance.

certis, *legitimate*.

praepeditus sit: with the infinitive, after the analogy of *prohibeo*.

assecuturum gloriam militiae, quantum clementia, tem-
5 perantia, ceteris bonis artibus praestitisset. Corpus antequam cremaretur nudatum in foro Antiochensium, qui locus sepulturae destinabatur, praetuleritne veneficii
6 signa parum constitit; nam ut quis misericordia in Germanicum et praesumpta suspicione aut favore in Pisonem pronior, diversi interpretabantur.

74 Consultatum inde inter legatos quique alii senatorum aderant, quisnam Suriae praeficeretur. Et ceteris modice nisis, inter Vibium Marsum et Cn. Sentium diu quaesitum; dein Marsus seniori et acrius tendenti
2 Sentio concessit. Isque infamem veneficiis ea in provincia et Plancinae percaram nomine Martinam in urbem misit, postulantibus Vitellio ac Veranio ceterisque, qui crimina et accusationem tamquam adversus receptos iam
75 reos instruebant. At Agrippina, quamquam defessa luctu et corpore aegro, omnium tamen quae ultionem morarentur intolerans, ascendit classem cum cineribus Germanici et liberis, miserantibus cunctis, quod femina

4. **tanto...quantum**: Intr. 35 *r.* **assecuturum**: *sc.* **fuisse.**

5. **sepulturae**, *obsequies: cremation*, not *interment;* for his ashes were conveyed to Rome.

parum constitit: Suetonius, on the other hand (*Calig.* 1) says, *praeter livores qui toto corpore erant et spumas quae per os fluebant, cremati quoque cor inter ossa incorruptum repertum est; cuius ea natura existimatur ut, tinctum veneno, igne confici nequeat.* But surely, if there had been any clear evidence of foul play, Tacitus would not have failed to mention it.

74. consultatum, etc.: the death of Germanicus and the departure of Piso having left the province without any head, the senators present, part officially, part unofficially, took upon themselves the responsibility of establishing a provisional government, no doubt as representing the Senate, the official organ of government at Rome. So Germanicus (I. 43. 2) says, in the event of his death, *legissetis ducem.* The action, however, was irregular and probably invalid.

quique alii senatorum: for the *legati*, too, having all held the quæstorship, were of senatorial rank.

2. **Martinam**: for her death see III. 7. 2.

Vitellio: I. 70; **Veranio**: 56. 4. Both were firm friends of Germanicus.

receptos: *sc. a praetore;* as if the prosecution were already formally on foot.

nobilitate princeps, pulcherrimo modo matrimonio, inter
venerantis gratantisque aspici solita, tunc feralis re-
liquias sinu ferret, incerta ultionis, anxia sui, et infelici
fecunditate fortunae totiens obnoxia.

Pisonem interim apud Coum insulam nuntius assequi- 2
tur excessisse Germanicum. Quo intemperanter ac- 3
cepto caedit victimas, adit templa, neque ipse gaudium
moderans et magis insolescente Plancina, quae luctum
amissae sororis tum primum laeto cultu mutavit. Ad- 76
fluebant centuriones monebantque prompta illi legionum
studia: repeteret provinciam non iure ablatam et vacuam.
Igitur quid agendum consultanti M. Piso filius prope- 2
randum in urbem censebat: nihil adhuc inexpiabile ad-
missum, neque suspiciones imbecillas aut inania famae
pertimescenda. Discordiam erga Germanicum odio 3
fortasse dignam, non poena; et ademptione provinciae
satis factum inimicis. Quod si regrederetur, obsistente 4
Sentio civile bellum incipi; nec duraturos in partibus
centuriones militesque, apud quos recens imperatoris
sui memoria et penitus infixus in Caesares amor prae-
valeret. Contra Domitius Celer, ex intima eius amicitia, 77
disseruit: utendum eventu; Pisonem, non Sentium Su-
riae praepositum; huic fasces et ius praetoris, huic
legiones datas. Si quid hostile ingruat, quem iustius 2

75. **matrimonio**: ablative of characteristic.

infelici fecunditate: her numerous children were so many hostages to fortune.

2. **Coum**: better known as *Cos*.

3. **laeto cultu**: bright colors, jewels, etc.; ablative with **mutavit**.

76. **centuriones**: these were of his own appointment (see 55. 4).

2. **consultanti**: construed with **properandum**.

nihil adhuc, etc.: this argument of young Piso shows that he regarded his parents as innocent.

4. **in partibus**, *on his side;* their temporary enthusiasm would be outweighed by their attachment to the imperial house.

77. **huic**: *i.e.* Piso, as the one nearest the speaker (see I. 42. 6 n.).

2. **hostile**: on the part of foreign enemies.

arma oppositurum *quam* qui legati auctoritatem et
3 propria mandata acceperit? Relinquendum etiam rumoribus tempus quo senescant; plerumque innocentes
4 recenti invidiae impares. At si teneat exercitum, augeat vires, multa quae provideri non possint fortuito in
5 melius casura. 'An festinamus cum Germanici cineribus appellere, ut te inauditum et indefensum planctus Agrippinae ac vulgus imperitum primo rumore rapiant?
6 Est tibi Augustae conscientia, est Caesaris favor, sed in occulto; et perisse Germanicum nulli iactantius maerent quam qui maxime laetantur.'

78 Haud magna mole Piso, promptus ferocibus, in sententiam trahitur, missisque ad Tiberium epistulis incusat Germanicum luxus et superbiae; seque pulsum, ut locus rebus novis patefieret, curam exercitus eadem fide qua
2 tenuerit repetivisse. Simul Domitium impositum triremi vitare litorum oram praeterque insulas lato mari
3 pergere in Suriam iubet. Concurrentes desertores per manipulos componit, armat lixas, traiectisque in continentem navibus vexillum tironum in Suriam euntium intercipit, regulis Cilicum ut se auxiliis iuvarent scribit,

propria, *personal;* referring to the independent command given to him, as contrasted with Sentius' irregular commission.

3. **recenti**, *while it is fresh.*

4. **si teneat**: *i.e.* keeping on his present course.

5. **an festinamus**: the present colloquially with a future force; cf. *quin conscendimus equos?* Livy, I. 57. 7.

imperitum: having no experience in affairs of state, and, therefore, not qualified to judge.

6. **conscientia**: *i.e.* the private understanding.

nulli = *nemo*: a very rare case of this plural as a substantive.

iactantius, *with more ostentation.*

78. ferocibus: dative, neuter.

luxus: see 57. 5.

pulsum: apparently by Germanicus; cf. *iussum provincia decedere*, 70. 3. Furneaux refers it to Sentius, but the word *pulsus* can hardly be applied to his action; moreover the words **rebus novis** appear to contain a suggestion of disloyalty on the part of Germanicus, designed to excite or confirm the suspicions of the emperor against him and his family, a suspicion which would be absurd in the case of Sentius.

3. **in continentem**: *i.e.* from the island of Cos.

vexillum, *detachment* (I. 20. 1 n).

regulis Cilicum: Philopator

haud ignavo ad ministeria belli iuvene Pisone, quamquam suscipiendum bellum abnuisset. Igitur oram 79
Lyciae ac Pamphyliae praelegentes, obviis navibus quae Agrippinam vehebant, utrimque infensi arma primo expediere; dein mutua formidine non ultra iurgium processum est, Marsusque Vibius nuntiavit Pisoni Romam ad dicendam causam veniret. Ille eludens respondit ad- 2
futurum, ubi praetor, qui de veneficiis quaereret, reo atque accusatoribus diem prodixisset.

Interim Domitius Laodiciam urbem Suriae appulsus, 3
cum hiberna sextae legionis peteret, quod eam maxime novis consiliis idoneam rebatur, a Pacuvio legato praevenitur. Id Sentius Pisoni per litteras aperit monetque 4
ne castra corruptoribus, ne provinciam bello temptet. Quosque Germanici memores aut inimicis eius adversos 5
cognoverat contrahit, magnitudinem imperatoris identi-

(42. 7) had been of this class of petty kings.

79. Lyciae et Pamphyliae: Pamphylia had been made a province by Augustus, B.C. 25; Lycia was still an independent federal republic, but was united to Pamphylia by Claudius, A.D. 43.

praelegentes: Piso and his company proceeded between the island of Rhodes and the mainland, while Domitius had gone **lato mari**.

infensi: the construction is irregular; **praelegentes** belongs to Piso and his company, **infensi** to Agrippina as well.

2. **eludens**, *in derision.*

praetor qui de veneficiis quaereret: there was a special *quaestio de veneficiis*, established by Sulla among the *quaestiones perpetuae*, and presided over by one of the prætors selected by lot. Whether any given case should be brought before this tribunal or before the senate depended partly upon the accuser, partly upon the court itself (I. 72. 4 n). In this case, Piso's request to be tried before the regular tribunal was refused, and the trial was conducted before the senate. (Momm. *Röm. St.* II. 105.)

prodixisset: the technical term for the prætor's appointing a day for the trial, after the formal presentation of charges.

3. **Laodiciam**: a few miles south of Antioch, on the sea-coast.

sextae legionis: this was named *Ferrata*, — the "iron brigade."

Pacuvio: see Seneca, *Ep.* 12. 8.

legato: *sc. legionis* (I. 44. 3 n).

4. **aperit**, *lays before.*

corruptoribus: ablative of instrument, a relation more commonly expressed with persons by the accusative with *per*. Pfitzner thinks it shows contempt.

5. **imperatoris**: best understood of Tiberius.

dem ingerens et rem publicam armis peti; ducitque validam manum et proelio paratam.

80 Nec Piso, quamquam coepta secus cadebant, omisit tutissima e praesentibus, sed castellum Ciliciae munitum 2 admodum, cui nomen Celenderis, occupat; nam admixtis desertoribus et tirone nuper intercepto suisque et Plancinae servitiis auxilia Cilicum, quae reguli miserant, 3 in numerum legionis composuerat. Caesarisque se legatum testabatur provincia, quam is dedisset, arceri, non a legionibus (earum quippe accitu venire), sed a Sentio 4 privatum odium falsis criminibus tegente. Consisterent in acie, non pugnaturis militibus, ubi Pisonem, ab ipsis parentem quondam appellatum, si iure ageretur, potio- 5 rem, si armis, non invalidum, vidissent. Tum pro munimentis castelli manipulos explicat, colle arduo et de- 6 rupto; nam cetera mari cinguntur. Contra veterani ordinibus ac subsidiis instructi: hinc militum, inde locorum asperitas, sed non animus, non spes, ne tela quidem 7 nisi agrestia aut subitum *in* usum properata. Ut venere in manus, non ultra dubitatum quam dum Romanae cohortes in aequum eniterentur: vertunt terga Cilices seque castello claudunt.

81 Interim Piso classem haud procul opperientem appug-

80. secus: cf. 50. 3 n.

praesentibus, *the things at hand.*

Celenderis: see I. 45. 1 n.

2. **in numerum legionis**: *i.e.* so as to make up a legion; the normal number was 6000.

3. **earum . . . accitu**: 76. 1.

4. **pugnaturis**: this ablative absolute has the force of an apodosis, to which **ubi . . . vidissent** is protasis.

si iure ageretur, *if the question were as to right.*

5. **pro**, *in front of*, unlike 13. 4 and 81. 1. **nam**, etc.: they needed no other fortifications, *for*, etc.

6. **ordinibus ac subsidiis**: the army of Sentius — whose movement against Piso is not related — was in regular order, and provided with reserves.

inde . . . properata: *i.e.* Piso's troops.

agrestia: sharpened stakes, pruning hooks, sickles, etc.

7. **in aequum**: to the summit of the hill on which the citadel stood.

nare frustra temptavit; regressusque et pro muris, modo semet adflictando, modo singulos nomine ciens, praemiis vocans, seditionem coeptabat, adeoque commoverat ut signifer legionis sextae signum ad eum transtulerit. Tum Sentius occanere cornua tubasque 2
et peti aggerem, erigi scalas iussit, ac promptissimum quemque succedere, alios tormentis hastas saxa et faces ingerere. Tandem victa pertinacia Piso oravit 3
ut traditis armis maneret in castello, dum Caesar cui Suriam permitteret consulitur. Non receptae condi- 4
ciones, nec aliud quam naves et tutum in urbem iter concessum est.

At Romae, postquam Germanici valetudo percrebruit 82
cunctaque ut ex longinquo aucta in deterius adferebantur, dolor ira. Et erumpebant questus: ideo nimirum 2
in extremas terras relegatum, ideo Pisoni permissam provinciam; hoc egisse secretos Augustae cum Plancina sermones; vera prorsus de Druso seniores locutos, 3
displicere regnantibus civilia filiorum ingenia, neque ob aliud interceptos quam quia populum Romanum aequo iure complecti reddita libertate agitaverint. Hos vulgi 4
sermones audita mors adeo incendit ut ante edictum

81. pro muris, *on the walls*, towards the enemy, cf. 13. 4.

semet afflictando: beating his breast and other signs of grief.

seditionem: among the soldiers of Sentius.

signifer: not *aquilifer*, the standard-bearer of the legion. Each maniple, as well as, probably, each cohort, had its *signum* (I. 18. 3 n.), and there were as many *signiferi*. It was only one out of this number that deserted.

2. **aggerem**: materials for a mound, preparatory to an assault (I. 65. 10).

3. **cui**: interrogative.

82. 2. **ideo**: begins the complaints.

hoc egisse, *this was the meaning of*; a common use of *agere*.

3. **de Druso**: cf. II. 41. 5.

displicere . . . ingenia: Suetonius (*Claud.* 1) says, *nonnullos tradere ausos, suspectum eum* [*sc.* Drusum] *Augusto, revocatumque ex provincia, et quia cunctaretur, interceptum veneno.* But it was a groundless rumor.

filiorum: Drusus was step-son of Augustus; Germanicus, adopted son of Tiberius.

magistratuum, ante senatus consultum sumpto iustitio
5 desererentur fora, clauderentur domus. Passim silentia et gemitus, nihil compositum in ostentationem; et quamquam neque insignibus lugentium abstinerent, altius
6 animis maerebant. Forte negotiatores, vivente adhuc Germanico Suria egressi, laetiora de valetudine eius
7 attulere. Statim credita, statim vulgata sunt; ut quisque obvius, quamvis leviter audita in alios atque illi in
8 plures cumulata gaudio transferunt. Cursant per urbem, moliuntur templorum fores; iuvat credulitatem nox et promptior inter tenebras adfirmatio. Nec obstitit falsis Tiberius, donec tempore ac spatio vanescerent; et populus quasi rursum ereptum acrius doluit.

83 Honores, ut quis amore in Germanicum aut ingenio
2 validus, reperti decretique: ut nomen eius Saliari carmine caneretur; sedes curules sacerdotum Augustalium locis superque eas querceae coronae statuerentur; ludos circenses eburna effigies praeiret, neve quis flamen aut augur in locum Germanici nisi gentis Iuliae crearetur;

4. **iustitio**: see I. 16. 2 n.

5. **nihil compositum**: no formal arrangements.

7. **ut quisque obvius** (*sc.* **est negotiatoribus**): equivalent to *quicumque obvius est*, subject of *transfert* understood.

8. **moliuntur . . . fores**: which had been closed for the night.

tempore ac spatio: a hendiadys, *in the course of time*.

83. 2. **Saliari carmine**: the Salii, special priests of Mars, were a very ancient *collegium*, membership in which was reserved for men of high rank. Their chant had come down from high antiquity, and was scarcely intelligible. Of those who received the honor of having their names inserted in this hymn, we know only of Germanicus, probably the younger Drusus (IV. 9. 2), Lucius Verus, and perhaps Caracalla (Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverf.* III. 420).

sedes curules, etc.: a *curule* seat at the theatre was a special honor highly esteemed, which had been granted to Julius Cæsar and to Marcellus after his death, and was now bestowed upon the whole college to which Germanicus had belonged (I. 54. 2). The oaken wreath was a reward of civil distinction; those here described were made of precious materials (*δίλιθον καὶ διάχρυσον*. Dio, XLIV. 6. 3).

effigies: of Germanicus.

praeiret: in the sacred wagon (*tensa*), along with the images of the gods.

flamen: *sc.* **Augustalis.**

arcus additi Romae et apud ripam Rheni et in monte 3
Suriae Amano, cum inscriptione rerum gestarum ac mortem ob rem publicam obisse; sepulcrum Antiochiae, ubi crematus, tribunal Epidaphnae, quo in loco vitam finierat. Statuarum locorumve in quis coleretur, haud facile quis numerum inierit. Cum censeretur clipeus auro et mag- 4
nitudine insignis inter auctores eloquentiae, asseveravit Tiberius solitum paremque ceteris dicaturum: neque enim eloquentiam fortuna discerni, et satis illustre, si veteres inter scriptores haberetur. Equester ordo 5
cuneum Germanici appellavit, qui iuniorum dicebatur, instituitque uti turmae idibus Iuliis imaginem eius sequerentur. Pleraque manent; quaedam statim omissa sunt aut vetustas oblitteravit.

Ceterum recenti adhuc maestitia soror Germanici 84

3. Amano: north of Antioch, separating Syria from Cilicia.

rerum . . . obisse: depending upon **inscriptione** (Intr. 35, *r*).

sepulcrum, *a cenotaph.*

tribunal, *a catafalque:* a structure in the shape of a scaffold or bier, no doubt with an inscription.

Epidaphnae: a suburb of Antioch, about five miles from the city; it had its name from a grove and sanctuary of Apollo.

4. **censeretur**, *was proposed;* cf. *decrevere*, 32. 4.

clipeus: a medallion bust, such as was common for distinguished persons. Tiberius held, sensibly enough, that his place among orators should not be distinguished by a medallion superior to others; Suetonius says (*Calig.* 3), *ingenium in utroque eloquentiae doctrinaeque genere praecellens.*

scriptores, *masters.*

5. **equester ordo**: the *turmae equitum*, mentioned below; in the empire there were no knights except these *equites equo publico* (Momm. *Röm. St.* III. 484).

cuneum: a wedge-shaped division of seats at the theatre. The *equites* occupied fourteen concentric rows, which were divided by aisles into *cunei;* some of the *cunei* of the knights appear to have been assigned to *iuniores*, some to *seniores.* This honor was probably given to Germanicus as *princeps iuventutis;* cf. Ovid, *Ex Pont.* II. 5. 41: *te iuvenum princeps, cui dat Germania nomen:* (see also I. 3. 2 n.).

turmae: the eighteen *centuriae equitum*, a part of the centuriate organization for voting purposes, were, for purposes of parade, divided into squadrons, *turmae*, of thirty men each. Their principal display was the *transvectio equitum*, or annual procession of the equites, from the Porta Capena to the Temple of Castor, which took place upon July 15, with great splendor. The image of Germanicus was to lead the procession like a banner.

Livia, nupta Druso, duos virilis sexus simul enixa est.
2 Quod rarum laetumque etiam modicis penatibus tanto gaudio principem adfecit ut non temperaverit quin iactaret apud patres, nulli ante Romanorum eiusdem fastigii viro geminam stirpem editam; nam cuncta, etiam
3 fortuita, ad gloriam vertebat. Sed populo tali in tempore id quoque dolorem tulit, tamquam auctus liberis Drusus domum Germanici magis urgeret.

85 Eodem anno gravibus senatus decretis libido feminarum coercita, cautumque ne quaestum corpore faceret cui avus aut pater aut maritus eques Romanus fuisset.
2 Nam Vistilia praetoria familia genita licentiam stupri apud aediles vulgaverat, more inter veteres recepto, qui satis poenarum adversum impudicas in ipsa professione
3 flagitii credebant. Exactum et a Titidio Labeone, Vistiliae marito, cur in uxore delicti manifesta ultionem
4 legis omisisset. Atque illo praetendente sexaginta dies ad consultandum datos necdum praeterisse, satis visum de Vistilia statuere: eaque in insulam Seriphon abdita
5 est. Actum et de sacris Aegyptiis Iudaicisque pellen-

84. Livia: usually called Livilla, to distinguish her from the elder Livia. For her later history see IV. 3, and VI. 2. 1.

duos virilis sexus: one (Germanicus) died in childhood (IV. 15. 1); the other (Tiberius) was put to death by order of Caligula; see VI. 46. 8; Suet. *Calig.* 23.

2. **modicis penatibus,** *households of inferior rank.*

3. **tamquam,** etc., *as if the exaltation of the house of Drusus was a further humiliation to that of Germanicus.*

85. 2. **satis poenarum,** etc.: *i.e.* by becoming professional prostitutes, they were no longer subject to the laws of adultery. The declaration was made **apud aediles.**

3. **exactum:** *sc.* **est,** *account was demanded.*

ultionem legis: the Julian law (50. 2) required separation, and then allowed an action to be brought by the husband within sixty days; as this time had not elapsed, Titidius was not deemed guilty of neglect.

4. **Seriphon:** one of the Cyclades.

5. **sacris Aegyptiis et Iudaicis:** the worship of the Egyptian goddess Isis was extremely fashionable among the Roman women, especially those of the lower classes, and was often attended with im-

dis factumque patrum consultum, ut quattuor milia libertini generis ea superstitione infecta, quis idonea aetas, in insulam Sardiniam veherentur, coercendis illic latrociniis et, si ob gravitatem caeli interissent, vile damnum; ceteri cederent Italia, nisi certam ante diem profanos ritus exuissent. Post quae rettulit Caesar capiendam 86
virginem in locum Occiae, quae septem et quinquaginta per annos summa sanctimonia Vestalibus sacris praesederat; egitque grates Fonteio Agrippae et Domitio Pollioni, quod offerendo filias de officio in rem publicam certarent. Praelata est Pollionis filia, non ob aliud 2
quam quod mater eius in eodem coniugio manebat; nam Agrippa discidio domum imminuerat. Et Caesar quamvis posthabitam deciens sestertii dote solatus est.

Saevitiam annonae incusante plebe statuit frumento 87
pretium, quod emptor penderet, binosque nummos se additurum negotiatoribus in singulos modios. Neque 2

moral practices. The Jews also were numerous and influential at Rome. The scandalous incidents which led to the demolition of the temples of Isis, and to the banishment of the Jews, are related by Josephus (*Ant. Iud.* XVIII. 3, 4 and 5).

libertini generis: they had been brought to Rome as slaves.

ea superstitione: apparently the Jewish, for Suetonius says (*Tib.* 36), *Iudaeorum iuventutem per speciem sacramenti in provincias gravioris caeli distribuit.*

quis: dative of possession.

latrociniis: Intr. 35 *f.* Sardinia was then, as in modern times, infested with banditti, whom they were to suppress. Its climate still continues unhealthy.

86. rettulit: brought the business before the senate.

virginem: *sc.* **Vestalem.** The word *capere* is used technically for the selection of a vestal. (Aul. Gell. I. 12. 13).

Vestalibus sacris praesederat: this does not mean as head or eldest of the *collegium, maxima virgo;* it is the technical expression for having charge of the sacred rites, and is thus applicable to all the vestals.

2. **discidio,** *divorce.*

domum: *i.e. dignitatem domus.* This was not an absolute bar, for the law only required that both parents should be living.

imminuerat: cf. *auctus,* 84. 3.

deciens sestertii: this appears to have been the usual dowry for a noble lady.

87. binos nummos: two sesterces = ten cents. This was the difference between the legal price and the market value at the time. The *modius* was about a peck.

tamen ob ea parentis patriae delatum et antea vocabulum assumpsit, acerbeque increpuit eos qui divinas occupationes ipsumque dominum dixerant. Unde angusta et lubrica oratio sub principe qui libertatem metuebat, adulationem oderat.

88 Reperio apud scriptores senatoresque eorundem temporum Adgandestrii principis Chattorum lectas in senatu litteras, quibus mortem Arminii promittebat, si patrandae neci venenum mitteretur; responsumque esse non fraude neque occultis, sed palam et armatum popu-
2 lum Romanum hostes suos ulcisci. Qua gloria aequabat se Tiberius priscis imperatoribus, qui venenum in
3 Pyrrhum regem vetuerant prodiderantque. Ceterum Arminius abscedentibus Romanis et pulso Maroboduo regnum adfectans libertatem popularium adversam habuit, petitusque armis cum varia fortuna certaret, dolo propinquorum cecidit: liberator haud dubie Germaniae et qui non primordia populi Romani, sicut alii reges ducesque, sed florentissimum imperium lacessierit,
4 proeliis ambiguus, bello non victus. Septem et triginta

2. **delatum et antea**: I. 72. 2.

divinas, etc.: Suetonius says (*Tib.* 27) that "when some one spoke of his occupations as *sacras*, he directed him to say *laboriosas*, and that the use of the word *dominus* to him he denounced as *contumeliae causa*. This word properly expresses the relation of master and slave, and was inconsistent with the semi-republican constitution of the early empire, but afterwards became common among other slavish practices. Tiberius used to say that he was *imperator* to his soldiers, *dominus* to his slaves, and *princeps* to others. δεσπότης μὲν τῶν δούλων, αὐτοκράτωρ δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, τῶν δὲ δὴ λοιπῶν πρόκριτός εἰμι. Dio, LVII. 8.

88. principis, *a chief;* the *principes* of the Germans were elected in the public assembly, and, no doubt, for life (*Germ.* 12).

palam et armatum: contrasted chiastically with **fraude** and **occultis**.

2. **venenum . . . vetuerant**: it was the consuls Gaius Fabricius and Quintus Æmilius, to whom the physician of Pyrrhus made the offer.

3. **pulso Maroboduo**: 63. 1.

alii reges, etc.: Pyrrhus, Hannibal, etc.

proeliis ambiguus, etc.: he lost

annos vitae, duodecim potentiae explevit, caniturque adhuc barbaras apud gentes, Graecorum annalibus ignotus, qui sua tantum mirantur, Romanis haud perinde celebris, dum vetera extollimus recentium incuriosi.

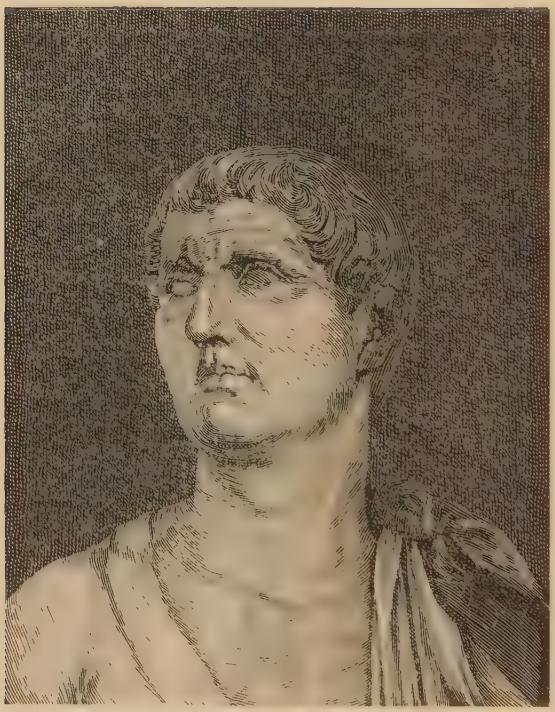
some battles, but never was subdued.

4. **Graecorum**: the Greek historians of this reign.

haud perinde, *inadequately*.

recentium incuriosi: so in the *Agricola* (1), he calls his own age *incuriosa suorum*.

AGRIPPINA.
(From a coin in the Berlin Museum.)



GERMANICUS.

ARGUMENT OF BOOK III.

A.D. 20; M. VALERIUS MESSALLA, M. AURELIUS COTTA, COSS.

1–18. Trial and Death of Gnæus Piso.

1. Journey of Agrippina with the remains of Germanicus. 2. Arrival in Rome. 3. Absence of Tiberius, Augusta and Antonia. 4, 5. Funeral honors. 6. Proclamation of Tiberius. 7, 8. Journey of Piso. 9. His arrival. 10, 11. His impeachment. 12. Speech of Tiberius. 13, 14. The trial. 15. Suicide of Piso. 16. His letter to Tiberius. 17, 18. Judgment and penalties.

19. Bestowal of priesthoods. Ovation of Drusus. Death of Vipsania. 20, 21. War with Tacfarinas. 22, 23. Trial of Lepida. 24. Pardon of D. Silanus. 25. Lex Papia Poppaea. 26–28. History of Roman legislation. 29. Nero, son of Germanicus. 30. Deaths of Volusius and Sallustius.

A.D. 21; TI. AUGUSTUS CAESAR IV., DRUSUS CAESAR II., COSS.

31. Tiberius retires to Campania. 32. War with Tacfarinas. 33, 34. Proposition to forbid governors of provinces to have their wives with them. 35. Blæsus made governor of Africa. 36, 37. The delators held in check by Drusus. 38, 39. Affairs in Thrace.

40–47. Revolt of Sacrovir and Florus in Gaul.

40. Preparations for the insurrection. 41. Revolt of the Andecavi and Turoni. 42. The Treveri. 43–45. The Ædui. 46. Death of Sacrovir. 47. Report to the Senate by Tiberius.

48. Death of Quirinius. 49–51. Case of Clutorius Priscus.

A.D. 22; C. SULPICIUS GALBA, D. HATERIUS AGRIPPA, COSS.

52. Attempt to revive sumptuary laws. 54–55. Letter of Tiberius. 56. Drusus receives tribunician power. 57. Grant of honors. 58. Question of the *flamen dialis*. 59. Honors to Drusus declined. 60–63. Right of asylum in Greek cities. 64. Return of Tiberius to Rome. 65. Servility of the Senate. 66–69. Trial and banishment of C. Silanus. 70. Cases of Cæsius Cordus and L. Ennius. 71. Regulation as to the *flamen dialis*. 72. Restoration of Basilica Æmilia and Theatre of Pompey. 73, 74. War with Tacfarinas. 75. Deaths of Asinius Saloninus and Ateius Capito. 76. Death of Iunia.

LIBER III.

1 Nihil intermissa navigatione hiberni maris Agrippina Corcyram insulam advehitur, litora Calabriae contra sitam. Illic paucos dies componendo animo insumit, 2 violenta luctu et nescia tolerandi. Interim adventu eius audito intimus quisque amicorum et plerique militares, ut quique sub Germanico stipendia fecerant, multique etiam ignoti vicinis e municipiis, pars officium in principem rati, plures illos secuti, ruere ad oppidum Brundisium, quod naviganti celerrimum fidissimumque 3 appulsu erat. Atque ubi primum ex alto visa classis, complentur non modo portus et proxima maris, sed moenia ac tecta, quaque longissime prospectari poterat, maerentium turba et rogitantium inter se, silentione an 4 voce aliqua egredientem exciperent. Neque satis constabat quid pro tempore foret, cum classis paulatim successit, non alacri, ut adsolet, remigio, sed cunctis ad 5 tristitiam compositis. Postquam duobus cum liberis, feralem urnam tenens, egressa navi defixit oculos, idem omnium gemitus; neque discerneres proximos alienos, virorum feminarumve planctus, nisi quod comitatum

1. Corcyram: *Corfu*, the most important of the Ionian islands.

Calabriae: this name, given now to the southwestern promontory of Italy, was applied by the ancients to the southeastern portion opposite Greece: it has been transferred from the *heel* to the *toe* of the boot.

2. **plerique**, *a good many*.

ut quique = *quicumque*.

in principem: *i.e.* Tiberius.

celerrimum fidissimumque, *quickest and safest*. Brundisium (*Brindisi*) was the regular port for transit between Italy and Greece.

3. **maris**: partitive genitive.

turba: ablative.

4. **pro tempore**, *suitable to the occasion*.

5. **discerneres**: subjunctive of indefinite subject, in second person singular, — *one could distinguish*.

Agrippinae longo maerore fessum obvii et recentes in dolore anteibant.

Miserat duas praetorias cohortes Caesar, addito ut magistratus Calabriae Apulique et Campani suprema erga memoriam filii sui munera fungerentur. Igitur tribunorum centurionumque umeris cineres portabantur; praecedebant incompta signa, versi fasces; atque ubi colonias transgrederentur, atrata plebes, trabeati equites pro opibus loci vestem odores aliaque funerum sollemnia cremabant. Etiam quorum diversa oppida, tamen obvii et victimas atque aras dis Manibus statuentes lacrimis et conclamationibus dolorem testabantur. Drusus Tarracinam progressus est cum Claudio fratre liberisque Germanici, qui in urbe fuerant. Consules M. Valerius et M. Aurelius (iam enim magistratum occeperant) et senatus ac magna pars populi viam complevere, disiecti et ut cuique libitum flentes; aberat quippe adulatio,

obvii, *those who had gone to meet her*.

in dolore: qualifies **recentes**.

2. Calabriae, etc.: as she landed at Brundisium, her route lay through Calabria, Apulia, and Campania.

munera fungerentur: see App. I.

2. **versi fasces**: cf. Verg. *Aen.* XI. 93; *tum maesta phalanx Teucrique sequuntur | Tyrrhenique omnes et versis Arcades armis.* Cf. I. 24. 4.

colonias: no doubt the *municipia* also (see I. 79. 1 n.). The important towns through which they passed — Tarentum, Venusia, Beneventum, Capua, Sinuessa — were as a fact colonies. The municipal aristocracy belonged to the equestrian order; hence **plebs** and **equites**.

transgrederentur: subjunctive of repeated action.

trabeati: the *trabea* was a toga, striped white and purple, worn by the equites on public occasions.

vestem: for an offering; so at Cæsar's funeral: *tibicines et scaenici artifices vestem quam ex triumphorum instrumento ad praesentem usum induerant, detractam sibi atque discissam iniecere flammae, et veteranorum militum legionarii arma sua*, etc. (Suet. *Iul.* 84).

3. **diversa**, *off the road*. Cf. *diversas terras*, I. 17. 5.

4. **Tarracinam**: the old Volscian town of Anxur, fifty-eight miles from Rome, made a maritime colony, B.C. 329. Being at the point where the Appian Way reached the sea, it was a convenient place of meeting; cf. Hor. *Sat.* I. 5. 26.

liberis Germanici: these were Nero, Drusus, Agrippina, and Drusilla; Gaius (Caligula) and Julia were with their mother. (II. 70. 2 n.)

5. **ut cuique libitum**: *i.e.* with

gnaris omnibus laetam Tiberio Germanici mortem male
3 dissimulari. Tiberius atque Augusta publico abstinuere, inferius maiestate sua rati, si palam lamentarentur, an ne omnium oculis vultum eorum scrutantibus falsi in-
2 tellegerentur. Matrem Antoniam non apud auctores rerum, non diurna actorum scriptura reperio ullo insigni officio functam, cum super Agrippinam et Drusum et Claudium ceteri quoque consanguinei nominatim perscripti sint, seu valetudine praepediebatur, seu victus luctu animus magnitudinem mali perferre visu non tole-
3 ravit. Facilius crediderim Tiberio et Augusta, qui domo non excedebant, cohibitam, ut par maeror et matris exemplo avia quoque et patruus attineri viderentur.

4 Dies, quo reliquiae tumulo Augusti inferebantur, modo per silentium vastus, modo ploratibus inquies; plena urbis itinera, collucentes per campum Martis faces.
2 Illic miles cum armis, sine insignibus magistratus, populus per tribus concidisse rem publicam, nihil spei

no formal ceremonies of mourning.

laetam . . . mortem, *joy at the death* (Intr. 35 *g*); subject of **dissimulari.**

3. falsi: predicate — *known to be false.*

2. **Antoniam:** this was *Antonia minor,* the younger daughter of Mark Antony and Octavia (Intr. 26 *e*): the elder married L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, and was grandmother of the emperor Nero. Plutarch (*Ant.* 87) pronounces the younger sister σωφροσύνῃ καὶ κάλλει περιβόητον.

diurna actorum scriptura: this was an official bulletin of events of public interest first established by Julius Cæsar; **scriptura** is ablative.

non toleravit, *could not endure.*

3. **Augusta:** see App. I.

par maeror: the verb **is not esset** understood, but it is to be taken with **viderentur.**

4. tumulo Augusti: the mausoleum of Augustus, in the northern part of the Campus Martius, still partly preserved.

vastus, *desolate.*

faces: these were regularly carried at funerals.

2. **miles . . . tribus:** all of these were present officially and in their organizations, but the magistrates without their insignia, etc. The tribes here mentioned were probably not the organization described in I. 8. 3 n., but the entire people (**populus**), organized in voting tribes.

reliquum clamitabant, promptius apertiusque quam ut meminisse imperitantium crederes. Nihil tamen Tibe- 3
rium magis penetravit quam studia hominum accensa in Agrippinam, cum decus patriae, solum Augusti sanguinem, unicum antiquitatis specimen appellarent, versique ad caelum ac deos integram illi subolem ac superstitem iniquorum precarentur. Fuere qui publici funeris pom- 5
pam requirerent compararentque quae in Drusum patrem Germanici honora et magnifica Augustus fecisset: ipsum quippe asperrimo hiemis Ticinum usque pro- 2
gressum neque abscedentem a corpore simul urbem intravisse; circumfusas lecto Claudiorum Iuliorumque imagines; defletum in foro, laudatum pro rostris, cuncta a maioribus reperta aut quae posteri invenerint cumulata: at Germanico ne solitos quidem et cuicumque 3
nobili debitos honores contigisse. Sane corpus ob 4
longinquitatem itinerum externis terris quoquo modo crematum; sed tanto plura decora mox tribui par fuisse, quanto prima fors negavisset. Non fratrem, nisi unius 5

meminisse imperitantium: it was in truth an affront to the rulers, and Tiberius might have been pardoned for taking offence.

3. **studia . . . Agrippinam**: the suspicion of Agrippina's loyalty, which led to such tragic results, may have begun now; but even before the emperor appears to have felt some uneasiness (see I. 69. 4).

solum Augusti sanguinem: she was the only descendant of Augustus living, except her dissolute sister Julia (see 24. 2).

integram . . . precarentur: the partial fulfilment of this prayer, in the survival of Caligula and the younger Agrippina, brought no good to the people.

5. **requirerent**, *missed*.

2. **ipsum**, etc.: cf. Suet. *Tib.* 7.

asperrimo hiemis: Intr. 35 *d*.

Ticinum: the modern Pavia.

circumfusas . . . imagines: referring to the great number of these. Other families (as the Livii) must also have been represented. Drusus, having never been adopted into the Julian gens, was not properly entitled to its *imagines*, but the rule was probably relaxed in his favor. He died B.C. 9 from a fall of his horse in the heart of Germany.

laudatum pro rostris: the funeral oration, by some near relative, was an essential part of the ceremony.

cuncta: *i.e.* ceremonies of honor.

4. **sane**: that is, this could not have been avoided. These first ceremonies (**prima**) chance had made informal.

6 diei via, non patruum saltem porta tenus obvium. Ubi illa veterum instituta, praepositam toro effigiem, meditata ad memoriam virtutis carmina et laudationes, et lacrimas vel doloris imitamenta?

6 Gnarum id Tiberio fuit; utque premeret vulgi sermones, monuit edicto multos illustrium Romanorum ob rem publicam obisse, neminem tam flagranti desiderio celebratum. Idque et sibi et cunctis egregium, si modus
2 adiceretur. Non enim eadem decora principibus viris et imperatori populo, quae modicis domibus aut civitati-
3 bus. Convenisse recenti dolori luctum et ex maerore solacia; sed referendum iam animum ad firmitudinem, ut quondam divus Iulius amissa unica filia, ut divus
4 Augustus ereptis nepotibus abstruserint tristitiam. Nil opus vetustioribus exemplis, quotiens populus Romanus clades exercituum, interitum ducum, funditus amissas nobiles familias constanter tulerit. Principes mortales,
5 rem publicam aeternam esse. Proin repeterent sollemnia, et quia ludorum Megalesium spectaculum suberat, etiam voluptates resumerent.

5. **fratrem**: Drusus; but he appears to have come all the way from Illyricum, where he had been in command (see 11. 1 n.); moreover, Tarracina is fifty-eight miles from Rome, more than a day's journey.

saltem porta tenus, *if it were only as far as to the gate.*

6. **praepositam**: see App. I.

vel . . . imitamenta: even if they were pretences.

6. premeret, *repress.*

egregium, *honorable.*

2. **decora**: from *decorus.*

principibus . . . populo, *the men who are at the head of the state, and the nation that rules the world.*

recenti: cf. II. 77. 3 n.

3. **unica filia**: Cæsar's daughter Julia, wife of Pompey, died B.C. 54, while her father was on his expedition to Britain. Augustus lost two grandsons, Gaius and Lucius (I. 3. 3); and Suetonius says of him (*Oct.* 65), *aliquanto patientius mortem quam dedecora suorum tulit.*

4. **funditus . . . familias**: *e.g.* the destruction of the Fabii in the war against Veii, B.C. 477.

5. **sollemnia** = *solita munia.*

Megalesium: the festival of the Great Mother was held April 4 to 10, and celebrated, with a remarkable and vivid symbolism, the death of nature and its re-animation at this season.

suberat: indicative, as being the reason assigned by Tacitus.

Tum exuto iustitio reditum ad munia, et Drusus Illy- 7
ricos ad exercitus profectus est, erectis omnium animis
spe petendae e Pisone ultionis et crebro questu, quod
vagus interim per amoena Asiae atque Achaiae arro-
ganti et subdola mora scelerum probationes subverteret.
Nam vulgatum erat missam, ut dixi, a Cn. Sentio famo- 2
sam veneficiis Martinam subita morte Brundisii exstinc-
tam, venenumque nodo crinium eius occultatum, nec
ulla in corpore signa sumpti exitii reperta. At Piso 8
praemisso in urbem filio datisque mandatis, per quae
principem molliret, ad Drusum pergit, quem haud fratris
interitu trucem quam remoto aemulo aequiorem sibi
sperabat. Tiberius quo integrum iudicium ostentaret, 2
exceptum comiter iuvenem sueta erga filios familiarum
nobiles liberalitate auget. Drusus Pisoni, si vera forent 3
quae iacerentur, praecipuum in dolore suum locum re-
spondit: sed malle falsa et inania nec cuiquam mortem
Germanici exitiosam esse. Haec palam et vitato omni 4
secreto; neque dubitabantur praescripta ei a Tiberio,
cum incallidus alioqui et facilis iuventa senilibus tum
artibus uteretur.

7. iustitio: see I. 16. 2 n.

Illyricos ad exercitus: see II. 44. 1; he had returned to meet the body of his cousin (2. 4), and returned again for the trial (II. 1).

arroganti: by his proud and defiant bearing, as if he had no need to clear himself.

subverteret: *i.e.* in the hope that his crime would be forgotten in the long interval. It is explained by the sentence that follows.

2. **ut dixi**: see II. 74. 2.

nodo crinium: by means of a hollow bodkin or hair-pin.

nec . . . reperta: as there were no indications of suicide, it was inferred that she had been put out of the way by Piso. As in the case of Germanicus, there appears no real ground for suspicion.

8. haud = *non tam*; cf. Intr. 35 *m*; but the affection of Drusus for Germanicus was well known.

2. **liberalitate**: a present, such as was usual; cf. II. 37. 2; the service, in cases like this, was gratuitous, but was rewarded with gifts.

3. **si . . . iacerentur**: belongs to the indirect discourse.

falsa et inania: *sc.* **ea esse**: Intr. 35 *c*.

4. **haec**, *these words*,

facilis, *ingenuous*.

9 Piso Delmatico mari tramisso relictisque apud Anconam navibus per Picenum ac mox Flaminiam viam assequitur legionem, quae e Pannonia in urbem, dein praesidio Africae ducebatur: eaque res agitata rumoribus, ut in agmine atque itinere crebro se militibus os-
2 tentavisset. Ab Narnia, vitandae suspicionis an quia pavidis consilia in incerto sunt, Nare ac mox Tiberi devectus auxit vulgi iras, quia navem tumulo Caesarum appulerat dieque et ripa frequenti, magno clientium agmine ipse, feminarum comitatu Plancina, et vultu alacres
3 incessere. Fuit inter irritamenta invidiae domus foro imminens festa ornatu conviviumque et epulae et celebritate loci nihil occultum.

10 Postera die Fulcinius Trio Pisonem apud consules
2 postulavit. Contra Vitellius ac Veranius ceterique Germanicum comitati tendebant nullas esse partis Trioni; neque se accusatores, sed rerum indices et testes man-
3 data Germanici perlaturos. Ille dimissa eius causae delatione, ut priorem vitam accusaret obtinuit, petitum-

9. Anconam: a city of Greek origin, with a very fine harbor, on the coast of Picenum; it was made a colony by Augustus.

Flaminiam viam: the great highway which led northeast from Rome across the Apennines to Ariminum, laid out by Gaius Flaminius just before the Second Punic War.

legionem: the IX. (IV. 23. 2); it belonged to the Pannonian army (I. 23. 6), and was transferred temporarily for the war with Tacfarinas (II. 52. 1).

ea res: *i.e.* **ut . . . ostentavisset.** He was accused of trying to secure their favor, as in Syria (see II. 55. 4).

2. **vitandae suspicionis**: Intr. 35 *n*.

tumulo Caesarum: the mausoleum of Augustus; his landing here was an indignity to the memory of Germanicus.

3. **celebritate**: conspicuous situation.

nihil occultum: Intr. 35 *q*.

10. Fulcinius Trio: II. 28. 3.

postulavit (*i.e.* for trial), *accused*; a technical term.

2. **tendebant**: it would damage their cause to have it conducted by a man like Trio, of whom it has been said (II. 28. 4), *celebre inter accusatores Trionis ingenium erat avidumque malae famae.*

indices, testes: in the same construction as **accusatores.**

3. **ille**: Trio.

eius causae: for the death of

que est a principe cognitionem exciperet. Quod ne 4
reus quidem abnuebat, studia populi et patrum metuens; contra Tiberium spernendis rumoribus validum et conscientiae matris innexum esse; veraque aut in deterius credita iudice ab uno facilius discerni, odium et invidiam apud multos valere. Haud fallebat Tiberium moles 5
cognitionis quaque ipse fama distraheretur. Igitur 6
paucis familiarium adhibitis minas accusantium et hinc preces audit integramque causam ad senatum remittit.

Atque interim Drusus rediens Illyrico, quamquam 11
patres censuissent ob receptum Maroboduum et res priore aestate gestas ut ovans iniret, prolato honore urbem intravit. Post quae reo L. Arruntium, P. Vi- 2

Germanicus; **priorem vitam** would include Piso's command in Spain.

exciperet, *take into his own hands*. This he could do by virtue of his special judicial authority, coordinate with that of the senate (I. 72. 4 n.). To this senators were especially subject, and in the reigns of Gaius, Claudius, and Nero the imperial court was converted into a regular engine of tyranny. Tiberius, on the other hand, characteristically allowed the senate to make itself responsible for "orgies of judicial murder" (Momm. *Röm. St.* II. 898).

4. **studia**: the emperor's court would be less influenced by the popularity of Germanicus; moreover, the emperor himself cared little for public opinion.

in deterius credita, *that which looked worse than it was*.

iudice ab uno: see note on *initio ab Suriae*, IV. 5. 4.

6. **paucis . . . adhibitis**: the prince joined others with himself, but was not bound by their judgment.

hinc: *i.e.* on the part of the defendant,

integram, etc.: it rested with the emperor, as it did with the senate (IV. 21. 3), to decline to undertake the case. (Cf. also 12. 10.)

11. ob receptum Maroboduum: II. 63. 1.

priore aestate: the military successes belonged two years before, and the intervening year had been passed in securing what had been won. It may be that **priore** here means *a former* (see 20. 1 n.).

ovans: see II. 64. 1.

prolato honore: it was no occasion for festivity and display; moreover, by entering the city he would lose his *imperium*, and with it his right to a triumph. This entrance, of course, preceded the events narrated in 2, etc. He appears to have hastened from his province and foregone the ovation, in order to do honor to Germanicus.

2. **L. Arruntium**, etc.: for Arruntius and Gallus see I. 12. 2 and 13. 1. Pompeius was consul A.D. 14 (I. 7. 2). Publius Vinicius, consul A.D. 2, was distinguished for eloquence and literary tastes: *summus amator Ovi-*

nicium, Asinium Gallum, Aeserninum Marcellum, Sex. Pompeium patronos petenti iisque diversa excusantibus M'. Lepidus et L. Piso et Livineius Regulus adfuere, arrecta omni civitate, quanta fides amicis Germanici, quae fiducia reo; satin cohiberet ac premeret sensus suos
3 Tiberius. Haud alias intentior populus plus sibi in principem occultae vocis aut suspicacis silentii permisit.

12 Die senatus Caesar orationem habuit meditato tem-
2 peramento. Patris sui legatum atque amicum Pisonem fuisse adiutoremque Germanico datum a se auctore
3 senatu rebus apud Orientem administrandis. Illic contumacia et certaminibus asperasset iuvenem exituque eius laetatus esset, an scelere exstinxisset, integris ani-
4 mis diiudicandum. 'Nam si legatus officii terminos, obsequium erga imperatorem exuit eiusdemque morte et luctu meo laetatus est, odero seponamque a domo mea
5 et privatas inimicitias non vi principis ulciscar; sin facinus in cuiuscumque mortalium nece vindicandum detegitur, vos vero et liberos Germanici et nos parentes
6 iustis solaciis adficite. Simulque illud reputate, turbide et seditiose tractaverit exercitus Piso, quaesita sint per

dii (Sen. *Controv.* X. 4. 25). He was father of Marcus Vinicius (VI. 15. 1); Marcellus was grandson of Asinius Pollio, and inherited his talent for oratory. (Sen. *Contr.* IV. 3 and 4).

patronos, *counsel.*

M.' Lepidus, etc.: for Lepidus see I. 13. 2; Lucius Piso was brother of the accused (II. 34. 1, IV. 20. 4); of Regulus nothing is known.

arrecta: with expectation; followed by dependent question.

sensus suos, *his private feelings.*

12. 2. **legatum**: he was governor of Hither Spain (Further Spain being a senatorial province); consul with Tiberius B.C. 7.

3. **contumacia . . . laetatus esset**: this, the mildest supposition, was yet a serious offence.

4. **nam,** etc.: Tacitus here passes abruptly to the direct discourse.

imperatorem, *his commander,*— Germanicus.

non vi principis: *i.e.* it being a private quarrel, the offence shall be punished as a private one.

5. **cuiuscumque mortalium**: no matter what his station.

ambitionem studia militum, armis repetita provincia, an falsa haec in maius vulgaverint accusatores, quorum ego nimiis studiis iure succenseo. Nam quo pertinuit nu- 7
dare corpus et contrectandum vulgi oculis permittere, differrique etiam per externos tamquam veneno interceptus esset, si incerta adhuc ista et scrutanda sunt? Defleo equidem filium meum semperque deflebo: sed 8
neque reum prohibeo quo minus cuncta proferat, quibus innocentia eius sublevari aut, si qua fuit iniquitas Germanici, coargui possit, vosque oro ne, quia dolori meo causa conexa est, obiecta crimina pro approbatis accipiatis. Si quos propinquus sanguis aut fides sua pa- 9
tronos dedit, quantum quisque eloquentia et cura valet, iuvate periclitantem. Ad eundem laborem, eandem constantiam accusatores hortor. Id solum Germanico super 10
leges praestiterimus, quod in curia potius quam in foro, apud senatum quam apud iudices de morte eius anquiritur; cetera pari modestia tractentur. Nemo Drusi 11
lacrimas, nemo maestitiam meam spectet, nec si qua in nos adversa finguntur.'

Exim biduum criminibus obiciendis statuitur, utque **13**
sex dierum spatio interiecto reus per triduum defenderetur. Tum Fulcinius vetera et inania orditur, ambitiose 2
avareque habitam Hispaniam; quod neque convictum

6. **repetita**: on his return to Syria, after the death of Germanicus.
nimiis studiis, *excessive zeal.*
7. **quo**, *what end.*
differri, *to let the report be spread.*
tamquam: Intr. 35 *j*.
8. **iniquitas**, *unfairness.*
10. **praestiterimus**: future perfect, — 'This I have done: I shall do nothing more.'
in curia: see 10. 3 n. and II. 79. 2 n.
modestia, *impartiality.*
11. **spectet**, *have regard to;* be biassed by.
si qua . . . finguntur: knowing the suspicions entertained of himself.
13. 2. **habitam**: *i.e.* as *legatus* (see 12. 2 n.).
convictum, **defensum**: participles, — *if proved, if disproved;* **noxae** and **absolutioni** are datives of service.

noxae reo, si recentia purgaret, neque defensum absolu-
3 tioni erat, si teneretur maioribus flagitiis. Post quem Servaeus et Veranius et Vitellius consimili studio, et multa eloquentia Vitellius, obiecere odio Germanici et rerum novarum studio Pisonem vulgus militum per licentiam et sociorum iniurias eo usque corrupisse ut parens legionum a deterrimis appellaretur; contra in optimum quemque, maxime in comites et amicos Germanici saevisse; postremo ipsum devotionibus et veneno peremisse; sacra hinc et immolationes nefandas ipsius atque Plancinae, petitam armis rem publicam, utque reus agi posset, acie victum.

14 Defensio in ceteris trepidavit; nam neque ambitionem militarem neque provinciam pessimo cuique obnoxiam, ne contumelias quidem adversum imperatorem in-
2 fitiari poterat; solum veneni crimen visus est diluisse, quod ne accusatores quidem satis firmabant, in convivio Germanici, cum super eum Piso discumberet, infectos
3 manibus eius cibos arguentes. Quippe absurdum videbatur inter aliena servitia et tot adstantium visu, ipso Germanico coram, id ausum; offerebatque familiam reus
4 et ministros in tormenta flagitabat. Sed iudices per

3. **per licentiam**, etc.: see II. 55. 4.

devotionibus: II. 69. 5; for **sacra** and **immolationes**, II. 75. 3.

veneno: Vitellius argued *non potuisse ob venenum cor Germanici Caesaris cremari* (Plin. *N. H.* XI. 187).

acie victum: II. 81. 4.

14. in ceteris: explained by **solum veneni crimen**.

trepidavit, *was weak.*

obnoxiam, *exposed to*; he allowed all manner of license.

2. **super eum discumberet**: the place of honor at a banquet for the most distinguished guest was *imus in medio lecto*, while the host reclined *summus in imo lecto*. Piso, therefore, occupying the former place, was partly behind Germanicus, where his movements might be unobserved by him.

3. **offerebat . . . flagitabat**: he offered the testimony of his own slaves (**familiam**), and demanded that of the attendants (**ministros**) serving at the time.

4. **sed**: although the charge of poisoning fell through,

diversa implacabiles erant, Caesar ob bellum provinciae inlatum, senatus numquam satis credito sine fraude Germanicum interisse. * * scripsissent expostulantes, quod haud minus Tiberius quam Piso abnuere. Simul populi 5
ante curiam voces audiebantur: non temperaturos manibus, si patrum sententias evasisset; effigiesque Pisonis 6
traxerant in Gemonias ac divellebant, ni iussu principis protectae repositaeque forent. Igitur inditus lecticae 7
et a tribuno praetoriae cohortis deductus est, vario rumore, custos saluti an mortis exactor sequeretur.

Eadem Plancinae invidia, maior gratia; eoque am- 15
biguum habebatur quantum Caesari in eam liceret. Atque ipsa, donec mediae Pisoni spes, sociam se cuius- 2
cumque fortunae et, si ita ferret, comitem exitii promittebat. Ut secretis Augustae precibus veniam obtinuit, 3
paulatim segregari a marito, dividere defensionem coepit. Quod reus postquam sibi exitiabile intellegit, an 4
adhuc experiretur dubitans, hortantibus filiis durat mentem senatumque rursum ingreditur; redintegratamque accusationem, infensas patrum voces, adversa et saeva cuncta perpessus, nullo magis exterritus est quam quod Tiberium sine miseratione, sine ira, obstinatum clausumque vidit, ne quo adfectu perrumperetur. Relatus 5

scripsissent: there is here a gap, as Nipperdey thinks, of considerable length, containing some change in the conduct of the trial, a *comperendinatio* (adjournment), and production of new evidence. Another gap (the other side of the same torn leaf) is found 16. 3.

6. **in Gemonias**: the stairs which led from the Arx, or northern summit of the Capitoline, to the prison at its foot (cf. V. 9. 3).

divellebant ni, etc.: a condensed form of condition common in Tacitus.

repositae: *i.e.* in their place of honor.

15. quantum . . . liceret: *i.e.* by Livia, as is shown below.

2. **mediae**: *i.e.* not hopeless.

4. **quod**: his wife's demeanor.

experiretur: *sc.* **ius**: doubting whether to continue his defence.

nullo = *nulla re*: earlier writers use this form substantively only as masculine.

ne . . . perrumperetur: whether by feeling or influence from without.

domum, tamquam defensionem in posterum meditaretur, pauca conscribit obsignatque et liberto tradit; tum
6 solita curando corpori exsequitur. Dein multam post noctem, egressa cubiculo uxore, operiri fores iussit; et coepta luce perfosso iugulo, iacente humi gladio, repertus est.

16 Audire me memini ex senioribus visum saepius inter manus Pisonis libellum, quem ipse non vulgaverit; sed amicos eius dictitavisse, litteras Tiberii et mandata in Germanicum contineri, ac destinatum promere apud patres principemque arguere, ni elusus a Seiano per vana promissa foret; nec illum sponte exstinctum, verum
2 immisso percussore. Quorum neutrum asseveraverim: neque tamen occulere debui narratum ab iis qui nostram ad iuventam duraverunt.

3 Caesar flexo in maestitiam ore suam invidiam tali morte quaesitam apud senatum * * crebrisque interrogationibus exquirit, qualem Piso diem supremum noctemque exegis-
4 set. Atque illo pleraque sapienter, quaedam inconsultius respondente, recitat codicillos a Pisone in hunc ferme
5 modum compositos: 'Conspiratione inimicorum et invidia falsi criminis oppressus, quatenus veritati et innocentiae meae nusquam locus est, deos immortales testor vixisse

5. **meditaretur**, *was composing.* **in posterum**: *sc.* **diem.**

solita . . . corpori: *i.e.* bath, dinner, etc.

16. mandata in Germanicum: *i.e.* the commission to destroy him. It is not at all improbable that Tiberius privately gave him the commission to watch over the young man, and exercise a certain restraint over him (see II. 43. 3 n.).

destinatum (*sc.* **fuisse ei**: cf. I. 47. 1), *he had intended.*

Seiano: see I. 24. 3 n.

2. **duraverunt**, *lasted, continued in life.*

3. **crebris**, etc.: the passage here omitted evidently contained the mention of some person — perhaps Piso's son, perhaps his freedman mentioned above — who was introduced and questioned; he is referred to by **illo** below.

4. **recitat**: *sc.* Tiberius. The document referred to is that which Piso is said (15. 5) to have prepared, — *pauca conscribit obsignatque.*

5. **quatenus**, *since* (Intr. 35 *j*).

me, Caesar, cum fide adversum te, neque alia in matrem tuam pietate; vosque oro liberis meis consulatis, ex quibus Cn. Piso qualicumque fortunae meae non est adiunctus, cum omne hoc tempus in urbe egerit, M. Piso repetere Suriam dehortatus est, — atque utinam 6 ego potius filio iuveni quam ille patri seni cessisset. Eo impensius precor, ne meae pravitatis poenas innox- 7 ius luat. Per quinque et quadraginta annorum obsequium, per collegium consulatus, quondam divo Augusto parenti tuo probatus et tibi amicus nec quicquam post haec rogaturus salutem infelicis filii rogo.' De Plancina 8 nihil addidit.

Post quae Tiberius adulescentem crimine civilis belli 17 purgavit, patris quippe iussa nec potuisse filium detrectare, simul nobilitatem domus, etiam ipsius quoquo modo meriti gravem casum miseratus. Pro Plancina 2 cum pudore et flagitio disseruit, matris preces obtendens, in quam optimi cuiusque secreti questus magis ardescebant: id ergo fas aviae, interfectricem nepotis aspicere, 3 alloqui, eripere senatui; quod pro omnibus civibus leges obtineant, uni Germanico non contigisse; Vitellii et 4 Veranii voce defletum Caesarem, ab imperatore et Augusta defensam Plancinam; proinde venena et artes tam 5 feliciter expertas verteret in Agrippinam, in liberos eius, egregiamque aviam ac patruum sanguine miserrimae domus exsatiaret. Biduum super hac imagine cognitionis 6 absumptum, urgente Tiberio liberos Pisonis matrem uti tuerentur.

Et cum accusatores ac testes certatim perorarent 7

dehortatus est: see II. 76. 2.
7. **collegium consulatus**: see 12. 2 n.
17. adulescentem: Marcus Piso.
iussa: *sc.* **fuisse.**
2. **flagitio**, *a sense of disgrace;* cf. *gloria*, I. 8. 2 n.
5. **patruum**: see I. 33. 3 n.
6. **imagine cognitionis**, *shadow of a trial.*

respondente nullo, miseratio quam invidia augebatur.
8 Primus sententiam rogatus Aurelius Cotta consul (nam referente Caesare magistratus eo etiam munere fungebantur) nomen Pisonis radendum fastis censuit, partem bonorum publicandam, pars ut Cn. Pisoni filio concederetur isque praenomen mutaret; M. Piso exuta dignitate et accepto quinquagiens sestertio in decem annos relegaretur, concessa Plancinae incolumitate ob preces Augustae.
18 Multa ex ea sententia mitigata sunt a principe: ne nomen Pisonis fastis eximeretur, quando M. Antonii, qui bellum patriae fecisset, Iuli Antonii, qui domum Augusti
2 violasset, manerent. Et M. Pisonem ignominiae exemit concessitque ei paterna bona, satis firmus, ut saepe memoravi, adversum pecuniam et tum pudore absolutae
3 Plancinae placabilior. Atque idem, cum Valerius Mes-

7. **quam**: depending on the idea of comparison contained in **augebatur**. Cf. Intr. 35 *m*.

8. **referente**, *presiding*: to bring business before the senate (I. 13. 4 n.) is the function of the presiding magistrate. Under the republic, the magistrates, during their terms of office, were not members of the senate; under the empire, when the emperor presided, the consul sat in the senate and voted. **eo munere** refers to the duty of voting; the technical expression for voting in the senate is *censeo*.

radendum: for *eradendum* (Intr. 35 *b*).

fastis: the official list of magistrates, triumphs, etc.

partem . . . pars, *half . . . half*.

praenomen mutaret: as being disgraced. His name, Gnaeus, being the same as his father's, was now changed to Lucius (IV. 62. 1). In like manner, after the treason of Marcus Manlius, the prænomen Marcus was forbidden to the Manlian gens.

dignitate: *sc. senatoria*. He had taken part, although against his judgment, in his father's rebellion.

relegaretur: a mild form of banishment, consisting in exclusion from certain specified territories (as Italy), but not carrying with it any further penalty. It was, says Mommsen (*Röm. St.* III. 141), "not really a punishment, but an administrative regulation."

18. M. Antonii: the triumvir, who engaged in war with Augustus. For his son, Iulus Antonius, see I. 10. 3.

2. **ignominiae**: as well exile as expulsion from the senate.

paterna bona: *i.e.* his half, which had been confiscated; the other half had gone to his brother.

firmus . . . adversum pecuniam: see I. 75. 4; II. 48. 1.

3. **Valerius Messalinus**: probably son of the distinguished Messalla, and father of the consul of

salinus signum aureum in aede Martis Ultoris, Caecina Severus aram Ultioni statuendam censuissent, prohibuit, ob externas ea victorias sacrari dictitans, domestica mala tristitia operienda. Addiderat Messalinus Tiberio et 4
Augustae et Antoniae et Agrippinae Drusoque ob vindictam Germanici grates agendas omiseratque Claudii mentionem. Et Messalinum quidem L. Asprenas senatu 5
coram percontatus est an prudens praeterisset; ac tum demum nomen Claudii adscriptum est. Mihi, quanto 6
plura recentium seu veterum revolvo, tanto magis ludibria rerum mortalium cunctis in negotiis obversantur. Quippe fama spe veneratione potius omnes destinaban- 7
tur imperio quam quem futurum principem fortuna in occulto tenebat.

Paucis post diebus Caesar auctor senatui fuit Vitellio 19
atque Veranio et Servaeo sacerdotia tribuendi; Fulcinio suffragium ad honores pollicitus monuit ne facundiam violentia praecipitaret. Is finis fuit ulciscenda Ger- 2
manici morte, non modo apud illos homines qui tum agebant, etiam secutis temporibus vario rumore iactata. Adeo maxima quaeque ambigua sunt, dum alii quoquo 3
modo audita pro compertis habent, alii vera in contra-

this year (cf. 34. 2); for **Caecina**, see I. 31. 2.

signum aureum: *i.e.* of Mars Ultor: this and the altar to Vengeance were prohibited by the emperor from a praiseworthy feeling.

ob externas, etc.: the same sentiment as that which forbade a triumph for victory in a civil war.

4. **omiserat . . . mentionem**: on account of his alleged imbecility.

5. **tum demum**, *not until then.*

7. **quem**: Claudius.

19. auctor fuit: *i.e.* he made the nomination.

sacerdotia tribuendi: the priesthoods were very wealthy corporations, and additional members were often admitted to them for the sake of the profit.

praecipitaret, *ruin.*

2. **ulciscenda . . . morte**: we should expect here the dative after **finis**. Some editions insert *in*.

non modo, etc.: belongs with **iactata**; *sed* is understood before **etiam**.

agebant: see I. 68. 1 n.

3. **dum** = *since*, as often in Tacitus.

rium vertunt, et gliscit utrumque posteritate. At Drusus urbe egressus repetendis auspiciis, mox ovans introiit. Paucosque post dies Vipsania mater eius excessit, una omnium Agrippae liberorum miti obitu : nam ceteros manifestum ferro vel creditum est veneno aut fame exstinctos.

20 Eodem anno Tacfarinas, quem priore aestate pulsum a Camillo memoravi, bellum in Africa renovat, vagis primum populationibus et ob pernicitatem inultis, dein vicos exscindere, trahere graves praedas ; postremo haud procul Pagyda flumine cohortem Romanam circumsedit. Praeerat castello Decrius impiger manu, exercitus militia et illam obsidionem flagitii ratus. Is cohortatus milites ut copiam pugnae in aperto facerent, aciem pro castris instruit. Primoque impetu pulsa cohorte promptus inter tela occursat fugientibus, increpat signiferos, quod inconditis aut desertoribus miles Romanus terga daret ; simul excepta vulnera et quamquam transfosso oculo adversum os in hostem intendit, neque proelium **21** omisit, donec desertus suis caderet. Quae postquam L. Apronio (nam Camillo successerat) comperta, magis dedecore suorum quam gloria hostis anxius, raro ea tem-

utrumque: *i.e.* the true and the false.

4. **repetendis auspiciis**: see II. 1. 1 n.

Vipsania: see I. 12. 6 n.

5. **ceteros**: of the children of Agrippa by his second wife, Marcella (II. 50. 1 n.), nothing is known. By Julia he had, besides Agrippina, whose fate is still to be narrated, Gaius and Lucius, who were believed to have been poisoned (I. 3. 3), Agrippa Postumus (I. 6), and Julia, whose death appears to have been natural (IV. 71. 6), although in exile.

20. priore aestate: really three years before (see II. 52). Probably the meaning is *a former summer* (cf. II. 1).

exscindere, trahere : historical infinitive, joined inelegantly with **populationibus.**

Pagyda: this river is unknown.

3. **inconditis aut desertoribus**: see II. 52. 2.

vulnera, os: objects of **intendit**; his wounds were in front.

21. L. Apronio: see I. 56. 1.

raro . . . facinore: ablative of manner; the accusative of apposi-

pestate et e vetere memoria facinore decimum quemque ignominiosae cohortis sorte ductos fusti necat. Tan- 2
tumque severitate profectum ut vexillum veteranorum, non amplius quam quingenti numero, easdem Tacfarinatis copias praesidium, cui Thala nomen, aggressas fuderint. Quo proelio Rufus Helvius gregarius miles 3
servati civis decus rettulit donatusque est ab Apronio torquibus et hasta. Caesar addidit civicam coronam, 4
quod non eam quoque Apronius iure proconsulis tribuisset questus magis quam offensus. Sed Tacfarinas per- 5
culsis Numidis et obsidia aspernantibus spargit bellum, ubi instaretur cedens ac rursum in terga remeans. Et 6
dum ea ratio barbaro fuit, irritum fessumque Romanum impune ludificabatur; postquam deflexit ad maritimos locos, illigatus praeda stativis castris adhaerebat, missu patris Apronius Caesianus cum equite et cohortibus auxiliariis, quis velocissimos legionum addiderat, prosperam adversum Numidas pugnam facit pellitque in deserta.

At Romae Lepida, cui super Aemiliorum decus L. 22

tion would be more regular (Intr. 35 *g*).

fusti necat: the punishment for desertion and cowardice. As in the stoning of the Jews, each soldier took a stone or club, and beat the offender until he was dead.

2. **vexillum veteranorum**: see I. 17. 3 n.

3. **hasta**: *sc.* **pura**; a headless spear, a gift of honor to soldiers.

4. **civicam coronam**: of oak-leaves; the special reward for saving the life of a citizen.

iure proconsulis: it seems he had not ventured to grant an honor which he thought should more properly come from the emperor. So Suetonius says (*Tib.* 32), *corripuit consulares exercitibus praepositos quod . . . de tribuendis quibusdam militaribus donis ad se referrent, quasi non omnium tribuendorum ipsi ius haberent.*

5. **aspernantibus**, *giving up*, having been unsuccessful in this enterprise.

spargit bellum: carries it into every part of the country.

ubi instaretur: the subjunctive of repeated action; relates to what follows.

6. **illigatus**: *i.e.* Tacfarinas. For the asyndeton, see Intr. 35 *j*.

legionum: see 9. 1 n.

22. cui . . . erant: her father, Lucius Aemilius Lepidus, married Cornelia, daughter of Faustus Sulla

Sulla et Cn. Pompeius proavi erant, defertur simulavisse
2 partum ex P. Quirinio divite atque orbo. Adiciebantur
adulteria venena, quaesitumque per Chaldaeos in domum
3 Caesaris, defendente ream Manio Lepido fratre. Qui-
rinius post dictum repudium adhuc infensus quamvis
infami ac nocenti miserationem addiderat. Haud facile
quis dispexerit illa in cognitione mentem principis: adeo
4 vertit ac miscuit irae et clementiae signa. Deprecatus
primo senatum ne maiestatis crimina tractarentur, mox
M. Servilium e consularibus aliosque testes illexit ad
5 proferenda quae velut reicere voluerat. Idemque servos
Lepidae, cum militari custodia haberentur, transtulit ad
consules neque per tormenta interrogari passus est de
6 iis quae ad domum suam pertinerent. Exemit etiam
Drusum consulem designatum dicendae primo loco sen-
tentiae; quod alii civile rebantur, ne ceteris assentiendi
necessitas fieret, quidam ad saevitiam trahebant: neque
23 enim cessurum nisi damnandi officio. Lepida ludorum

(son of the dictator) by Pompeia (daughter of the great Pompey). She had been divorced from Quirinius twenty years before (Suet. *Tib.* 49), and had afterwards married Scaurus (23. 3). For Quirinius, see II. 30. 4.

2. **quaesitum**: *sc.* **esse**; impersonal.

Manio Lepido: see II. 2.

3. **Quirinius . . . infensus**, *the continued resentment of Quirinius* (Intr. 35 *q*).

dictum, *pronounced.*

haud facile . . . signa: *i.e.* he was really impartial.

4. **M. Servilium**: see II. 48. 1.

velut: in this word lies the imputation of hypocrisy, — he instigated to the charge which he had just refused to entertain. The grounds of the charge of *maiestas* appear to have been partly **quaesitum . . . Caesaris** (2), partly her betrothal to Lucius Cæsar (23. 1).

5. **militari custodia**: probably of the prætorian cohorts. Their transfer from the care of his own body-guard to that of the consuls was a guarantee of impartiality.

iis: *i.e.* the charges of *maiestas*.

6. **consulem designatum**: the consul-elect was called upon for his *sententia* before the *consulares*.

officio: limits **cessurum** [**fuisse**]: his withdrawal of Drusus was regarded as an indication that he wished the defendant condemned, but Drusus relieved of the obloquy, — very puerile reasoning.

23. ludorum: probably the *Ludi Romani*, which were celebrated Sept. 4–19. The occurrence of this festival interrupted the trial.

diebus, qui cognitionem intervenerant, theatrum cum claris feminis ingressa, lamentatione flebili maiores suos ciens ipsumque Pompeium, cuius ea monumenta et adstantes imagines visebantur, tantum misericordiae permovit ut effusi in lacrimas saeva et detestanda Quirinio clamitarent, cuius senectae atque orbitati et obscurissimae domui destinata quondam uxor L. Caesari ac divo Augusto nurus dederetur. Dein tormentis servorum 2
patefacta sunt flagitia itumque in sententiam Rubelli Blandi, a quo aqua atque igni arcebatur. Huic Drusus assensit, quamquam alii mitius censuissent. Mox Scauro, qui filiam ex ea genuerat, datum ne bona publicarentur. Tum demum aperuit Tiberius compertum sibi 4
etiam ex P. Quirinii servis veneno eum a Lepida petitum.

Illustrium domuum adversa (etenim haud multum **24**
distanti tempore Calpurnii Pisonem, Aemilii Lepidam amiserant) solacio adfecit D. Silanus Iuniae familiae redditus. Casum eius paucis repetam. Ut valida divo 2
Augusto in rem publicam fortuna, ita domi improspera

cognitionem: Intr. 35 *b*.

theatrum: *sc.* **Pompeii**: situated on the Campus Martius, west of the Capitoline. It was the largest theatre in Rome, and the earliest constructed of stone. Some remains of it still exist.

cuius . . . imagines: cf. **22. 1.**

effusi: the audience.

senectae atque orbitati: Suetonius (*Tib.* 49) gives this case as one of the earliest proofs of Tiberius' degeneracy: *procedente mox tempore etiam ad rapinas convertit animum.* Dio also (LVII. 19) places this change for the worse after the death of Germanicus. Tacitus, however, constantly testifies that Tiberius at this period was *firmus adversum pecuniam* (18. 2). See also below.

2. **itumque in sententiam**, *it was voted;* the vote was taken by going to one side or the other (*pedibus ire*). This Rubellius Blandus was father of the more distinguished Rubellius Plautus.

3. **ne bona publicarentur**: this sufficiently disproves the charge of Suetonius, mentioned above.

4. **tum demum**, etc.: this suppression of a part of the evidence against her shows that Tiberius did not seek her condemnation.

24. adversa: construed with **solacio adfecit**, which is used, like *solari*, with the accusative of that for which consolation is offered.

fuit ob impudicitiam filiae ac neptis, quas urbe depulit
3 adulterosque earum morte aut fuga punivit. Nam culpam inter viros ac feminas vulgatam gravi nomine laesarum religionum ac violatae maiestatis appellando clemen-
4 tiam maiorum suasque ipse leges egrediebatur. Sed aliorum exitus, simul cetera illius aetatis memorabo, si effectis in quae tetendi plures ad curas vitam produxero.
5 D. Silanus in nepti Augusti adulter, quamquam non ultra foret saevitum quam ut amicitia Caesaris prohiberetur, exsilium sibi demonstrari intellexit, nec nisi Tiberio imperitante deprecari senatum ac principem ausus est M. Silani fratris potentia, qui per insignem nobilitatem
6 et eloquentiam praecellebat. Sed Tiberius gratis agenti Silano patribus coram respondit se quoque laetari, quod frater eius e peregrinatione longinqua revertisset; idque iure licitum, quia non senatus consulto, non lege pulsus
7 foret; sibi tamen adversus eum integras parentis sui offensiones, neque reditu Silani dissoluta quae Augustus voluisset. Fuit posthac in urbe neque honores adeptus est.

25 Relatum deinde de moderanda Papia Poppaea, quam

2. filiae ac neptis: see I. 6. 3 n.

3. vulgatam, *which had become common.*

suas leges: *i.e. de adulteriis;* he had chosen to treat the crime of adultery in his own household as impiety and treason.

egrediebatur, *disregarded* (Intr. 35 *b*).

4. memorabo: Tacitus appears to have had the plan of writing a history of Augustus, which would have served as an introduction to the *Annals*.

5. ut . . . prohiberetur: such prohibition was a severe penalty, as the right to visit the emperor and claim his friendship appears to have been open to all to whom it had not been forbidden. Momm. *Röm. St.* II. 781. Cf. II. 70. 3.

imperitante: *i.e.* in his reign.

6. non senatus consulto, etc.: he had been banished solely by the will of the emperor.

7. quae . . . voluisset: *i.e.* the renunciation of friendship (5).

25. Papia Poppaea: *sc.* **lege**: the law passed in the reign of Augustus, A.D. 9, for the regulation of marriage, and its encouragement by offering privileges to those with families, and imposing penalties or disabilities upon the unmarried (28. 4).

senior Augustus post Iulias rogationes incitandis caelibum poenis et augendo aerario sanxerat. Nec ideo con- 2
iugia et educationes liberum frequentabantur, praevalida orbitate; ceterum multitudo periclitantium gliscebat, cum omnis domus delatorum interpretationibus subverteretur, utque antehac flagitiis, ita tunc legibus laborabatur. Ea res admonet ut de principiis iuris, et quibus 3
modis ad hanc multitudinem infinitam ac varietatem legum perventum sit, altius disseram.

Vetustissimi mortalium, nulla adhuc mala libidine, **26**
sine probro scelere, eoque sine poena aut coercitionibus agebant. Neque praemiis opus erat, cum honesta suopte 2
ingenio peterentur; et ubi nihil contra morem cuperent, nihil per metum vetabantur. At postquam exui aequali- 3
tas et pro modestia ac pudore ambitio et vis incedebat, provenere dominationes multosque apud populos aeternum mansere. Quidam statim, aut postquam regum pertaesum, leges maluerunt. Hae primo rudibus homi- 4
num animis simplices erant; maximeque fama celebravit Cretensium, quas Minos, Spartanorum, quas Lycurgus,

It made more stringent and comprehensive the provisions of the early part of his reign (**post Iulias rogationes**), B.C. 28 and 18. The consideration of its importance in the history of legislation suggests the digression which follows.

augendo aerario: by the fines and forfeitures which it prescribed.

2. **praevalida**, *prevailing* in men's tastes and preferences. Furneaux suggests that it refers to the social power that childlessness conferred (see 48. 4, *praepotentem senectam*).

interpretationibus: the strained constructions of these laws by which the delators secured convictions and forfeitures.

laborabatur, *the community suffered.*

26. 2. **honesta**, *virtue*, in a concrete sense; a frequent use of the neuter plural of adjectives.

suopte ingenio, *from its own nature = on its own account.*

nihil: secondary object after **vetabantur.**

3. **postquam exui**: Intr. 35 *k.*

dominationes: the rule of kings; this was permanent (**aeternum mansere**) with the nations of the East. The Greeks and Romans (**quidam**) chose a republican form of government, — a government of law instead of irresponsible will (**leges maluerunt**).

4. **Cretensium**: *sc.* **leges.**

ac mox Atheniensibus quaesitiores iam et plures Solo
5 perscripsit. Nobis Romulus ut libitum imperitaverat;
dein Numa religionibus et divino iure populum devinxit,
6 repertaque quaedam a Tullo et Anco; sed praecipuus
Servius Tullius sanctor legum fuit, quis etiam reges
27 obtemperarent. Pulso Tarquinio adversum patrum fac-
tiones multa populus paravit tuendae libertatis et fir-
mandae concordiae, creatique decemviri et accitis quae
usquam egregia compositae duodecim tabulae, finis aequi
2 iuris. Nam secutae leges etsi aliquando in maleficos
ex delicto, saepius tamen dissensione ordinum et api-
scendi illicitos honores aut pellendi claros viros aliaque
3 ob prava per vim latae sunt. Hinc Gracchi et Satur-
nini turbatores plebis, nec minor largitor nomine sena-

Atheniensibus: here is an anacoluthon, arising from a change in construction; supply in thought some such expression as *eas quas*.

5. **ut libitum**: the institutions of Romulus — senate, comitia, etc. — were those of self-government; but tradition represented him as having created them by his sole authority.

quaedam, *some enactments*, going to substitute the rule of law for that of the individual.

6. **obtemperarent**: the subjunctive expresses the intent of Servius, the supposed founder of the republican constitution.

27. patrum, *the senate*. The popular rights gained in the early republic — such as the Valerian law of appeal (*provocatio*) and the *auxilium* of the tribunes — were for the protection of all, patricians as well as plebeians, against the arbitrary power of the government.

tuendae libertatis: Intr. 35. *n*.

creati decemviri: B.C. 451, for the purpose of codifying and amending the laws. On this occasion an embassy was sent to Greece to examine the laws, and a Greek named Hermodorus accompanied the embassy back to Rome, in order to assist in the codification. This is referred to by the phrase **accitis** [**iis**] **quae usquam egregia** [**erant**].

finis aequi juris, *the last piece of impartial legislation*.

2. **secutae leges**: the sketch here is very cursory, and the reference indefinite. A period of three hundred years is passed over with this brief mention.

dissensione ordinum: this began long before the time of the Decemvirs, and the abuses here spoken of were already rife. Among the distinguished men banished were Coriolanus, Camillus, and Metellus Numidicus.

apiscendi: this construction (Intr. 35 *n*) is rare with the gerund.

per vim latae sunt: the use of violence in the elections and legislative assemblies began about the time of the Gracchi (B.C. 133 and 123). The legislation of Saturninus was

tus Drusus: corrupti spe aut illusi per intercessionem socii. Ac ne bello quidem Italico, mox civili, omissum quin multa et diversa sciscerentur, donec L. Sulla dictator abolitis vel conversis prioribus, cum plura addidisset, otium eius rei haud in longum paravit, statim turbidis Lepidi rogationibus, neque multo post tribunis reddita licentia quoquo vellent populum agitandi. Iamque non modo in commune, sed in singulos homines latae quaestiones, et corruptissima re publica plurimae leges. Tum Cn. Pompeius, tertium consul corrigendis 28

B.C. 100. Drusus, B.C. 91, grandfather of the empress Livia, urged reforms in the interest of the senatorial order itself.

3. **corrupti**, etc.: a principal item of the proposed reforms of Marcus Livius Drusus (B.C. 91) was the admission of the Italian allies (**socii**) to the citizenship. Their disappointment in this was the cause of the Social or Italian War, which followed the next year; and immediately after (**mox**) came the civil war of Marius and Sulla.

per intercessionem: *i.e.* of the tribunes. Each one of the ten tribunes was invested with the power of blocking the actions of the others; as a result, the hopes held out by one party were baffled by the obstructions placed in the way by the other.

4. **prioribus** (neuter), *former measures*. Sulla got the upper hand B.C. 82, and held unlimited power for about three years.

plura: the legislation of Sulla was very broad and radical, in the interest of the senate. Many of his reforms were permanent; a part were soon repealed (see below).

eius rei: *i.e.* from the violent changes of party and abrupt changes in policy.

turbidis Lepidi rogationibus: ablative absolute. Marcus Lepidus, father of the triumvir, was consul B.C. 78, and attempted to overthrow the legislation of Sulla.

tribunis reddita licentia: Sulla took away from the tribunes a great part of their power, especially in regard to making laws; but it was restored to them in the first consulship of Pompey, B.C. 70.

5. **in commune**, *with a general jurisdiction; i.e.* as a permanent institution.

in singulos homines latae quaestiones: not *privilegia*, or laws directed against individuals (like modern bills of attainder), but, rather, special courts organized to try individual offenders, as in the case of Milo, B.C. 52.

corruptissima, etc.: the greatest number of laws when society was most corrupt.

28. tertium consul: in B.C. 52, after several months of anarchy, Pompey was made sole consul (*absens et solus, quod nulli alii umquam contigit*, Liv. *Epit.* CVII.), and proceeded to re-establish order by the severe use of his extraordinary powers. For the last five months of the year he took his father-in-law, Metellus Scipio, as colleague.

moribus delectus; sed gravior remediis quam delicta erant, suarumque legum auctor idem ac subversor, quae
2 armis tuebatur armis amisit. Exin continua per viginti annos discordia, non mos, non ius; deterrima quaeque
3 impune ac multa honesta exitio fuere. Sexto demum consulatu Caesar Augustus, potentiae securus, quae triumviratu iusserat abolevit deditque iura, quis pace et
4 principe uteremur. Acriora ex eo vincla, inditi custodes et lege Papia Poppaea praemiis inducti, ut, si a privilegiis parentum cessaretur, velut parens omnium populus
5 vacantia teneret. Sed altius penetrabant urbemque et

gravior, etc.: his remedies were more dangerous than the disorders that they sought to abolish.

subversor: his consulship was in violation of the law which required an interval of ten years between two successive occupations of the same magistracy (he had been consul B.C. 55). Moreover, after procuring the passage of a law forbidding the candidacy of any person absent from the city, he inserted a clause in the law, making an exception in the case of Cæsar; the clause was, of course, legally invalid. He also used his personal influence to secure the acquittal of Metellus Scipio on a charge of bribery.

quae armis tuebatur: from the year of his second consulship (B.C. 55) he held the proconsulship of Spain, which he governed by *legati*, remaining himself in the neighborhood of Rome. During his third consulship, therefore (B.C. 52), he was at once consul and proconsul, and thus armed with extraordinary military power.

armis amisit: by the civil war with Cæsar.

2. **per viginti annos**: in round numbers; the civil war began B.C. 49, and was finally ended by the victory of Augustus at Actium, B.C. 31. The reign of force did not, however, cease until the formal establishment of the empire, B.C. 27.

exitio: especially in the proscriptions in the Second Triumvirate (of Antony, Lepidus, and Cæsar Octavianus).

3. **sexto consulatu**: B.C. 28 (see note on I. 1. 3 and 2. 1).

quae ... iusserat: the violent and illegal measures of the triumvirate.

iura, *the rule of law.*

pace et principe: object of **uteremur**: the emperor was the guaranty of peace, — *l'empire c'est la paix.*

4. **acriora . . . vincla**, *more severe restraints.*

custodes: *sc. legum:* referring to the informers, through whom the machinery of the laws was set in motion (see Intr. 13). The law excluded the unmarried from inheritance; the childless received only half of the property; while a large share fell to the informer. The rest went to the state (**populus vacantia teneret**).

vacantia: having no legal heir.

5. **penetrabant**: *i.e.* the informers; they began to assail all citizens, wherever they were.

Italiam et quod usquam civium corripuerant, multorumque excisi status. Et terror omnibus intentabatur, ni 6
Tiberius statuendo remedio quinque consularium, quinque e praetoriis, totidem e cetero senatu sorte duxisset, apud quos exsoluti plerique legis nexus modicum in praesens levamentum fuere.

Per idem tempus Neronem e liberis Germanici, iam 29
ingressum iuventam, commendavit patribus, utque munere capessendi vigintiviratus solveretur et quinquennio maturius quam per leges quaesturam peteret, non sine irrisu audientium postulavit. Praetendebat sibi atque 2
fratri decreta eadem petente Augusto. Sed neque tum fuisse dubitaverim qui eius modi preces occulti illuderent: ac tamen initia fastigii Caesaribus erant magisque in oculis vetus mos, et privignis cum vitrico levior necessitudo quam avo adversum nepotem. Additur pontifi- 3
catus et quo primum die forum ingressus est congiarium plebi admodum laetae, quod Germanici stirpem iam

excisi status: they were ruined.

6. **quinque consularium**, etc.: these formed a commission, who were to mitigate the severity of the law.

nexus: Intr. 35 *g*.

29. Neronem: the eldest child of Germanicus, now about thirteen years old. For his fate see V. 1–3.

vigintiviratus: the name given collectively to a number of inferior magistracies, including the *triumviri capitales*, *triumviri monetales*, etc. They had no connection with each other as magistracies, but were associated together in the series of *honores*. One of them must be held before the quæstorship.

quinquennio, etc.: the legal age for the quæstorship in the empire was twenty-five.

2. **sibi atque fratri**: for Tiberius, B.C. 24; for Drusus, B.C. 19.

tum: *i.e.* in the time of Augustus. The request was then excusable, because the empire was but just founded (**initia fastigii**), and, besides, the relation (**necessitudo**) was less close than in the present case.

3. **pontificatus**: according to Nipperdey, this is a mistake, or a confusion with his brother Drusus, Nero's pontificate being found upon no inscription.

forum ingressus est: the formal entering upon life as a citizen, after assuming the *toga virilis*. Suetonius says (Tib. 54): *Neronem et Drusum patribus conscriptis commendavit diemque utriusque tirocinii congiario plebei dato celebravit.*

plebi: see I. 8. 3 n.

4 puberem aspiciebat. Auctum dehinc gaudium nuptiis
5 Neronis et Iuliae Drusi filiae. Utque haec secundo rumore, ita adversis animis acceptum, quod filio Claudii
6 socer Seianus destinaretur. Polluisse nobilitatem familiae videbatur suspectumque iam nimiae spei Seianum ultra extulisse.

30 Fine anni concessere vita insignes viri L. Volusius et
2 Sallustius Crispus. Volusio vetus familia neque tamen praeturam egressa; ipse consulatum intulit, censoria etiam potestate legendis equitum decuriis functus, opumque, quis domus illa immensum viguit, primus accumu-
3 lator. Crispum equestri ortum loco C. Sallustius, rerum Romanarum florentissimus auctor, sororis nepotem in
4 nomen adscivit. Atque ille, quamquam prompto ad capessendos honores aditu, Maecenatem aemulatus sine dignitate senatoria multos triumphalium consulariumque potentia anteiit, diversus a veterum instituto per cultum
5 et munditias copiaque et adfluentia luxu propior. Suberat tamen vigor animi ingentibus negotiis par, eo acrior,

4. **nuptiis Neronis et Iuliae**: Nero had before been betrothed to the daughter of Silanus (II. 43. 3).

5. **filio Claudii**: named Drusus; he died shortly after.

6. **videbatur**: *sc.* Tiberius.

ultra, *beyond measure.*

30. 2. **neque egressa**, etc.: *i.e.* none of the family before him had held any higher office.

consulatum intulit: as *consul suffectus*, B.C. 12.

censoria . . . functus: the office of censor, after being suspended for some years, was restored by Augustus, who, in accordance, as Mommsen remarks, with the original constitution of the republic, exercised its functions as consul. It was abolished by Domitian (Momm. *Röm. St.* II. 310). That part of their duties which consisted in an annual inspection of the *turmae equitum* (II. 83. 5), July 15, he intrusted to a special *triumviratus . . . recognoscendi turmas equitum* (Suet. *Oct.* 37), to which Volusius probably belonged. Tacitus, therefore, in using the word *enrolling* (*legendis*), is, as Mommsen says, inexact (id. 368).

3. **C. Sallustius . . . auctor**: the historian, Sallust.

in nomen adscivit: by adoption, the person adopted taking the name of his adoptive father (cf. I. 8. 2).

4. **Maecenatem aemulatus**: Mæcenas never cared for political office, but continued a member of the equestrian order.

luxu: dative,

quo somnum et inertiam magis ostentabat. Igitur in- 6
columi Maecenate proximus, mox praecipuus, cui secreta
imperatorum inniterentur, et interficiendi Postumi Agrip-
pae conscius, aetate provecta speciem magis in amicitia
principis quam vim tenuit. Idque et Maecenati accide- 7
rat, fato potentiae raro sempiternae, an satias capit aut
illos, cum omnia tribuerunt, aut hos, cum iam nihil
reliquum est quod cupiant.

Sequitur Tiberii quartus, Drusi secundus consulatus, **31**
patris atque filii collegio insignis. Nam biennio ante
Germanici cum Tiberio idem honor neque patruo laetus
neque natura tam conexus fuerat. Eius anni principio 2
Tiberius quasi firmandae valetudini in Campaniam con-
cessit, longam et continuam absentiam paulatim medi-
tans, sive ut amoto patre Drusus munia consulatus solus
impleret. Ac forte parva res magnum ad certamen 3
progressa praebuit iuveni materiem apiscendi favoris.
Domitius Corbulo praetura functus de L. Sulla nobili 4
iuvene questus est apud senatum, quod sibi inter spec-
tacula gladiatorum loco non decessisset. Pro Corbulone 5
aetas, patrius mos, studia seniorum erant: contra Ma-

5. **quo . . . ostentabat**: he made a pretence of indolence.

6. **mox**: *i.e.* after the death of Mæcenas.

interficiendi . . . conscius: see I. 6. 6.

7. **potentiae** (genitive), *personal influence*, like that of Mæcenas; limits **fato**.

an, etc.: *or it may be;* see I. 13. 7.

illos: the princes; **hos**: the favorites.

31. Tiberii, etc.: Dio Cassius says (LVII. 20) that many prognosticated misfortune to Drusus, because every colleague of Tiberius had met an evil fate, — Varus, Piso, and Germanicus; afterwards Sejanus also.

biennio: the consulship of Tiberius and Germanicus, A.D. 18, was not *two years before*, but *with an interval of two years.*

2. **longam . . . absentiam**: five years later he left the city (IV. 57), and never returned to it. On this occasion he was absent a year.

4. **Domitius Corbulo**: cannot have been the distinguished general who died A.D. 67, in the prime of life; probably his father.

inter . . . gladiatorum: the law of the republic assigned the senators special seats in the theatre;

mercus Scaurus et L. Arruntius aliique Sullae propinqui
6 nitebantur. Certabantque orationibus et memorabantur exempla maiorum, qui iuventutis irreverentiam gravibus decretis notavissent, donec Drusus apta temperandis animis disseruit; et satisfactum Corbuloni per Mamercum, qui patruus simul ac vitricus Sullae et oratorum
7 *ea* aetate uberrimus erat. Idem Corbulo plurima per Italiam itinera fraude mancipum et incuria magistratuum interrupta et impervia clamitando, exsecutionem eius negotii libens suscepit; quod haud perinde publice usui habitum quam exitiosum multis, quorum in pecuniam atque famam damnationibus et hasta saeviebat.

32 Neque multo post missis ad senatum litteris Tiberius motam rursum Africam incursu Tacfarinatis docuit, iudicioque patrum deligendum pro consule gnarum militiae,
2 corpore validum et bello suffecturum. Quod initium

but in the amphitheatre and circus this was not done until the reign of Claudius.

6. **patruus, vitricus**, *uncle* (on the father's side, Scaurus and the elder Sulla being half-brothers), *step-father* (Scaurus having married the widowed mother of Sulla). He had himself been before married to Lepida (23. 3). This Sulla was descended from the Publius Sulla whom Cicero defended in an extant oration.

7. **magistratuum**: the *curatores viarum*, established by Augustus.

exsecutionem, *management; i.e.* prosecution.

publice usui, *advantageous to the public.*

hasta, *confiscation*: the *hasta* was the sign of an auction sale, an execution being levied upon the insolvent contractors.

saeviebat: in the reign of Caligula Corbulo allowed himself, by these prosecutions, to be made an agent of gross extortion (Dio, LIX. 15); but the sums extorted were refunded by Claudius (id. LX. 17).

32. rursum: see 20. 1.

iudicio patrum: Africa, although it had an army, was a senatorial province (see Intr. 18. A. 2), and the governor was regularly appointed by lot; the two oldest *consulares* being assigned to the two wealthiest and most honorable senatorial provinces, Africa and Asia. On this occasion, owing to the military exigency, Africa was withdrawn from the lot, and Lepidus, the oldest consular, was to receive Asia in course. This gave an opportunity to his enemy, Pompeius, to urge that this province too should be made an exception: the judgment of the emperor implying that Lepidus was unfit for Africa, Pompeius argued that this proved him unfit for Asia as well.

Sex. Pompeius agitandi adversus Marcum Lepidum odii nactus, ut socordem, inopem et maioribus suis dedecorum eoque etiam Asiae sorte depellendum incusavit, adverso senatu, qui Lepidum mitem magis quam ignavum, paternas ei angustias et nobilitatem sine probro actam honori quam ignominiae habendam ducebat. Igitur missus in Asiam, et de Africa decretum ut 3
Caesar legeret cui mandanda foret.

Inter quae Severus Caecina censuit ne quem magi- 33
stratum, cui provincia obvenisset, uxor comitaretur, multum ante repetito concordem sibi coniugem et sex partus enixam, seque quae in publicum statueret domi servavisse, cohibita intra Italiam, quamquam ipse pluris per provincias quadraginta stipendia explevisset. Haud 2
enim frustra placitum olim ne feminae in socios aut gentes externas traherentur: inesse mulierum comitatui quae pacem luxu, bellum formidine morentur et Romanum agmen ad similitudinem barbari incessus convertant. Non imbecillum tantum et imparem laboribus 3

2. **M. Lepidum**: not to be confounded with Manius Lepidus (35. 1, also I. 13. 2), a far more distinguished man; they appear to have been second cousins, both being great-grandsons of Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, cos. B.C. 78. The prænomina are constantly confused in the manuscript of Tacitus, but are distinguished by the aid of inscriptions. Nipperdey.

paternas . . . angustias: see II. 48. 1.

3. **de Africa,** etc.: Furneaux points out that five consulars junior to Lepidus had already held Africa, and suggests that these violations of the rule were in conformity with the Lex Papia Poppæa, or in consequence of the absence from Rome of the one whose turn it was.

33. inter quae: he brought up this matter, which really had nothing to do with the business before the senate (*neque relatum de negotio,* 34. 1).

Caecina: see 18. 3; this is the same Cæcina that commanded in Germany under Germanicus (see I. 31, etc.).

repetito: ablative absolute with the clause that follows.

seque . . . servavisse: he had himself followed the rule which he would prescribe for others.

cohibita: *sc.* **coniuge**.

2. **frustra,** *without good reason;* see VI. 6. 2 n.

morentur, *are a hindrance to.*

barbari incessus: such as the march of Xerxes, with his wives, servants, etc.

sexum, sed si licentia adsit, saevum ambitiosum potestatis avidum; incedere inter milites, habere ad manum centuriones; praesedisse nuper feminam exercitio cohortium, decursu legionum. Cogitarent ipsi, quotiens repetundarum aliqui arguerentur, plura uxoribus obiectari; his statim adhaerescere deterrimum quemque provincialium, ab his negotia suscipi transigi; duorum egressus coli, duo esse praetoria, pervicacibus magis et impotentibus mulierum iussis, quae Oppiis quondam aliisque legibus constrictae, nunc vinclis exsolutis domos fora iam et exercitus regerent. Paucorum haec assensu audita; plures obturbabant neque relatum de negotio, neque Caecinam dignum tantae rei censorem. Mox Valerius Messalinus, cui parens Messalla ineratque imago paternae facundiae, respondit multa duritiae veterum melius et laetius mutata; neque enim, ut olim, obsideri urbem bellis aut provincias hostilis esse. Et pauca feminarum necessitatibus concedi, quae ne coniu-

3. **ad manum,** *at their beck* (Furneaux).

praesedisse, etc.: see II. 55. 5. There may also be an allusion to the action of Agrippina, I. 69. 1.

4. **quotiens,** etc.: as often as such charges are made, the weight of them falls upon the women. The charge of *repetundae* (*sc. res*) is that of extortion in the provinces (demand for restitution). The court for the trial of such offences, the earliest of the permanent courts, *quaestiones perpetuae*, was founded B.C. 149.

coli: this refers to the suite or throng of followers who accompanied the governors and their wives.

praetoria, *governor's residence* or *headquarters.*

Oppiis . . . legibus: the Oppian law, passed B.C. 215, regulated the dress and ornament of women, and other matters in which they were deemed too luxurious.

34. relatum: *sc.* **esse**; the matter had not been formally brought before the senate by the consuls.

2. **Messalinus**: the same who is called Messalla, I. 8. 5.

paternae facundiae: his father, the distinguished soldier and patron of literature in the reign of Augustus, was, as an orator, *nitidus et candidus et quodammodo praeferens in dicendo nobilitatem suam, viribus minor* (Quint. X. 1. 113).

multa duritiae, *many features of the harshness;* cf. *multa laudis et artium*, 55. 6; Intr. 35 *d*.

melius . . . mutata: *i.e.* it was better that they had been changed. Pfitzner.

obsideri urbem bellis: the Oppian law was passed in the time of the war with Hannibal.

gum quidem penates, adeo socios non onerent; cetera promisca cum marito nec ullum in eo pacis impedimentum. Bella plane accinctis obeunda: sed revertentibus 4
post laborem quod honestius quam uxorium levamentum? At quasdam in ambitionem aut avaritiam prolapsas. Quid? ipsorum magistratuum nonne plerosque 5
variis libidinibus obnoxios? non tamen ideo neminem in provinciam mitti. Corruptos saepe pravitatibus uxorum 6
maritos: num ergo omnis caelibes integros? Placuisse quondam Oppias leges, sic temporibus rei publicae postulantibus; remissum aliquid postea et mitigatum, quia expedierit. Frustra nostram ignaviam alia ad vocabula 7
transferri: nam viri in eo culpam, si femina modum excedat. Porro ob unius aut alterius imbecillum animum 8
male eripi maritis consortia rerum secundarum adversarumque. Simul sexum natura invalidum deseri et ex- 9
poni suo luxu, cupidinibus alienis. Vix praesenti cus- 10
todia manere illaesa coniugia: quid fore, si per plures annos in modum discidii oblitterentur? Sic obviam irent iis quae alibi peccarentur, ut flagitiorum urbis meminissent. Addidit pauca Drusus de matrimonio suo; nam 11
principibus adeunda saepius longinqua imperii. Quo- 12
tiens divum Augustum in Occidentem atque Orientem meavisse comite Livia! Se quoque in Illyricum pro- 13
fectum et, si ita conducat, alias ad gentes iturum, haud semper aequo animo, si ab uxore carissima et tot com-

3. **coniugum . . . penates**: *i.e.* the harmony and well-being of the household.

adeo non: *much less.*

promisca cum marito: they received no more consideration than their husbands would have received by themselves.

4. **plane**, *to be sure.*

at: anticipates an objection.

7. **ignaviam**, *neglect.*

9. **luxu**: dative.

10. **praesenti**: while the husband is present.

sic: explained by **ut . . . meminissent** — on this condition: **irent** is hortatory subjunctive.

alibi: in the provinces.

munium liberorum parente divelleretur. Sic Caecinae sententia elusa est.

35 Proximo senatus die Tiberius per litteras, castigatis oblique patribus quod cuncta curarum ad principem reicerent, M'. Lepidum et Iunium Blaesum nominavit, ex
2 quis pro consule Africae legeretur. Tum audita amborum verba, intentius excusante se Lepido, cum valetudinem corporis, aetatem liberum, nubilem filiam obtenderet, intellegereturque etiam quod silebat, avunculum
3 esse Seiani Blaesum atque eo praevalidum. Respondit Blaesus specie recusantis, sed neque eadem asseveratione, et consensu adulantium haud iutus est.

36 Exim promptum quod multorum intimis questibus tegebatur. Incedebat enim deterrimo cuique licentia impune probra et invidiam in bonos excitandi, arrepta imagine Caesaris; libertique etiam ac servi patrono vel domino, cum voces, cum manus intentarent, ultro metue-
2 bantur. Igitur C. Cestius senator disseruit principes quidem instar deorum esse, sed neque a dis nisi iustas supplicum preces audiri, neque quemquam in Capitolium

35. proximo . . . die: the senate sat regularly at this period on the Kalends and Ides.

quod . . . reicerent: in referring to him the selection of a governor for Africa, 32. 3.

cuncta curarum: cf. *cuncta terrarum*, Hor. *Od.* II. 1. 23; Intr. 35 *d*.

M' Lepidum, etc.: for Lepidus, see I. 13. 2; for Blæsus, I. 16. 2.

2. **aetatem**, *youth*.

intellegeretur: has for subject the following clause.

3. **haud iutus est**: *i.e.* in his refusal, which they believed to be insincere.

36. promptum: *sc.* **est**, *came to light*.

deterrimo cuique: dative of advantage with **incedebat**, *increased*.

arrepta . . . Caesaris: *i.e.* in the nature of an asylum (cf. IV. 67. 6). What was intended as a protection against abuse, was converted into a means of covert attacks. It is related, for example, by Philostratos (*Apol.* I. 15), that it was an offence to chastise a slave who held in his hand a coin stamped with the image of the emperor.

patrono: relating to **liberti**, as **domino** to **servi**; the *dominus* of the slave became the *patronus* of the freedman.

2. **neque . . . utatur**: the malefactor who made an asylum of the temple of a god was compared to

aliave urbis templa perfugere ut eo subsidio ad flagitia utatur; abolitas leges et funditus versas, ubi in foro, 3
in limine curiae ab Annia Rufilla, quam fraudis sub iudice damnavisset, probra sibi et minae intendantur, neque ipse audeat ius experiri ob effigiem imperatoris oppositam. Haud dissimilia alii et quidam atrociora 4
circumstrepebant, precabanturque Drusum daret ultionis exemplum, donec accitam convictamque attineri publica custodia iussit. Et Considius Aequus et Caelius Cur- 37
sor equites Romani, quod fictis maiestatis criminibus Magium Caecilianum praetorem petivissent, auctore principe ac decreto senatus puniti. Utrumque in 2
laudem Drusi trahebatur: ab eo in urbe, inter coetus et sermones hominum obversante, secreta patris mitigari. Neque luxus in iuvene adeo displicebat: huc 3
potius intenderet, diem aedificationibus, noctem conviviis traheret, quam solus et nullis voluptatibus avocatus maestam vigilantiam et malas curas exerceret. Non 38
enim Tiberius, non accusatores fatiscebant. Et Ancharius Priscus Caesium Cordum pro consule Cretae postu-

the guilty slave who was protected by the image of the emperor.

3. **versas**: cf. II. 42. 4; Intr. 35 *b*.

damnavisset: *i.e.* had brought about her conviction; the words **sub iudice** imply that it was a jury trial.

oppositam: held out against him in her hand.

4. **precabanturque**, etc.: as the fault in suffering this abuse lay in the officers and the courts, a representative of the emperor was called upon to correct it.

accitam, etc.: sc. *Anniam*.

37. 2. **utrumque**, *both acts;* the punishment of Annia and that of these two men.

secreta, *the sullen tyranny*.

3. **luxus**: Drusus is represented (I. 29. 4 and 76. 5) as cruel in disposition, but no charge has been made of licentiousness. His luxury seems to have consisted partly in erecting magnificent buildings (**aedificationibus**).

solus, etc.: these words point to the alleged characteristics of his father's rule; and yet nothing has so far appeared to throw upon him the burden of the charges. He was undoubtedly severe by nature, and disposed to let the laws have their course. In the case of Antistius in the next chapter, the punishment appears to have been merited.

38. et: introduces an illustration of the general statement; cf. II. 50. 1.

laverat repetundis, addito maiestatis crimine, quod tum omnium accusationum complementum erat.

2 Caesar Antistium Veterem e primoribus Macedoniae, absolutum adulterii, increpitis iudicibus ad dicendam maiestatis causam retraxit, ut turbidum et Rhescuporidis consiliis permixtum, qua tempestate Cotye [fratre] 3 interfecto bellum adversus nos volverat. Igitur aqua et igni interdictum reo, appositumque ut teneretur insula 4 neque Macedoniae neque Thraeciae opportuna. Nam Thraecia diviso imperio in Rhoemetalcen et liberos Cotyis, quis ob infantiam tutor erat Trebellienus Rufus, insolentia nostri discors agebat neque minus Rhoemetalcen quam Trebellienum incusans popularium iniurias 5 inultas sinere. Coelaletae Odrusaeque et Dii, validae nationes, arma cepere, ducibus diversis et paribus inter se per ignobilitatem; quae causa fuit ne in bellum 6 atrox coalesceret. Pars turbant praesentia, alii montem Haemum transgrediuntur, ut remotos populos concirent; plurimi ac maxime compositi regem urbemque Philippopolim, a Macedone Philippo sitam, circumsi-

repetundis: the usual construction is the genitive,—*repetundarum* (*sc. crimine*).

complementum: every charge dragged that of treason along with it.

2. **Rhescuporidis consiliis**: see II. 64–67; as Cotys is there shown to have been the nephew of Rhescuporis, the word **fratre** is bracketed.

3. **opportuna**, *accessible.*

4. **Rhoemetalcen**: son of Rhescuporis (II. 67. 4).

insolentia: abl.; because they were not used to our rule; **nostri** is objective genitive.

discors: *i.e.* the tributes and other impositions of the Romans they regarded as *iniuriae.* These were inflicted by Trebellienus and submitted to by Rhœmetalces.

sinere: the infinitive after *incuso* is very rare (cf. VI. 3. 3; Intr. 35 *l*).

5. **Odrusae**: an ancient and powerful nation of Thrace, the nucleus of the kingdom; the two other nations are insignificant.

paribus . . . ignobilitatem: of equally mean extraction.

6. **Haemum**, *the Balkan*, which separated Thrace from Mœsia.

maxime compositi, *those best organized.*

regem: Rhœmetalces.

Philippopolim: the modern *Philippopoli*, in the valley of the Hebrus. It was founded by the father of Alexander the Great.

dunt. Quae ubi cognita P. Vellaeo (is proximum exerci- **39**
tum praesidebat), alarios equites ac levis cohortium
mittit in eos qui praedabundi aut assumendis auxiliis
vagabantur, ipse robur peditum ad exsolvendum ob-
sidium ducit. Simulque cuncta prospere acta, caesis 2
populatoribus et dissensione orta apud obsidentes regis-
que opportuna eruptione et adventu legionis. Neque 3
aciem aut proelium dici decuerit, in quo semermi ac
palantes trucidati sunt sine nostro sanguine.

Eodem anno Galliarum civitates ob magnitudinem **40**
aeris alieni rebellionem coeptavere, cuius exstimulator
acerrimus inter Treveros Iulius Florus, apud Aeduos
Iulius Sacrovir. Nobilitas ambobus et maiorum bona 2
facta, eoque Romana civitas olim data, cum id rarum
nec nisi virtuti pretium esset. Ii secretis colloquiis, 3
ferocissimo quoque assumpto aut quibus ob egestatem

39. exercitum: after **praesidebat** (Intr. 35 *b*); cf. *praesedisse exercitio*, 33. 3. The army in question is that of the province of Mœsia, of which Vellæus was governor, having succeeded Pomponius Flaccus (II. 66. 3).

alarios equites, *auxiliary cavalry* (see I. 49. 6 n.).

cohortium: Intr. 35 *d*.

2. **populatoribus** = those **qui vagabantur.** The besiegers fell out among themselves, and were then routed by a sally from the town and the arrival of the relieving force.

40. eodem anno, etc.: this rebellion of Florus and Sacrovir was the only formidable uprising in Gaul after that of Vercingetorix, and shows, says Mommsen (*Rom. Prov.* I. 88), "the hatred towards the foreign rulers, which still at that time prevailed in the land and particularly among the nobility." The armies of the Rhine, Mommsen thinks, were as important for keeping Gaul quiet, as for holding the Germans in check.

aeris alieni: incurred to pay the tributes and meet the other requirements of Rome, — including private debts, which were enforced by the government. Mommsen maintains that the taxes and financial distress were only the pretext for the rebellion, not its real cause.

Treveros: a tribe in the province of Belgica, represented by *Treves* in Rhenish Prussia. The Ædui were in Burgundy. These leaders, Florus and Sacrovir, as well as Indus (42. 3), took the name of *Iulius*, in accordance with usage, from Julius or Augustus Cæsar, to whom they owed their citizenship.

2. **rarum**: Augustus *civitatem Romanam parcissime dedit* (Suet. *Oct.* 40); but from the time of Claudius citizenship became very cheap.

ac metum ex flagitiis maxima peccandi necessitudo, componunt Florus Belgas, Sacrovir propiores Gallos
4 concire. Igitur per conciliabula et coetus seditiosa disserebant de continuatione tributorum, gravitate faenoris, saevitia ac superbia praesidentium; et discordare mili-
5 tem audito Germanici exitio. Egregium resumendae libertati tempus, si ipsi florentes, quam inops Italia, quam imbellis urbana plebes, nihil validum in exerciti-
41 bus nisi quod externum, cogitarent. Haud ferme ulla civitas intacta seminibus eius motus fuit; sed erupere
2 primi Andecavi ac Turoni. Quorum Andecavos Acilius Aviola legatus excita cohorte, quae Lugduni praesidium
3 agitabat, coercuit. Turoni legionario milite, quem Visellius Varro inferioris Germaniae legatus miserat, oppressi eodem Aviola duce et quibusdam Galliarum primoribus, qui tulere auxilium quo dissimularent de-
4 fectionem magisque in tempore efferrent. Spectatus et Sacrovir intecto capite pugnam pro Romanis ciens, os-

3. **componunt,** *make an agreement.*

4. **conciliabula**: the *conciliabulum* was in Italy the name of a class of villages inferior to the *civitates* (*municipia* and *coloniae*); the word may here be used in general for *villages*, but is probably used, as etymologically it may be, to indicate *public gatherings*. In either case it designates assemblies regularly convened or of a public character, while **coetus** are irregular gatherings called for some special purpose.

discordare . . . exitio: governed by **disserebant**; this afforded a favorable opportunity for revolt.

5. **inops**: *sc.* **esset**; depending on **cogitarent**. This is a significant indication of the economic decay of Italy, discussed in Tiberius' speech, 52–54.

externum: even the Roman legions were now chiefly composed of natives of the provinces.

41. Andecavi [the *Andes* of Cæsar] **et Turoni**: represented by the modern *Angers* (Anjou) and *Tours*, upon the Loire.

2. **cohorte**: *sc. civium Romanorum* (I. 8. 3 n.).

Lugduni, *Lyons:* capital of Gallia Lugdunensis.

3. **legionario milite**: this, too, appears from 46. 3 to have been a single cohort.

Visellius Varro: he had succeeded Cæcina (I. 31. 2).

primoribus: in the same construction as **Aviola**.

efferrent, *proclaim*, as well as **dissimularent**, governs **defectionem**. They saw that a rising at this time must fail, and therefore

tentandae, ut ferebat, virtutis; sed captivi ne incesseretur telis agnoscendum se praebuisse arguebant. Consultus super eo Tiberius aspernatus est indicium aluitque dubitatione bellum.

Interim Florus insistere destinatis, pellicere alam 42
equitum, quae conscripta e Treveris militia disciplinaque nostra habebatur, ut caesis negotiatoribus Romanis bellum inciperet; paucique equitum corrupti, plures in officio mansere. Aliud vulgus obaeratorum aut clientium 2
arma cepit; petebantque saltus, quibus nomen Arduenna, cum legiones utroque ab exercitu, quas Visellius et C. Silius adversis itineribus obiecerant, arcuerunt. Prae- 3
missusque cum delecta manu Iulius Indus e civitate eadem, discors Floro et ob id navandae operae avidior, inconditam multitudinem adhuc disiecit. Florus incer- 4
tis latebris victores frustratus, postremo visis militibus, qui effugia insederant, sua manu cecidit. Isque Treverici tumultus finis.

Apud Aeduos maior moles exorta, quanto civitas 43

concealed their complicity, and deferred action until a more favorable opportunity (**magis in tempore**); their example was followed by Sacrovir himself.

4. agnoscendum: *i.e.* his bared head would cause him to be recognized by the insurgents, with whom he had a secret understanding.

ostentandae . . . virtutis; Intr. 35 *n.*

42. destinatis, *his purpose.*

quae . . . habebatur: under the empire the auxiliary troops were organized (**militia**) and disciplined after the Roman model, and their divisions were permanent.

negotiatoribus: not *merchants*, as in later times, but bankers and money-lenders. They were looked upon as the instruments of the exactions.

2. obaeratorum aut clientium: Cæsar (*B. G.* I. 4) mentions these same classes as composing the retainers of Orgetorix.

Arduenna: the great forest of Ardennes stretched at this time from the territory of the Remi (*Rheims*) to the neighborhood of the Rhine.

utroque ab exercitu: *i.e.* that of Upper Germany, under Silius, and that of Lower Germany, under Visellius.

3. e civitate eadem: the Treveri.

adhuc: a clumsy order of words; many editors place **adhuc** before **multitudinem**.

4. effugia, *his means of escape.*

opulentior et comprimendi procul praesidium. Augustodunum caput gentis armatis cohortibus Sacrovir occupaverat *et* nobilissimam Galliarum subolem, liberalibus studiis ibi operatam, ut eo pignore parentes propinquosque eorum adiungeret; simul arma occulte fabricata
2 iuventuti dispertit. Quadraginta milia fuere, quinta sui parte legionariis armis, ceteri cum venabulis et cultris
3 quaeque alia venantibus tela sunt. Adduntur e servitiis gladiaturae destinati, quibus more gentico continuum ferri tegimen: cruppellarios vocant, inferendis ictibus
4 inhabiles, accipiendis impenetrabiles. Augebantur eae copiae vicinarum civitatum ut nondum aperta consensione, ita viritim promptis studiis, et certamine ducum Romanorum, quos inter ambigebatur, utroque bellum sibi poscente. Mox Varro invalidus senecta vigenti Silio concessit.

44 At Romae non Treveros modo et Aeduos, sed quattuor et sexaginta Galliarum civitates descivisse, assumptos in societatem Germanos, dubias Hispanias, cuncta,
2 ut mos famae, in maius credita. Optimus quisque rei publicae cura maerebat; multi odio praesentium et cupi-

43. opulentior: the Ædui were one of the two most powerful states of Gaul (Cæs. *B. G.* I. 31).

Augustodunum, *Autun.*

et: see App. I.

liberalibus studiis: the school of Augustodunum, founded by Augustus, was noted in all times of the empire.

2. **legionariis armis**: helmet (*cassis*), shield (*scutum*), greaves (*ocreae*), breast-plate (*lorica*), javelin (*pilum*), and short two-edged sword. It is ablative of characteristic, — *a fifth of them provided with*, etc.

3. **continuum . . . tegimen**: covering the whole body, like the armor of the middle ages; the Roman armor, on the other hand, protected only certain parts.

cruppellarios: the name is not met with elsewhere.

4. **civitatum**: limits **consensione**, as well as **studiis**.

ut . . . ita, *although . . . yet.*

viritim, *of individuals.*

44. quattuor et sexaginta, *the sixty-four states* or cities, identical with the former *tribes*, into which Gaul (exclusive of Narbonensis) was divided: of these, there were seventeen in Aquitania, twenty-five in Lugdunensis, twenty-two in Belgica

dine mutationis suis quoque periculis laetabantur, increpabantque Tiberium quod in tanto rerum motu libellis accusatorum insumeret operam. An Sacrovirum maiestatis crimine reum in senatu fore? Exstitisse tandem viros, qui cruentas epistulas armis cohiberent. Miseram pacem vel bello bene mutari. Tanto impensius in securitatem compositus, neque loco neque vultu mutato, sed ut solitum per illos dies egit, altitudine animi, an compererat modica esse et vulgatis leviora. 3 4

Interim Silius, cum legionibus duabus incedens, praemissa auxiliari manu vastat Sequanorum pagos, qui finium extremi et Aeduis contermini sociique in armis erant. Mox Augustodunum petit propero agmine, certantibus inter se signiferis, fremente etiam gregario milite, ne suetam requiem, ne spatia noctium opperiretur: viderent modo adversos et aspicerentur; id satis ad victoriam. Duodecimum apud lapidem Sacrovir copiaeque patentibus locis apparuere. In fronte statuerat ferratos, in cornibus cohortes, a tergo semermos. Ipse inter primores equo insigni adire, memorare veteres Gallorum glorias quaeque Romanis adversa intulissent; quam decora victoribus libertas, quanto intolerantior 45 2 3 4

(Longnon, *Atlas historique de la France*). Of these Augustus made sixty, and four had been added since.

2. **libellis accusatorum**: see II. 29. 2.

3. **cruentas epistulas**: for examples of such letters, common in the last years of Tiberius, see IV. 70. 1; VI. 9. 2; no instances have as yet appeared. Does not Tacitus here project the memories of the reign of terror into an earlier period?

4. **altitudine**: not *loftiness*, but *dissimulation*, or perhaps *reticence*.

modica: *i.e.* the insurrection. The experienced general and statesman is entitled to the benefit of this explanation, seeing that his coolness was justified by the event.

45. Sequanorum: the Sequani (of *Franche Comté*) bordered the Ædui to the east, and their districts adjoining the Ædui had taken part in the rebellion.

2. **signiferis**: of the two legions. These, as officers, are contrasted with **gregario milite**.

fremente: in their impatience.

adversos, *face to face*.

3. **duodecimum ad lapidem**: *i.e.* from Augustodunum.

ferratos: the *cruppellarii;* by

46 servitus iterum victis. Non diu haec nec apud laetos; etenim propinquabat legionum acies, inconditique ac militiae nescii oppidani neque oculis neque auribus satis 2 competebant. Contra Silius, etsi praesumpta spes hortandi causas exemerat, clamitabat tamen pudendum ipsis quod Germaniarum victores adversum Gallos tamquam 3 in hostem ducerentur. 'Una nuper cohors rebellem Turonum, una ala Treverum, paucae huius ipsius exer- 4 citus turmae profligavere Sequanos. Quanto pecunia dites et voluptatibus opulentos, tanto magis imbelles 5 Aeduos evincite et fugientibus consulite.' Ingens ad ea clamor, et circumfudit eques frontemque pedites invasere, 6 nec cunctatum apud latera. Paulum morae attulere ferrati, restantibus laminis adversum pila et gladios; sed miles correptis securibus et dolabris, ut si murum perrumperet, caedere tegmina et corpora; quidam trudibus aut furcis inertem molem prosternere, iacentesque nullo ad resurgendum nisu quasi exanimes linquebantur. 7 Sacrovir primo Augustodunum, dein metu deditionis in villam propinquam cum fidissimis pergit. Illic sua manu, reliqui mutuis ictibus occidere; incensa super villa omnes cremavit.

47 Tum demum Tiberius ortum patratumque bellum senatu scripsit; neque dempsit aut addidit vero, sed fide

cohortes are meant the fully equipped soldiers; by **semermos**, those *cum venabulis*, etc. (43. 2).

4. **iterum**: having once been subdued by Cæsar.

46. oppidani, *towns-people* (students, etc.); see below, **pecunia dites**, etc.

neque . . . competebant: they lost their senses from panic.

3. **Turonum, Treverum**: the singular for the plural.

4. **voluptatibus opulentos**, *rich in pleasures; i.e.* made effeminate by pleasure (Andresen). The comparison is between the Ædui and these less wealthy nations.

evincite: see App. I.

consulite = *parcite*.

6. **restantibus** = *resistentibus*.

nullo . . . nisu: on account of the weight of their armor.

7. **villam**: either a farm-house (*villa rustica*), or more probably a country-seat (*villa urbana*).

super, *over their heads*,

ac virtute legatos, se consiliis superfuisse. Simul causas 2
cur non ipse, non Drusus profecti ad id bellum forent
adiunxit, magnitudinem imperii extollens, neque deco-
rum principibus, si una alterave civitas turbet, omissa
urbe, unde in omnia regimen. Nunc, quia non metu 3
ducatur, iturum, ut praesentia spectaret componeretque.
Decrevere patres vota pro reditu eius supplicationesque
et alia decora. Solus Dolabella Cornelius, dum anteire 4
ceteros parat, absurdam in adulationem progressus, cen-
suit ut ovans e Campania urbem introiret. Igitur secu- 5
tae Caesaris litterae, quibus se non tam vacuum gloria
praedicabat ut post ferocissimas gentes perdomitas, tot
receptos in iuventa aut spretos triumphos, iam senior
peregrinationis suburbanae inane praemium peteret.

Sub idem tempus, ut mors Sulpicii Quirinii publicis 48
exsequiis frequentaretur, petivit a senatu. Nihil ad 2
veterem et patriciam Sulpiciorum familiam Quirinius
pertinuit, ortus apud municipium Lanuvium; sed impi-
ger militiae et acribus ministeriis consulatum sub divo
Augusto, mox expugnatis per Ciliciam Homonadensium
castellis insignia triumphi adeptus, datusque rector Gaio
Caesari Armeniam obtinenti. Tiberium quoque Rhodi 3

47. superfuisse, *had been on hand — shown themselves prepared;* in contrast with the panic of the senators and others (Pfitzner).

2. **decorum principibus**: an infinitive may be supplied from **profecti . . . forent.**

unde . . . regimen: the source of all authority and administration.

4. **e Campania**: see 31. 2; Pfitzner thinks that this refers to an entrance from this direction after his visit to Gaul; the words **peregrinationis suburbanae,** however, show that an immediate entrance was intended.

5. **spretos triumphos**: Velleius (II. 122) asserts that Tiberius was entitled to seven triumphs, but celebrated only three.

48. Sulpicii Quirini: see 22. 1; also II. 30. 4.

2. **apud municipium**: the inhabitants of the Italian towns were of course plebeian, while the *Sulpicii* were an ancient patrician gens.

consulatum: B.C. 12.

insignia triumphi: I. 72. 1 n.

rector Gaio Caesari: the same relation in which Sejanus stood to Drusus in his mission to the Pannonian army (I. 24. 3).

agentem coluerat; quod tunc patefecit in senatu, laudatis in se officiis et incusato M. Lollio, quem auctorem
4 Gaio Caesari pravitatis et discordiarum arguebat. Sed ceteris haud laeta memoria Quirinii erat ob intenta, ut memoravi, Lepidae pericula sordidamque et praepotentem senectam.

49 Fine anni Clutorium Priscum equitem Romanum, post celebre carmen quo Germanici suprema defleverat, pecunia donatum a Caesare, corripuit delator, obiectans aegro Druso composuisse quod si exstinctus foret maiore
2 praemio vulgaretur. Id Clutorius in domo P. Petronii, socru eius Vitellia coram multisque illustribus feminis,
3 per vaniloquentiam legerat. Ut delator exstitit, ceteris ad dicendum testimonium exterritis, sola Vitellia nihil
4 se audivisse asseveravit. Sed arguentibus ad perniciem plus fidei fuit, sententiaque Haterii Agrippae consulis
50 designati indictum reo ultimum supplicium. Contra M'. Lepidus in hunc modum exorsus est: 'Si, patres conscripti, unum id spectamus, quam nefaria voce Clutorius Priscus mentem suam et aures hominum polluerit, neque carcer neque laqueus, ne serviles quidem cruciatus,

3. **M. Lollio**: he preceded Quirinius in this office, and appears to have been bitterly hostile to Tiberius; Suetonius says (*Tib.* 12), *privignum Gaium* [Tiberius had married Julia, the mother of Gaius] . . . *alieniorem sibi sensit ex criminationibus M. Lollii, comitis et rectoris eius.* As Tiberius returned to Rome the same year in which Lollius died (A.D. 2), it seems probable that his intercourse with Tiberius was at an earlier date, when he was proconsul of Asia; this explanation (suggested by Mommsen) requires a period after **obtinenti**, which most editions place after **coluerat**.

4. **ut memoravi**: 22. 3.

49. vulgaretur: he had the poem ready to publish in case of Drusus' death; this was regarded as speculating upon his death.

2. **P. Petronii** [Turpiliani]: see VI. 45. 3; a friend of the emperor Claudius, who, as governor of Syria, opposed Caligula's design of setting up his own image in the temple at Jerusalem.

4. **arguentibus ad perniciem**, *those who brought evidence for his condemnation.*

Agrippae: see I. 77. 3.

indictum: not *adjudged*, but *proposed.*

50. M' Lepidus: see I. 13. 2, IV. 20. 4, and VI. 27. 4.

in eum suffecerint. Sin flagitia et facinora sine modo 2
sunt, suppliciis ac remediis principis moderatio maiorumque et vestra exempla temperant, et vana a scelestis dicta a maleficiis differunt, est locus sententiae per quam neque huic delictum impune sit et nos clementiae simul ac severitatis non paeniteat. Saepe audivi princi- 3
pem nostrum conquerentem si quis sumpta morte misericordiam eius praevenisset. Vita Clutorii in integro 4
est, qui neque servatus in periculum rei publicae neque interfectus in exemplum ibit. Studia illi, ut plena ve- 5
cordiae, ita inania et fluxa sunt; nec quicquam grave ac serium ex eo metuas qui suorum ipse flagitiorum proditor non virorum animis sed muliercularum adrepit. Cedat tamen urbe et bonis amissis aqua et igni arcea- 6
tur; quod perinde censeo ac si lege maiestatis teneretur.' Solus Lepido Rubellius Blandus e consularibus assensit; 51
ceteri sententiam Agrippae secuti, ductusque in carcerem Priscus ac statim exanimatus. Id Tiberius solitis 2
sibi ambagibus apud senatum incusavit, cum extolleret pietatem quamvis modicas principis iniurias acriter ulciscentium, deprecaretur tam praecipitis verborum poenas,

2. **sin . . . differunt**: this protasis describes not the case in hand, but the prevailing condition of things at the time. The apodosis begins with **est locus**.

temperant, *moderate;* temper justice with mercy.

3. **saepe audivi**: see II. 31. 4; III. 16. 3.

4. **in integro**: he was still alive, and they might spare the emperor this regret. To spare his life would not involve a danger, nor would his death be a warning.

6. **censeo**, *propose:* although he did not think him guilty of treason, he was willing to punish it as treason in this degree. This crime was limited to offences against the emperor and his mother (cf. IV. 34. 3). The penalty here proposed was the legal punishment for treason.

51. ductusque, etc.: this is an instructive illustration of the power of punishment still exercised by the senate, independent of the emperor. In this case no direct responsibility rests upon Tiberius; but no doubt his pedantic insistence upon the strict exercise of judicial forms (IV. 30. 4 and Intr. 15) was an incitement to severity.

2. **ambagibus**, *obscurity of speech.*

pietatem, *loyalty;* the word sig-

laudaret Lepidum neque Agrippam argueret. Igitur factum senatus consultum ne decreta patrum ante diem *decimum* ad aerarium deferrentur idque vitae spatium damnatis prorogaretur. Sed non senatui libertas ad paenitendum erat, neque Tiberius interiectu temporis mitigabatur.

52 C. Sulpicius D. Haterius consules sequuntur, inturbidus externis rebus annus, domi suspecta severitate adversum luxum, qui immensum proruperat ad cuncta quis pecunia prodigitur. Sed alia sumptuum, quamvis graviora, dissimulatis plerumque pretiis occultabantur; ventris et ganeae paratus assiduis sermonibus vulgati fecerant curam ne princeps antiquae parsimoniae durius adverteret. Nam incipiente C. Bibulo ceteri quoque aediles disseruerant sperni sumptuariam legem

nifies dutiful affection towards a father, and the prince stood towards his people as a father.

3. **decreta**: this word, properly describing the action of the presiding magistrate, is used as "completely synonymous with *consultum*" (Momm. *Röm. St.* III. 994).

ante diem decimum: cf. Suet. *Tib.* 75; see App. I.

ad aerarium: the *senatus consulta* were deposited in the treasury, in the temple of Saturn. This gave them validity. In early times they were under the care of the plebeian ædiles in the temple of Ceres.

4. **non . . . mitigabatur**: this law worked no improvement, for the Senate was not allowed to reconsider its judgment in this interval, nor did the emperor, as time went on exercise his prerogative of mercy.

52. C. Sulpicius [Galba]: brother of the emperor Galba.

D. Haterius [Agrippa]: 49. 4; cf. II. 51. 2: son of Quintus Haterius, I. 13. 4.

inturbidus: a word peculiar to Tacitus (Intr. 35 *t*).

annus: in apposition with **C. . . . consules.**

suspecta severitate: ablative of characteristic, parallel with **inturbidus.**

2. **sermonibus**, *town-talk.*

antiquae parsimoniae: Suetonius (*Tib.* 34) says of the economy of Tiberius, *pridiana saepe ac semesa obsonia apposuit, dimidiatumque aprum, affirmans omnia eadem habere, quae totum.*

adverteret: used absolutely, with the meaning, *take notice, punish.*

3. **aediles**: they had the superintendence of the markets.

sumptuariam legem: *i.e.* the Julian law passed by Augustus, limiting the amount of expense upon banquets. Aulus Gellius (II. 24) mentions also six laws of the republic of the same general purport.

vetitaque utensilium pretia augeri in dies, nec mediocribus remediis sisti posse. Et consulti patres integrum id negotium ad principem distulerant. Sed Tiberius 4
saepe apud se pensitato an coerceri tam profusae cupidines possent, num coercitio plus damni in rem publicam ferret, quam indecorum attrectare quod non obtineret vel retentum ignominiam et infamiam virorum illustrium posceret, postremo litteras ad senatum composuit, quarum sententia in hunc modum fuit :

'Ceteris forsitan in rebus, patres conscripti, magis 53
expediat me coram interrogari et dicere quid e re publica censeam; in hac relatione subtrahi oculos meos melius fuit, ne denotantibus vobis ora ac metum singulorum qui pudendi luxus arguerentur, ipse etiam viderem eos ac velut deprenderem. Quod si mecum ante 2
viri strenui aediles consilium habuissent, nescio an suasurus fuerim omittere potius praevalida et adulta vitia quam hoc assequi, ut palam fieret quibus flagitiis impares essemus. Sed illi quidem officio functi sunt, ut 3
ceteros quoque magistratus sua munia implere velim: mihi autem neque honestum silere neque proloqui expeditum, quia non aedilis aut praetoris aut consulis partis sustineo. Maius aliquid et excelsius a principe 4
postulatur; et cum recte factorum sibi quisque gratiam

4. **quam**: interrogative — *how unbecoming it was*, etc.

non obtineret, *he could not carry through;* **retentum** has a conditional force — *even if secured.*

53. relatione: with its technical meaning; *in the matter before you.*

ipse, etc.: as exercising the authority of censor.

2. **strenui**, *vigorous* in the exercise of official duties.

nescio an, etc., *I should probably have advised.*

omittere: the use of the infinitive after *suadeo* is poetic, and found in Tacitus only in the *Annals.*

palam fieret, *it should be published to the world.*

3. **proloqui**, *express my opinion.*

partis sustineo, *hold the office.*

4. **a principe**: the emperor, too, was a magistrate, having certain definite functions, one of which

trahant, unius invidia ab omnibus peccatur. Quid enim primum prohibere et priscum ad morem recidere aggrediar? villarumne infinita spatia? familiarum numerum et nationes? argenti et auri pondus? aeris tabularumque miracula? promiscas viris et feminis vestes atque illa feminarum propria, quis lapidum causa pecuniae nostrae ad externas aut hostilis gentes transferuntur?
54 Nec ignoro in conviviis et circulis incusari ista et modum posci; sed si quis legem sanciat, poenas indicat, idem illi civitatem verti, splendidissimo cuique exitium
2 parari, neminem criminis expertem clamitabunt. Atqui ne corporis quidem morbos veteres et diu auctos nisi per dura et aspera coerceas; corruptus simul et corruptor, aeger et flagrans animus haud levioribus remediis restinguendus est quam libidinibus ardescit.
3 Tot a maioribus repertae leges, tot quas divus Augustus

was to see that the others did their duty.

unius: *i.e.* the prince, who has to endure the unpopularity of bad acts, while good ones are placed to the credit of others (**sibi quisque trahant**).

5. **villarum infinita spatia**: the peninsula was fast being converted into pleasure-grounds and parks. The word *villa*, which originally meant *farm-house*, then a country residence, had now come to mean an *estate*, with which meaning it came down into the middle ages.

nationes: it was the pride of rich Romans to have slaves of different nations assigned to different employments. See XIV. 44: *nationes in familiis habemus, quibus diversi ritus, externa sacra aut nulla sunt.*

pondus: *i.e.* plate, referring to solid metal, not to coined money.

aeris tabularumque, *articles of bronze and paintings.*

promiscas . . . vestes: delicate stuffs and bright colors, formerly worn by women alone, were coming into use among men.

quis, *through which*, relating to **illa . . . propria.**

lapidum, etc., *jewels*, etc. (**illa feminarum propria**). Pliny the elder (*N. H.* XII. 84) estimated that at least one hundred million sesterces ($5,000,000) annually went to the East for spices, pearls, and similar luxuries.

54. in conviviis et circulis: empty declamation against the abuses, with unwillingness to see them corrected.

idem illi: *i.e.* the same that make the complaints.

verti = *everti*: Intr. 35 *b*.

splendidissimo, *of most sumptuous life* — applied especially to the *equites*, the wealthy class.

2. **corporis . . . auctos**: chronic diseases.

tulit, illae oblivione, hae, quod flagitiosius est, contemptu abolitae securiorem luxum fecere. Nam si velis 4
quod nondum vetitum est, timeas ne vetere; at si prohibita impune transcenderis, neque metus ultra neque pudor est. Cur ergo olim parsimonia pollebat? Quia 5
sibi quisque moderabatur, quia unius urbis cives eramus; ne irritamenta quidem eadem intra Italiam dominantibus. Externis victoriis aliena, civilibus etiam nostra consumere didicimus. Quantulum istud est, de 6
quo aediles admonent! Quam, si cetera respicias, in levi habendum! At hercule nemo refert, quod Italia externae opis indiget, quod vita populi Romani per incerta maris et tempestatum cotidie volvitur. Ac nisi 7
provinciarum copiae et dominis et servitiis et agris subvenerint, nostra nos scilicet nemora nostraeque villae tuebuntur! Hanc, patres conscripti, curam sustinet 8
princeps; haec omissa funditus rem publicam trahet. Reliquis intra animum medendum est: nos pudor, pau- 9

4. **nam si velis**, etc.: the supposition is that the thing desired is wrong, and liable to be forbidden by law, although this has not yet been done. Such moral delinquencies are less dangerous than open and unpunished violations of law.

5. **unius urbis**: down to the time of the Punic Wars Rome was still a city, not yet an empire, and its dominion was confined to Italy.

irritamenta, *incitements* to luxury. He points to the fatal effects of foreign conquest, in undermining national character; after the great foreign wars of the second century B.C. the *tributum* or land tax was no longer imposed upon citizens (**aliena consumere didicimus**).

6. **quantulum**, etc.: the passage which follows contains a truth of profound importance. The real cause of decay was not to be found in the petty details of luxury censured by the ædiles, but in the conversion of all Italy into pleasure-grounds and pastures (**nemora villaeque**), so that its inhabitants must be supported by tribute levied on all the rest of the world.

per incerta, etc.: relates to the perils of the sea, made necessary by this dependence of Italy upon foreign countries (**quod Italia externae opis indiget**).

8. **hanc curam**: the management of the *annona*, or supply of corn, one of the most important functions of the government at this time.

9. **reliquis** (neuter): another important truth — the disease was internal, not to be healed by superficial remedies.

nos: Tiberius here identifies him-

peres necessitas, divites satias in melius mutet. Aut si quis ex magistratibus tantam industriam ac severitatem pollicetur ut ire obviam queat, hunc ego et laudo et exonerari laborum meorum partem fateor: sin accusare vitia volunt, dein, cum gloriam eius rei adepti sunt, simultates faciunt ac mihi relinquunt, credite, patres conscripti, me quoque non esse offensionum avidum; quas cum graves et plerumque iniquas pro re publica suscipiam, inanes et irritas neque mihi aut vobis usui futuras iure deprecor.'

55 Auditis Caesaris litteris remissa aedilibus talis cura; luxusque mensae, a fine Actiaci belli ad ea arma quis Servius Galba rerum adeptus est, per annos centum profusis sumptibus exerciti paulatim exolevere. Causas eius mutationis quaerere libet. Dites olim familiae nobilium aut claritudine insignes studio magnificentiae prolabebantur. Nam etiam tum plebem socios regna colere et

self with the senatorial order, — the governing class, which he contrasts with both rich and poor.

11. simultates . . . relinquunt: they leave him to bear the brunt.

me quoque non: stronger than *ne me quidem*.

quas, etc.: the necessary ones he is willing to undergo, however burdensome and thankless, — unnecessary ones (**inanes et irritas**), he excuses himself from. This letter of Tiberius displays high statesmanship and keen insight into the condition of the state. That he favors sumptuary laws is a sentiment that he shares with his times; but he sees that they can accomplish very little in the face of moral and economic causes of decay.

55. remissa, *excused; i.e.* from following up this line of official action (cf. I. 8. 6). The correction of the abuses was left to time and the working of moral forces, which at last appear to have been efficacious (**paulatim exolevere**).

a fine . . . adeptus est: the battle of Actium was B.C. 31; Galba began to reign A.D. 68.

rerum: governed by **adeptus est**, after the analogy of *potior;* VI. 45. 5, *dominationis apisceretur*.

paulatim exolevere: *i.e.* after the hundred years ending with the death of Nero.

2. **olim**: *i.e.* during the one hundred years in question.

prolabebantur, *fell into ruin;* their passion for splendor, finding gratification in display and number of clients, drew upon them suspicion, and caused their overthrow.

3. **socios**: this term (cf. I. 79. 3 n.) was now applied to all provincials (Kuhn, *Städt. Verf.* II. 22).

regna: many kings had remained

coli licitum ; ut quisque opibus domo paratu speciosus, per nomen et clientelas illustrior habebatur. Postquam caedibus saevitum et magnitudo famae exitio erat, ceteri ad sapientiora convertere. Simul novi homines 4 e municipiis et coloniis atque etiam provinciis in senatum crebro assumpti domesticam parsimoniam intulerunt, et quamquam fortuna vel industria plerique pecuniosam ad senectam pervenirent, mansit tamen prior animus. Sed praecipuus astricti moris auctor 5 Vespasianus fuit, antiquo ipse cultu victuque. Obsequium inde in principem et aemulandi amor validior quam poena ex legibus et metus. Nisi forte rebus 6 cunctis inest quidam velut orbis, ut quem ad modum temporum vices, ita morum vertantur ; nec omnia apud priores meliora, sed nostra quoque aetas multa laudis et artium imitanda posteris tulit. Verum haec nobis *in* maiores certamina ex honesto maneant.

Tiberius fama moderationis parta, quod ingruentis **56** accusatores represserat, mittit litteras ad senatum, quis

nominally independent, even within the limits of the provinces (Intr. 35 *j*).

clientelas : the rich and noble gathered about themselves as clients all of inferior rank, as well as foreign cities and princes.

caedibus saevitum: the reign of terror, ending with Nero.

sapientiora: simpler tastes and habits of life, which exposed them to less danger.

4. **municipiis**, etc.: as Rome had ceased to be a mere city and had become a world-empire: first, citizens of the municipal towns of Italy, then citizens of the provinces rose to power and distinction, and even to the first place: the emperor Vespasian was a native of Reate in Italy, Trajan of Italica in Spain.

prior animus: referring to **domesticam parsimoniam**.

5. **astricti**, *frugal.*

Vespasianus: emperor, A.D. 69 to 79. He set an example of simplicity and frugality in high station, and from this time a marked improvement in morals is noticeable, in contrast to the extreme corruption of the early empire. See Boissier, *La Religion Romaine*, II. 193.

6. **temporum**, *the seasons.*

vertantur, *go round in a cycle.*

multa . . . imitanda, *many praiseworthy examples.*

certamina ex honesto, *rivalry in virtue.*

56. mittit litteras, etc.; see I. 10. 7 n.

potestatem tribuniciam Druso petebat. Id summi fastigii vocabulum Augustus repperit, ne regis aut dictatoris nomen assumeret ac tamen appellatione aliqua cetera imperia praemineret. Marcum deinde Agrippam socium eius potestatis, quo defuncto Tiberium Neronem delegit, ne successor in incerto foret. Sic cohiberi pravas aliorum spes rebatur; simul modestiae Neronis et suae magnitudini fidebat. Quo tunc exemplo Tiberius Drusum summae rei admovit, cum incolumi Germanico integrum inter duos iudicium tenuisset. Sed principio litterarum veneratus deos ut consilia sua rei publicae prosperarent, modica de moribus adulescentis neque in falsum aucta rettulit. Esse illi coniugem et tres liberos eamque aetatem, qua ipse quondam a divo Augusto ad capessendum hoc munus vocatus sit. Neque nunc propere, sed per octo annos capto experimento, compressis seditionibus, compositis bellis, tri-

2. summi fastigii vocabulum: Mommsen, in his *Römisches Staatsrecht*, shows that the tribunician power, even though lacking the *imperium*, or full power of command, was the highest in the state, being *sacrosanct*, or protected by an inviolable sanctity, and having the power to control the actions of all other magistrates (**cetera imperia praemineret**; cf. I. 2. 1 n.). It was from the assumption of the tribunician power that the emperors dated their reigns. The association of Agrippa and Tiberius in this office was equivalent to nominating them as successors, and that was the meaning of the present association of Drusus (**ne successor in incerto foret**). On the first grant of this power to Tiberius, however (B.C. 7), Gaius and Lucius were still alive and designated as successors; the second grant (A.D. 4) was equivalent to appointing Tiberius as successor.

ne . . . assumeret: see I. 2. 1.

cetera imperia (Intr. 35 *b*): properly the tribunician power was not an *imperium* at all.

4. simul . . . fidebat: by the act in question Tiberius received equal rights in law with Augustus, and was only restrained by *modestia* and *pietas* from claiming equality in power and station.

5. integrum . . . iudicium, *an impartial judgment*, as to which should be his successor.

6. consilia: object of **prosperarent**.

in falsum aucta, *exaggerated*.

7. tres liberos: two sons (II. 84. 1), and a daughter Julia (29. 4; VI. 27. 1).

eam aetatem: thirty-five. Tiberius was born B.C. 42, and first received the tribunician power, B.C. 7.

umphalem et bis consulem noti laboris participem sumi.
Praeceperant animis orationem patres, quo quaesitior 57
adulatio fuit. Nec tamen repertum nisi ut effigies prin- 2
cipum, aras deum, templa et arcus aliaque solita cen-
serent, nisi quod M. Silanus ex contumelia consulatus
honorem principibus petivit dixitque pro sententia, ut
publicis privatisve monumentis ad memoriam temporum
non consulum nomina praescriberentur, sed eorum qui
tribuniciam potestatem gererent. At Q. Haterius cum 3
eius diei senatus consulta aureis litteris figenda in curia
censuisset, deridiculo fuit senex foedissimae adulationis
tantum infamia usurus.

Inter quae provincia Africa Iunio Blaeso prorogata, 58
Servius Maluginensis flamen Dialis ut Asiam sorte ha-
beret postulavit, frustra vulgatum dictitans non licere

8. **bis consulem**: A.D. 15 and 21.

57. praeceperant, *anticipated.*

quaesitior, *more studied.*

2. **nec repertum**: they had already, in their servility, exhausted all forms of adulation.

principum: Tiberius and Drusus.

honorem: *i.e.* that which follows.

pro sententia, *in support of his proposition.*

ut publicis, etc.: every year was denoted by the names of the consuls, according to the usage of the republic; the method proposed would mark them by the year of the reign of the prince, as in modern monarchies. Augustus seems to have had some such plan in mind, when he began to reckon the years of his reign by those of his possession of the tribunician power; but, in the "hybrid" character of the early empire, this method of designating the years failed to supersede that by consuls (Momm. *Röm. St.* II. 752).

3. **senex**: he was too old to gain anything but discredit by his proposition; **adulationis** limits **infamia**, and the participle **usurus** may be rendered by a relative clause, — *who would gain*, etc. (I. 13. 2 n.). Haterius was now about eighty years old.

58. Iunio Blaeso: see 35.

ut . . . haberet: see 32.

frustra vulgatum, *an unfounded notion;* the *flamens* were priests of special deities, fifteen in number, of which the three here mentioned, — of Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus, — called *flamines maiores*, were required to be patricians. They enjoyed peculiar sanctity and privileges, and were at the same time subject to certain strict regulations, which were, however, relaxed, except in the case of the flamen of Jupiter, who continued subject to a multitude of petty restrictions, among them *noctem unam extra urbem manere nefas* (Liv. V. 52. 13); also that he could not touch or even name a goat, or uncooked meat, or ivy, or beans (Gell. X. 15).

Dialibus egredi Italia, neque aliud ius suum quam Martialium Quirinaliumque flaminum: porro, si hi duxissent provincias, cur Dialibus id vetitum? Nulla de eo po-
2 puli scita, non in libris caerimoniarum reperiri. Saepe pontifices Dialia sacra fecisse, si flamen valetudine aut munere publico impediretur. Duo et septuaginta annis post Cornelii Merulae caedem neminem suffectum, neque
3 tamen cessavisse religiones. Quod si per tot annos possit non creari nullo sacrorum damno, quanto facilius
4 afuturum ad unius anni proconsulare imperium? Privatis olim simultatibus effectum ut a pontificibus maximis ire in provincias prohiberentur: nunc deum munere summum pontificum etiam summum hominum esse, non aemulationi, non odio aut privatis affectionibus
59 obnoxium. Adversus quae cum augur Lentulus aliique varie dissererent, eo decursum est, ut pontificis maximi sententiam opperirentur.

2 Tiberius dilata notione de iure flaminis, decretas ob tribuniciam Drusi potestatem caerimonias temperavit,

neque aliud, etc.: the flamens of Mars and Quirinus might take foreign commands.

reperiri: *i.e.* any such restrictions.

2. **pontifices**: the supreme priests, to whom the flamens were subject. The argument of Maluginensis, that the pontiffs might as well perform these duties in his absence, was weak, because it was not so much for their performance as on account of the special sanctity of the person, that the flamen was placed under these disqualifications.

duo et septuaginta annis: see App. I.

3. **afuturum**: *sc.* **flaminem**.

4. **a pontificibus maximis**: see for this instance, Livy, XXXVII. 51.

summum pontificum, etc.: upon the death of the *pontifex maximus* Lepidus, B.C. 13, Augustus had assumed this title, which continued to be borne by the emperors, even after the establishment of Christianity, until it was given up by the Emperor Gratian, A.D. 382.

59. augur Lentulus: of this man, who was enormously wealthy and equally miserly, Seneca says (*de Ben.* II. 27): *nummos citius emittebat quam verba, tanta illi inopia erat sermonis.*

eo decursum est, *they had recourse to this.*

2. **notione**, *inquiry;* expressing the radical signification of *nosco*, to find out.

decretas . . . caerimonias: 57. 2.

nominatim arguens insolentiam sententiae aureasque litteras contra patrium morem. Recitatae et Drusi epistulae quamquam ad modestiam flexae pro superbissimis accipiuntur. Huc decidisse cuncta, ut ne iuvenis quidem tanto honore accepto adiret urbis deos, ingrederetur senatum, auspicia saltem gentile apud solum inciperet. Bellum scilicet, aut diverso terrarum distineri litora et lacus Campaniae cum maxime peragrantem. Sic imbui rectorem generis humani, id primum e paternis consiliis discere. Sane gravaretur aspectum civium senex imperator, fessamque aetatem et actos labores praetenderet: Druso quod nisi ex arrogantia impedimentum?

Sed Tiberius, vim principatus sibi firmans, imaginem antiquitatis senatui praebebat, postulata provinciarum ad disquisitionem patrum mittendo. Crebrescebat enim Graecas per urbes licentia atque impunitas asyla statuendi; complebantur templa pessimis servitiorum; eodem subsidio obaerati adversum creditores suspectique capitalium criminum receptabantur. Nec ullum satis validum imperium erat coercendis seditionibus populi, flagitia hominum ut caerimonias deum protegentis. Igitur placitum ut mitterent civitates iura atque legatos. Et quaedam quod falso usurpaverant sponte omisere; multae vetustis superstitionibus aut meritis in populum Roma-

3. **auspicia . . . inciperet**: he should have taken the auspices before entering upon his new dignity.

4. **bellum**: *sc.* **esse.**

cum maxime, *just at that time.*

5. **sic imbui**: this is the training he is getting for the imperial office.

60. vim principatus: Pfitzner refers this to the power assumed by Tiberius of receiving the ambassadors himself, and then referring the decision of special points to the senate, while in the times of the republic the entire business would have come before the senate. It appears more natural, however, to refer it back to his influence over Drusus, just complained of — *while thus securing the substantial power of royalty.*

ad disquisitionem patrum: the management of foreign affairs had always belonged to the senate.

2. **asyla**: cf. 36. 1.

4. **iura**: the evidences of their claims to the right of asylum.

6 num fidebant. Magnaque eius diei species fuit, quo senatus maiorum beneficia, sociorum pacta, regum etiam qui ante vim Romanam valuerant decreta, ipsorumque numinum religiones introspexit, libero, ut quondam, quid firmaret mutaretve.

61 Primi omnium Ephesii adiere, memorantes non, ut vulgus crederet, Dianam atque Apollinem Delo genitos; esse apud se Cenchreum amnem, lucum Ortygiam, ubi Latonam partu gravidam et oleae, quae tum etiam maneat, adnisam edidisse ea numina, deorumque monitu sacra-
2 tum nemus. Atque ipsum illic Apollinem post interfectos Cyclopas Iovis iram vitavisse. Mox Liberum patrem, bello victorem, supplicibus Amazonum quae aram insi-
3 derant ignovisse. Auctam hinc concessu Herculis, cum Lydia poteretur, caerimoniam templo, neque Persarum dicione deminutum ius; post Macedonas, dein nos serva-
62 visse. Proximi hos Magnetes L. Scipionis et L. Sullae constitutis nitebantur, quorum ille Antiocho, hic Mithridate pulsis fidem atque virtutem Magnetum decoravere

6. **species**: cf. **imaginem antiquitatis**, 1.

vim Romanam: the Roman conquest.

libero: ablative absolute; the senate exercised its old unlimited control in the matter.

61. Ephesii: their special cult of Diana (Artemis) is well known; and they undertook to make out that she and Apollo were born in their territory.

Delo: a poetic use of the ablative as locative, common with Tacitus.

Cenchreum: called Κέγχριος by Strabo, who also gives this legend (XIV. p. 639).

Ortygiam: 'quail-land,'—an old name for Delos.

oleae: a sacred tree, like the *ficus ruminalis* in Rome.

tum: at the time of the embassy.

2. **illic**: *i.e.* as an asylum.

interfectos Cyclopas: because they had slain his son Æsculapius for restoring Hippolytus to life. It was for this offence that Apollo was deprived of his divinity, and set to keep the flocks of Admetus.

3. **caerimoniam**, *sanctity*.

62. proximi hos: **proximi** is used with the accusative after the analogy of *prope*. See App. I.

Magnetes: the inhabitants of Magnesia *in Maeandro*; the defeat of Antiochus near this place by Lucius Scipio was B.C. 190; the peace made by Sulla with Mithridates, B.C. 84.

uti Dianae Leucophrynae perfugium inviolabile foret. Aphrodisienses posthac et Stratonicenses dictatoris Cae- 2
saris ob vetusta in partis merita et recens divi Augusti decretum attulere, laudati quod Parthorum irruptionem nihil mutata in populum Romanum constantia pertulissent. Sed Aphrodisiensium civitas Veneris, Stratoni- 3
censium Iovis et Triviae religionem tuebantur. Altius 4
Hierocaesarienses exposuere, Persicam apud se Dianam, delubrum rege Cyro dicatum; et memorabantur Perpennae, Isaurici multaque alia imperatorum nomina, qui non modo templo, sed duobus milibus passuum eandem sanctitatem tribuerant. Exim Cyprii tribus *de* delubris, 5
quorum vetustissimum Paphiae Veneri auctor Aerias,

Dianae Leucophrynae: the temple of this goddess at Magnesia ranked in splendor and beauty next to those of Artemis at Ephesus and the Didymæan Apollo at Miletus, among the temples of Asia Minor; her cult was similar to that of 'Diana of the Ephesians.'

2. **Aphrodisienses**, etc.: Aphrodisias and Stratonicea, as well as Magnesia, were in Caria.

in partis: *i.e.* in the civil war. This proclamation of Cæsar, which is recorded in an extant inscription, has reference to Aphrodisias alone; that of Augustus to Stratonicea alone, which by itself resisted the invasion of the Parthians under Labienus, B.C. 40. **laudati**, therefore, belongs only to **Stratonicenses**.

3. **Veneris**: *i.e.* Aphrodite, from whose name that of the city was derived.

Iovis: the temple of Zeus Chrysaoreos at Stratonicea was the common place of assemblage for the cities of Caria (Strab. XIV. p. 660).

Triviae: Hecate, the goddess of occult mysteries — worshipped where three ways met.

4. **Dianam**: this Diana appears to have been identical with the Ephesian Artemis. A Persian cult is described by Pausanias (V. 27. 3) at Hierocæsarea as a kind of fire worship, conducted by a magian priest, in which wood laid upon the altar took fire of itself. The city of Hierocæsarea was in Lydia.

Perpennae, Isaurici: limiting **nomina**. Perpenna (usually spelt Perperna) commanded in Asia, B.C. 129; P. Servilius Isauricus (son of the eminent Isauricus), B.C. 46.

duobus milibus passuum: *i.e.* in every direction from the temple. This is illustrated by an inscription found at Oropus, in which it is stated that the temple of Amphiaraus at that place received from Sulla a grant of immunity from public burdens, to which was added: *voti reddendi causa aedi Amphiarai agrum tribuo undequaque pedum* M. *ut hic quoque ager sacer sit.* Mommsen in *Hermes*, XX. p. 268.

5. **Veneri**: the island of Cyprus was believed to have been the birthplace of Aphrodite, and the cities of Paphos and Salamis were the prin-

post filius eius Amathus Veneri Amathusiae et Iovi Salaminio Teucer, Telamonis patris ira profugus, posuissent.

63 Auditae aliarum quoque civitatium legationes. Quo-
2 rum copia fessi patres, et quia studiis certabatur, consulibus permisere ut, perspecto iure et si qua iniquitas involveretur, rem integram rursum ad senatum refer-
3 rent. Consules, super eas civitates quas memoravi, apud Pergamum Aesculapii compertum asylum rettule-
4 runt; ceteros obscuris ob vetustatem initiis niti: nam Zmyrnaeos oraculum Apollinis, cuius imperio Stratonicidi Veneri templum dicaverint, Tenios eiusdem carmen referre quo sacrare Neptuni effigiem aedemque iussi
5 sint. Propiora Sardianos: Alexandri victoris id donum. Neque minus Milesios Dareo rege niti; sed cultus nu-
6 minum utrisque Dianam aut Apollinem venerandi. Pe-
7 tere et Cretenses simulacro divi Augusti. Factaque senatus consulta quis multo cum honore modus tamen praescribebatur, iussique ipsis in templis figere aera

cipal seats of her cult — the latter with Adonis.

post: the second and third objects of **posuissent** (the temples founded by Amathus and Teucer) are not expressed; they would correspond to **vetustissimum**.

Salaminio: Salamis was the chief town of Cyprus.

Teucer: see Horace, *Od.* I. 7. 21.

63. 2. **studiis**, *partisan zeal* for one or another.

3. **Aesculapii**: from his statue at Pergamus by Pyromachus (B.C. 250) is derived the familiar representation of the god in art.

ceteros, *all other claimants.*

4. **Stratonicidi**: of this Venus nothing further is known.

Tenios: Tenos was one of the Cyclades. The temple of Poseidon here is called *θέας ἄξιον* by Strabo (X. p. 487).

5. **propiora**, *more recent.*

utrisque: dative of possession.

venerandi: limits **cultus numinum** (cf. *ambitu . . . ornandi*, IV. 2. 4). Sardes had the worship of Artemis; Miletus that of the Didymæan Apollo (62. 1 n.).

6. **petere**, *made a petition;* **ius asyli** may be understood.

7. **modus**: it would appear that those cities mentioned after **ceteros** (3) were denied the right of asylum; Suetonius (*Tib.* 37) says, *abolevit et ius moremque asylorum quae usquam erant.*

aera, *bronze tablets* inscribed with the decree of the senate.

sacrandam ad memoriam, neu specie religionis in ambitionem delaberentur.

Sub idem tempus Iuliae Augustae valetudo atrox **64**
necessitudinem principi fecit festinati in urbem reditus, sincera adhuc inter matrem filiumque concordia sive occultis odiis. Neque enim multo ante, cum haud procul 2
theatro Marcelli effigiem divo Augusto Iulia dicaret, Tiberii nomen suo postscripserat, idque ille credebatur ut inferius maiestate principis gravi et dissimulata offensione abdidisse. Sed tum supplicia dis ludique magni 3
ab senatu decernuntur, quos pontifices et augures et quindecimviri septemviris simul et sodalibus Augustalibus ederent. Censuerat L. Apronius ut fetiales quo- 4
que iis ludis praesiderent. Contra dixit Caesar, distincto sacerdotiorum iure et repetitis exemplis: neque enim umquam fetialibus hoc maiestatis fuisse. Ideo Augus- 5
tales adiectos, quia proprium eius domus sacerdotium esset, pro qua vota persolverentur.

Exsequi sententias haud institui nisi insignes per **65**

64. Iuliae Augustae: Livia, who had been adopted into the Julian gens (see I. 8. 2).

occultis odiis: Intr. 26 *a*.

2. **theatro Marcelli**: on the Campus Martius, built by Augustus in memory of his nephew, and still partly preserved.

3. **supplicia**: for *supplicationes*.

ludi magni: the great games in the Circus (*Circenses*) consisted chiefly of horse and chariot races. Of this class the annual games on Sept. 15 were known distinctively as *Ludi Romani*, the term *ludi magni* or *votivi* being reserved for occasional celebrations like these.

septemviris: *sc.* **Epulonibus**; the board of seven (originally three) having charge of the public banquets; at first only of the *Epulum Iovis in Capitolio*, Nov. 12. It is governed by **simul**, which is here a preposition (Intr. 35 *i*).

sodalibus Augustalibus: I. 54. 1.

4. **fetiales**: a college of twenty persons of high rank, who had charge of the formalities of declaring war and making treaties. This was not among the *magna collegia*, — the pontifices, augurs, quindecimviri, and epulones (**neque umquam fetialibus hoc maiestatis fuisse**).

5. **Augustales**: neither were these one of the great colleges, but they stood in a peculiarly near relation to the imperial family.

65. exsequi . . . institui: his object is to narrate facts, not repeat opinions.

honestum aut notabili dedecore, quod praecipuum munus annalium reor, ne virtutes sileantur, utque pravis dictis factisque ex posteritate et infamia metus sit.
2 Ceterum tempora illa adeo infecta et adulatione sordida fuere ut non modo primores civitatis, quibus claritudo sua obsequiis protegenda erat, sed omnes consulares, magna pars eorum qui praetura functi, multique etiam pedarii senatores certatim exsurgerent foedaque et nimia
3 censerent. Memoriae proditur Tiberium, quotiens curia egrederetur, Graecis verbis in hunc modum eloqui soli-
4 tum: 'O homines ad servitutem paratos!' Scilicet etiam illum, qui libertatem publicam nollet, tam proiectae servientium patientiae taedebat.

66 Paulatim dehinc ab indecoris ad infesta transgrediebantur. C. Silanum pro consule Asiae, repetundarum a sociis postulatum, Mamercus Scaurus e consularibus, Iunius Otho praetor, Bruttedius Niger aedilis simul corripiunt, obiectantque violatum Augusti numen, spretam Tiberii maiestatem, Mamercus antiqua exempla iaciens, L. Cottam a Scipione Africano, Servium Gal-

ex posteritate et infamia: a hendiadys.

2. **primores civitatis**: men like Lepidus, Gallus, and Messalinus.

pedarii senatores: the senators of lower rank. The term originally designated those who sat in the senate, not by virtue of patrician birth or tenure of office, but by the appointment of the consuls or (later) the censors; these had not the *ius sententiae dicendae*, but only the right to vote in a division, *pedibus ire;* hence were called *pedarii*. After the legislation of Sulla, by which all who held the quæstorship became members of the senate, the term was applied, as here, to those who had held the inferior magistracies, by way of contrast to *consulares* and *praetorii* (Momm. *Röm. St.* III. 982).

4. **nollet**: a rare use of the concessive subjunctive.

66. 2. **C. Silanum**: it appears very clearly from the narration, and from the gratitude of the provincials (IV. 15. 4), that Silanus richly deserved his punishment.

Scaurus: see I. 13. 4; for Otho and Bruttedius see 4 and 5.

antiqua exempla: none of these were to the point. Cotta was accused of *repetundae* by the younger Africanus, and acquitted because the jury did not wish to seem influenced by the authority of the prosecutor; Galba, although guilty of gross mis-

bam a Catone censorio, P. Rutilium a M. Scauro accusatos. Videlicet Scipio et Cato talia ulciscebantur, aut 3
ille Scaurus, quem proavum suum opprobrium maiorum
Mamercus infami opera dehonestabat. Iunio Othoni 4
litterarium ludum exercere vetus ars fuit; mox Seiani
potentia senator obscura initia impudentibus ausis pro-
polluebat. Bruttedium artibus honestis copiosum et, si 5
rectum iter pergeret, ad clarissima quaeque iturum festinatio exstimulabat, dum aequalis, dein superiores, postremo suasmet ipse spes anteire parat; quod multos 6
etiam bonos pessum dedit, qui spretis quae tarda cum
securitate, praematura vel cum exitio properant. Auxere 67
numerum accusatorum Gellius Publicola et M. Paconius,
ille quaestor Silani, hic legatus. Nec dubium habeba- 2
tur saevitiae captarumque pecuniarum teneri reum; sed
multa aggerebantur etiam insontibus periculosa, cum
super tot senatores adversos facundissimis totius Asiae
eoque ad accusandum delectis responderet solus et
orandi nescius, proprio in metu, qui exercitam quoque
eloquentiam debilitat, non temperante Tiberio quin pre-
meret voce vultu, eo quod ipse creberrime interrogabat,
neque refellere aut eludere dabatur, ac saepe etiam con-

government in Spain, was acquitted by his eloquence and the spectacle of his weeping children; Rutilius, though innocent, was condemned. Not one of them was prosecuted for *maiestas*.

3. **talia ulciscebantur**: ironical, *proposed to punish a similar offence*, — referring to the emptiness of the charge of *maiestas*. There was no such personal spite in their case.

ille Scaurus: M. Æmilius Scaurus, the leader of the senatorial party in the period of reaction after the Gracchi. He discredited himself by tricky transactions in the war with Jugurtha. He was ancestor of Mamercus.

4. **litterarium ludum**: a grammar school, — he disgraced even his low origin.

5. **ad clarissima quaeque**, *to any height of distinction.*

festinatio: *i.e.* to rise.

67. quaestor: see I. 74. 1 n.

2. **teneri reum**: that he was guilty.

delectis: *i.e.* by the assembly of the province.

temperante: Intr. 35 *p.*

premeret, *bear hard upon him.*

eo quod, *by the fact that.*

3 fitendum erat, ne frustra quaesivisset. Servos quoque Silani, ut tormentis interrogarentur, actor publicus mancipio acceperat. Et ne quis necessariorum iuvaret periclitantem, maiestatis crimina subdebantur, vinclum et necessitas silendi.

4 Igitur petito paucorum dierum interiectu defensionem sui deseruit, ausis ad Caesarem codicillis, quibus
68 invidiam et preces miscuerat. Tiberius quae in Silanum parabat quo excusatius sub exemplo acciperentur, libellos divi Augusti de Voleso Messalla eiusdem Asiae pro consule factumque in eum senatus consultum recitari
2 iubet. Tum L. Pisonem sententiam rogat. Ille multum de clementia principis praefatus aqua atque igni Silano interdicendum censuit ipsumque in insulam
3 Gyarum relegandum. Eadem ceteri, nisi quod Cn. Lentulus separanda Silani materna bona, quippe alia parente geniti, reddendaque filio dixit, adnuente Tiberio.
69 At Cornelius Dolabella dum adulationem longius sequitur, increpitis C. Silani moribus addidit, ne quis vita probrosus et opertus infamia provinciam sortiretur,
2 idque princeps diiudicaret. Nam a legibus delicta puniri: quanto fore mitius in ipsos, melius in socios, provideri ne peccaretur?

quaesivisset: *sc.* Tiberius. He would be satisfied with nothing short of confession.

3. **actor publicus**: see II. 30. 3. **necessitas**: *i.e.* to his kinsmen.

4. **invidiam**, *reproaches.*

68. quae: relates to **ea** understood, subject of **acciperentur.**

Voleso Messalla: Seneca (*de Ira*, II. 5) relates that in one day he had three hundred men beheaded, and *incedens inter cadavera vultu superbo . . . graece proclamavit*: '*o rem regiam.*'

2. **L. Pisonem**: brother of Gnæus Piso; see II. 34.

Gyarum: one of the Cyclades. **relegandum**: see 17. 8 n.

3. **alia parente**: probably a stepmother, whose property should not be confiscated; see App. I.

69. Dolabella: for another instance of his subserviency see 47. 4.

longius: further than the others.

2. **delicta**: *i.e.* after their occurrence, — how much better to prevent them.

Adversum quae disseruit Caesar: non quidem sibi 3
ignara quae de Silano vulgabantur, sed non ex rumore
statuendum. Multos in provinciis contra quam spes
aut metus de illis fuerit, egisse; excitari quosdam ad
meliora magnitudine rerum, hebescere alios. Neque 4
posse principem sua scientia cuncta complecti, neque
expedire ut ambitione aliena trahatur. Ideo leges in 5
facta constitui, quia futura in incerto sint. Sic a ma-
ioribus institutum ut, si antissent delicta, poenae seque-
rentur. Ne verterent sapienter reperta et semper 6
placita; satis onerum principibus, satis etiam potentiae.
Minui iura, quotiens gliscat potestas, nec utendum im-
perio, ubi legibus agi possit. Quanto rarior apud Tibe- 7
rium popularitas, tanto laetioribus animis accepta.
Atque ille prudens moderandi, si propria ira non impel- 8
leretur, addidit insulam Gyarum immitem et sine cultu
hominum esse: darent Iuniae familiae et viro quondam
ordinis eiusdem, ut Cythnum potius concederet. Id 9
sororem quoque Silani Torquatam, priscae sanctimoniae
virginem, expetere. In hanc sententiam facta discessio.

Post auditi Cyrenenses, et accusante Anchario Prisco 70
Caesius Cordus repetundarum damnatur. L. Ennium 2

3. **non ex rumore**: he was to be punished for specific offences, not on the ground of vague report.

4. **ambitione**, *intrigues*.

7. **popularitas**: not *popularity*, but a disposition favorable to the people, — *democratic leanings*.

8. **prudens moderandi**: Intr. 35 *e*.

quondam ordinis eiusdem: *sc. senatorii;* which rank he had lost.

Cythnum: a larger island, nearer Greece.

9. **priscae . . . virginem**: two pedestals have been discovered in the newly excavated *Atrium Vestae*, with inscriptions showing that they supported statues of this vestal; she is there called *Iunia C. Silani f.*, and her title reads *vir. vest. maximae*, the adjective showing that she was the eldest of the virgins, and therefore presided over the *collegium;* one of the inscriptions, *sacerdoti vestali annis lxiiii*, shows her to have been at least seventy years old. Jordan, *Der Tempel der Vesta und das Haus der Vestalinnen*, p. 45.

70. Cyrenenses: the inhabitants of the modern Barca.

equitem Romanum, maiestatis postulatum, quod effigiem principis promiscum ad usum argenti vertisset, recipi Caesar inter reos vetuit, palam aspernante Ateio Capi-
3 tone quasi per libertatem. Non enim debere eripi patribus vim statuendi neque tantum maleficium impune habendum. Sane lentus in suo dolore esset; rei pub-
4 licae iniurias ne largiretur. Intellexit haec Tiberius ut erant magis quam ut dicebantur, perstititque intercedere. Capito insignitior infamia fuit, quod humani divinique iuris sciens egregium public*e* *loc*um et bonas domi artes dehonestavisset.

71 Incessit dein religio, quonam in templo locandum foret donum quod pro valetudine Augustae equites Romani voverant equestri Fortunae; nam etsi delubra eius deae multa in urbe, nullum tamen tali cognomento
2 erat. Repertum est aedem esse apud Antium quae sic nuncuparetur, cunctasque caerimonias Italicis in oppidis

2. **promiscum . . . argenti**: as silver plate, etc.

vetuit: by his tribunician power; see below, **intercedere**. For Tiberius' good sense in such cases cf. I. 73. 3.

Ateio Capitone: on his servile spirit, see 75. 3. Suetonius (*de ill. gram.* 22) tells a story in illustration of this. Pomponius having corrected Tiberius upon the use of a word, Capito declared that the word was Latin, or if not, that it would now be made such, to which Pomponius answered: *Mentitur Capito; tu enim, Caesar, civitatem dare potes hominibus, verbo non potes.*

4. **ut erant**: as expression of a servile spirit.

egregium, etc.: referring to his professional reputation; see App. I.

bonas domi artes: his private character.

71. religio, *a religious question.*

nullum . . . erat: there had been such a temple, dedicated B.C. 173; probably it had been destroyed by fire.

2. **Antium**: this was a principal seat of the worship of Fortuna; see Hor. *Od.* I. 35.

cunctasque, etc.: the conquering city, in annexing the cities of Italy, and incorporating them in its *civitas*, had adopted also their religions, and incorporated them in its pantheon, even although the cult continued to be celebrated in the old locality. The formal adoption of foreign religions was under the direction of the *pontifices*. The present decision is regarded by Boissier (*La Religion Romaine*, II. 412), as the first formal enunciation of the principle, that all the religions of the empire belonged to Rome.

templaque et numinum effigies iuris atque imperii Romani esse. Ita donum apud Antium statuitur. Et 3
quoniam de religionibus tractabatur, dilatum nuper responsum adversus Servium Maluginensem flaminem Dialem prompsit Caesar, recitavitque decretum pontificum, quotiens valetudo adversa flaminem Dialem incessisset, ut pontificis maximi arbitrio plus quam binoctium abesset, dum ne diebus publici sacrificii neu saepius quam bis eundem in annum: quae principe Augusto constituta satis ostendebant annuam absentiam et provinciarum administrationem Dialibus non concedi. Memorabaturque L. Metelli pontificis maximi exem- 4
plum, qui Aulum Postumium flaminem attinuisset. Ita sors Asiae in eum, qui consularium Maluginensi proximus erat, collata.

Isdem diebus Lepidus ab senatu petivit ut basilicam 72
Pauli, Aemilia monumenta, propria pecunia firmaret ornaretque. Erat etiam tum in more publica munificen- 2
tia; nec Augustus arcuerat Taurum, Philippum, Balbum

3. **dilatum**, etc.: see 59. 2.

decretum pontificum: a decision made under Augustus, as is shown below, **quae principe**, etc.

plus . . . abesset: when he was in ordinary condition of health, he could not be away longer than two nights; originally not more than one night.

4. **L. Metelli . . . exemplum**: this was during the First Punic War, B.C. 242 (Val. Max. I. 1. 2).

attinuisset: *i.e.* at Rome. Postumius was *flamen Martialis*, to the example of which office Maluginensis had appealed (58. 1).

72. Lepidus: Marcus Lepidus (32. 2).

basilicam: an oblong building, divided lengthwise by two parallel rows of columns; the form adopted for the earliest Christian churches, and now to be seen in the basilicas of Santa Maria Maggiore and St. John Lateran. The earliest building of this class was the *Basilica Porcia*, built B.C. 184, upon the Comitium west of the Curia, and named from Marcus Porcius Cato; it was used for courts of justice, the Forum having become too crowded. The Basilica Æmilia, or Pauli, here mentioned, was east of the Curia.

2. **etiam tum**: *i.e.* it has now gone out of fashion.

nec Augustus, etc.: he might have forbidden it from a fear that the popularity gained would be menacing to his own power. Taurus built an amphitheatre, and Balbus

hostiles exuvias aut exundantis opes ornatum ad urbis
3 et posterum gloriam conferre. Quo tum exemplo Lepidus, quamquam pecuniae modicus, avitum decus recoluit.
4 At Pompei theatrum igne fortuito haustum Caesar exstructurum pollicitus est, eo quod nemo e familia restaurando sufficeret, manente tamen nomine Pompei. Simul laudibus Scianum extulit, tamquam labore vigilantiaque
5 eius tanta vis unum intra damnum stetisset. Et censuere patres effigiem Seiano, quae apud theatrum Pom-
6 pei locaretur. Neque multo post Caesar, cum Iunium Blaesum pro consule Africae triumphi insignibus attolleret, dare id se dixit honori Seiani, cuius ille avunculus erat. Ac tamen res Blaesi dignae decore tali fuere.

73 Nam Tacfarinas, quamquam saepius depulsus, reparatis per intima Africae auxiliis huc arrogantiae venerat ut legatos ad Tiberium mitteret sedemque ultro sibi atque exercitui suo postularet, aut bellum inexplicabile
2 minitaretur. Non alias magis sua populique Romani contumelia indoluisse Caesarem ferunt quam quod de-
3 sertor et praedo hostium more ageret. Ne Spartaco quidem post tot consularium exercituum clades inultam

a theatre, while Philippus restored a temple of Hercules (Suet. *Oct.* 29).

posterum: genitive plural.

3. **pecuniae modicus**: cf. *inopem* and *paternas angustias*, 32. 2.

avitum decus: cf. **Aemilia monumenta** above; the basilica was built by his grandfather, Lucius Æmilius Lepidus, brother of the triumvir.

4. **Pompei theatrum**: see 23. 1.

sufficeret, *had sufficient means.*

tamquam: Intr. 35 *j*.

eius: *i.e.* as prætorian præfect.

unum . . . stetisset, *confined to this damage.* In fact, only the stage (*scaena*) appears to have been destroyed (VI. 45. 2), so that the word *exustum* used by Seneca (5 n.), seems too strong.

5. **effigiem Seiano**: the remark of Cremutius Cordus at this: *tunc vere theatrum perire!* (Sen. *Cons. ad Marc.* 22. 4) was no doubt one cause of his prosecution three years later (IV. 34. 1).

73. sedem: he would retire to some territory set apart for him.

aut: as an alternative.

inexplicabile, *interminable.*

2. **hostium more ageret**: should assume the character and rights of a belligerent.

3. **Spartaco**: his insurrection

Italiam urenti, quamquam Sertorii atque Mithridatis ingentibus bellis labaret res publica, datum ut pacto in fidem acciperetur; nedum pulcherrimo populi Romani fastigio latro Tacfarinas pace et concessione agrorum redimeretur. Dat negotium Blaeso, ceteros quidem ad 4
spem proliceret arma sine noxa ponendi, ipsius autem ducis quoquo modo poteretur. Et recepti ea venia 5
plerique. Mox adversum artes Tacfarinatis haud dissimili modo belligeratum. Nam quia ille robore exer- 74
citus impar, furandi melior, pluris per globos incursaret eluderetque et insidias simul temptaret, tres incessus, totidem agmina parantur. Ex quis Cornelius Scipio 2
legatus praefuit qua praedatio in Leptitanos et suffugia Garamantum; alio latere, ne Cirtensium pagi impune traherentur, propriam manum Blaesus filius duxit. Me- 3
dio cum delectis, castella et munitiones idoneis locis imponens, dux ipse arta et infensa hostibus cuncta fecerat, quia, quoquo inclinarent, pars aliqua militis Romani in ore in latere et saepe a tergo erat; multique eo modo caesi aut circumventi. Tunc tripertitum exercitum 4
pluris in manus dispergit, praeponitque centuriones virtutis expertae. Nec, ut mos fuerat, acta aestate 5

was B.C. 73, suppressed by Crassus two years later; the wars with Sertorius (in Spain) and Mithridates (in Asia Minor) were going on at the same time.

pulcherrimo . . . fastigio: the empire was now at its height of power.

4. **sine noxa**: under a promise of safety.

5. **haud dissimili**: *i.e.* to his own.

74. furandi, *guerilla warfare;* the genitive with *melior* is found only here and in Silius. (Intr. 35.*e*.)

tres incessus, etc.: an advance by the Romans in three columns.

2. **praedatio . . . Garamantum**: this was the movement furthest east, near the Syrtis, where Tacfarinas had plundered Leptis (*Minor*, on the coast, south of Carthage), and then taken refuge among the Garamantes, who occupied *Fezzan*, south of Tripoli, but whose wanderings, no doubt, extended further west. The movement against Cirta (*Constantine*), the capital of Numidia, was furthest west.

traherentur, *be ravaged.*

retrahit copias aut in hibernaculis veteris provinciae componit, sed ut in limine belli dispositis castellis per expeditos et solitudinum gnaros mutantem mapalia Tacfarinatem proturbabat, donec fratre eius capto regressus est, properantius tamen quam ex utilitate sociorum,
6 relictis per quos resurgeret bellum. Sed Tiberius pro confecto interpretatus id quoque Blaeso tribuit, ut imperator a legionibus salutaretur, prisco erga duces honore, qui bene gesta re publica gaudio et impetu victoris exercitus conclamabantur; erantque plures simul impe-
7 ratores nec super ceterorum aequalitatem. Concessit quibusdam et Augustus id vocabulum, ac tunc Tiberius Blaeso postremum.

75 Obiere eo anno viri illustres Asinius Saloninus, M. Agrippa et Pollione Asinio avis, fratre Druso insignis Caesarique progener destinatus, et Capito Ateius, de quo memoravi, principem in civitate locum studiis civilibus assecutus, sed avo centurione Sullano, patre
2 praetorio. Consulatum ei acceleraverat Augustus, ut

5. **veteris provinciae**: the old province of Africa (*Tunis*), established B.C. 146, and enlarged by Augustus (B.C. 25) by the addition of Numidia (*Algiers*); see II. 52. 2 n.

mutantem, *whenever he changed.*

mapalia: thatched huts instead of tents, used by the Numidians. See Sallust, *Jug.* 18.

properantius, etc.: the provincials were left unprotected.

6. **ut imperator**, etc.: the title of *imperator*, given to victorious generals in the time of the republic, and continued until this time (I. 58. 9 n.), was now discontinued, and after this occasion there was no *imperator* except the *princeps* himself.

plures imperatores: *imperator* being a title of honor, not, as now, an office.

75. Asinius Saloninus: son of Asinius Gallus (I. 12, 13) and Vipsania, daughter of Agrippa; she had been married to Tiberius (I. 12. 6), and Drusus was thus his half-brother; Saloninus had been betrothed to a daughter of Germanicus, hence **Caesari progener.** The *agnomen* **Saloninus** was derived from the city of Salona in Dalmatia, captured by Pollio.

Capito Ateius: see 70. 2.

studiis civilibus: this term is used especially to designate legal studies.

2. **consulatum**: A.D. 5, as *consul suffectus.*

Labeonem Antistium isdem artibus praecellentem dignatione eius magistratus anteiret. Namque illa aetas duo pacis decora simul tulit: sed Labeo incorrupta li- 3
bertate, et ob id fama celebratior, Capitonis obsequium dominantibus magis probabatur. Illi, quod praeturam 4
intra stetit, commendatio ex iniuria, huic, quod consulatum adeptus est, odium ex invidia oriebatur. Et Iunia 76
sexagesimo quarto post Philippensem aciem anno supremum diem explevit, Catone avunculo genita, C. Cassii uxor, M. Bruti soror. Testamentum eius multo 2
apud vulgum rumore fuit, quia in magnis opibus, cum ferme cunctos proceres cum honore nominavisset, Caesarem omisit. Quod civiliter acceptum, neque prohibuit 3
quo minus laudatione pro rostris ceterisque sollemnibus funus cohonestaretur. Viginti clarissimarum familiarum 4
imagines antelatae sunt, Manlii Quinctii aliaque eiusdem nobilitatis nomina. Sed praefulgebant Cassius atque 5
Brutus eo ipso, quod effigies eorum non visebantur.

duo pacis decora: Capito and Labeo were the founders of rival schools of jurisprudence, called respectively *Sabinians* and *Proculians*, which divided Roman jurists for about two centuries. The Digest says of them (1. 2, 2, 47): *Ateius Capito in eis quae ei tradita fuerunt, perseverabat; Labeo . . . plurima innovare instituit,* — that is, in the words of Hadley (*Intr. to Roman Law*, p. 64), the ground of difference was in "the recognition of reason or of authority as supreme guide." Suetonius (*Oct.* 54) relates an instance of Labeo's independent spirit: that, in the filling up of the senate, depleted by the Civil Wars, he nominated Marcus Lepidus, the triumvir, an enemy of Augustus, then in exile; *interrogatusque ab eo an essent alii digniores, 'suum quemque iudicium habere' respondit.* He appears, also, from an allusion in Horace (*Sat.* I. 3. 82), to have been of a passionate temper.

4. **praeturam intra stetit**: he held no higher office.

commendatio ex iniuria, *popularity from the wrong done to him.*

76. Catone avunculo: her mother, Servilia, was sister of Cato and (by a second marriage) mother of Brutus.

2. **Caesarem omisit**: as was worthy of the sister of Brutus; and the spirit of Tiberius seems to have been equally honorable (**civiliter acceptum**).

4. **Manlii, Quinctii**: these were among the oldest patrician *gentes*.

5. **non visebantur**: cf. IV. 35. 3; also Pliny, *Ep.* I. 17: *mirum est qua religione, quo studio imagines Brutorum, Cassiorum, Catonum domi, ubi potest, habeat,*

ARGUMENT OF BOOK IV.

A.D. 23; C. Asinius Pollio, C. Antistius Vetus, Coss.

1–12. Rise of Sejanus and death of Drusus.

1, 2. Sejanus, prætorian præfect. 3. His ambition and schemes. 4. Drusus, son of Germanicus. 4, 5. Review of the provinces. 6, 7. Government of Tiberius. 8, 9. Death and funeral of Drusus. 10, 11. Scandalous reports about the death of Drusus. 12. Schemes of Sejanus against the family of Germanicus.

13. Administration of the provinces. 14. The right of asylum. 15. Condemnation of Capito. 16. Privileges of the *flamen dialis* and the Vestal Virgins.

A.D. 24; Ser. Cornelius Cethegus, L. Vitellius Varro, Coss.

17. Dissensions in the imperial family. 18, 19. Accusation and death of C. Silius. 20. Character of M.' Lepidus. 21. Accusation and death of L. Piso. 22. Murder of his wife by Plautius Silvanus. 23–26. War with Tacfarinas finished. 27. Insurrection of slaves. 28–30. Case of Vibius Serenus. 31. Cases of Cominius, Suillius, and Catus. 32, 33. Character of the times.

A.D. 25; Cossus Cornelius Lentulus, M. Asinius Agrippa, Coss.

34–36. Trial of Cremutius Cordus and others. 37, 38. Tiberius declines a temple in Spain. 39, 40. Livia, widow of Drusus, asked in marriage by Sejanus; reply of Tiberius. 41. Plan of removing Tiberius from Rome. 42. Case of Votienus. 43. Controversy between the Lacedæmonians and Messenians. 44. Deaths of Cn. Domitius and L. Antonius. 45. Murder of L. Piso in Spain.

A.D. 26; Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Getulicus, C. Calvisius Sabinus, Coss.

46–51. Insurrection in Thrace suppressed by Poppæus Sabinus. 52–54. Growing estrangement between Agrippina and Tiberius. 55, 56. Controversy as to site of temple to Tiberius in Asia. 57, 58. Departure of Tiberius to Campania. 59. His life saved by Sejanus. 59, 60. Schemes of Sejanus against Nero, son of Germanicus. 61. Deaths of Asinius Agrippa and Q. Haterius.

A.D. 27; M. Licinius Crassus Frugi, L. Calpurnius Piso, Coss.

62, 63. Fall of amphitheatre at Fidenæ. 64, 65. Fire on Mons Cælius. 66. Accusation of Varus. 67. Retirement of Tiberius to Capri.

A.D. 28; App. Junius Silanus, P. Silius Nerva, Coss.

68–70. Arrest and death of Titius Sabinus. 71. Death of Julia. 72, 73. Uprising of the Frisii. 74. Visit of Tiberius to Campania. 75. Marriage of Agrippina, daughter of Germanicus.

LIBER IV.

C. Asinio C. Antistio consulibus nonus Tiberio annus erat compositae rei publicae, florentis domus (nam Germanici mortem inter prospera ducebat), cum repente turbare fortuna coepit, saevire ipse aut saevientibus vires praebere. Initium et causa penes Aelium Seianum cohortibus praetoriis praefectum, cuius de potentia supra memoravi; nunc originem, mores, et quo facinore dominationem raptum ierit, expediam. Genitus Vulsiniis patre Seio Strabone equite Romano, et prima iuventa Gaium Caesarem divi Augusti nepotem sectatus, non sine rumore Apicio diviti et prodigo stuprum veno dedisse, mox Tiberium variis artibus devinxit, adeo ut obscurum adversum alios sibi uni incautum intectumque efficeret, non tam sollertia (quippe isdem artibus victus est) quam deum ira in rem Romanam, cuius pari exitio

1

2

3

1. C. Asinio: son of Asinius Gallus, — his cognomen was Pollio; see I. 12. 6. Antistius belonged to a family of considerable influence.

cum repente: in this Tacitus differs from Suetonius and Dio, who date the deterioration in Tiberius' character from the death of Germanicus (see III. 23. 1 n.); but the facts as related by Tacitus bear out his view; from the time of Drusus' death we note a steady change for the worse.

turbare: absolute; cf. III. 47. 2.

2. supra memoravi: see I. 24. 3, 69. 7; III. 29. 6, 35. 2, 72. 4. He was colleague of his father, Seius Strabo, in this office, until the appointment of his father to the præfecture of Egypt, A.D. 18.

ierit: see App. I.

3. **Vulsiniis**: *Bolsena*, a town in the southeastern part of Etruria, the metropolis of the old Etruscan confederacy.

Seio: the name *Seianus* was a derivative from this, the son having been adopted into the Ælian gens.

Apicio: Apicius was a man in the time of the republic notorious for luxury and debauchery; the person here alluded to was one Marcus Gavius, who was called Apicius, from his resemblance to the other.

veno: dative; only here used after *dare;* cf. *dono dare.*

isdem artibus: *i.e.* on the part of Tiberius, in his downfall, A.D. 31.

pari exitio: his ruin was attended and followed by greater

4 viguit ceciditque. Corpus illi laborum tolerans, animus audax; sui obtegens, in alios criminator; iuxta adulatio et superbia; palam compositus pudor, intus summa apiscendi libido, eiusque causa modo largitio et luxus, saepius industria ac vigilantia, haud minus noxiae quotiens
2 parando regno finguntur. Vim praefecturae modicam antea intendit, dispersas per urbem cohortes una in castra conducendo, ut simul imperia acciperent, numeroque et robore et visu inter se fiducia ipsis, in ceteros
2 metus oreretur. Praetendebat lascivire militem diductum; si quid subitum ingruat, maiore auxilio pariter subveniri; et severius acturos, si vallum statuatur procul
3 urbis illecebris. Ut perfecta sunt castra, irrepere paulatim militares animos adeundo appellando; simul cen-
4 turiones ac tribunos ipse deligere. Neque senatorio ambitu abstinebat clientes suos honoribus aut provinciis ornandi, facili Tiberio atque ita prono ut socium laborum non modo in sermonibus, sed apud patres et popu-

atrocities than those of his lifetime.

4. **compositus,** *artificial.*

summa: usually taken as the object of **apiscendi,** but perhaps better as qualifying **libido.**

eius: relates to **apiscendi.**

parando regno: Intr. 35 *f.*

finguntur, *are directed.*

2. praefecturae: the *praefectus praetorio* was at first inferior in dignity to the *praefectus urbi*, but, as is well known, he came in later time into possession of a power hardly less than that of the emperor himself; the beginning of this advance was made by Sejanus.

dispersas per urbem: Suetonius (*Oct.* 49) says: *neque umquam plures quam tres cohortes in urbe esse passus est, easque sine castris, reliquas in hiberna et aestiva circa finitima oppida dimittere assuerat.*

una in castra: this camp lay outside of the city (**procul**) to the northeast, but when the larger circuit of walls was built by Aurelian, they were made to embrace the camp. The ruins of it still remain. The construction of this fortress, like that of the Tower of London by William the Conqueror, was the commencement of an authority founded upon military power.

visu inter se, *by seeing one another*, and thus becoming conscious of their strength.

2. **diductum,** *scattered.*

4. **senatorio ambitu**: *i.e.* gaining supporters among the senators by appointing such of them as chose to be his clients to honorable positions; **ornandi** limits **ambitu.**

lum celebraret colique per theatra et fora effigies eius interque principia legionum sineret.

Ceterum plena Caesarum domus iuvenis filius ne- 3
potes adulti moram cupitis adferebant; et quia vi tot simul corripere intutum, dolus intervalla scelerum poscebat. Placuit tamen occultior via et a Druso incipere, in quem recenti ira ferebatur. Nam Drusus impatiens 2
aemuli et animo commotior orto forte iurgio intenderat Seiano manus et contra tendentis os verberaverat. Igi- 3
tur cuncta temptanti promptissimum visum ad uxorem eius Liviam convertere, quae soror Germanici, formae initio aetatis indecorae, mox pulchritudine praecellebat. Hanc ut amore incensus adulterio pellexit, et postquam primi flagitii potitus est (neque femina amissa pudicitia alia abnuerit), ad coniugii spem, consortium regni, et necem mariti impulit. Atque illa, cui avunculus Augus- 4
tus, socer Tiberius, ex Druso liberi, seque ac maiores et posteros municipali adultero foedabat, ut pro honestis et praesentibus flagitiosa et incerta exspectaret. Sumi- 5

per theatra: cf. III. 72. 5.

principia: see I. 61. 3 n. Suetonius (*Tib.* 48) says that, after the fall of Sejanus, Tiberius rewarded the Syrian legions *quod solae nullam Seiani imaginem inter signa coluissent.*

3. ceterum: introduces the obstacles that were in the way of his ambition.

nepotes adulti: Nero and Drusus, sons of Germanicus (4. 1).

intervalla scelerum: contrasted with **simul corripere.**

occultior: contrasted with **vi.**

2. **contra tendentis**: *sc.* **Seiani manus.**

3. **indecorae,** *plain* or *ungraceful; i.e.* until she reached maturity.

adulterio: dative. Merivale well remarks, that "the wife of Drusus was already nearer to the throne than the paramour of Sejanus" (V. 176). Sejanus, however, it is clear was a man of peculiar personal fascination, and the story has in itself no improbability.

abnuerit: perfect subjunctive of softened assertion, a favorite tense with Tacitus, especially in statements of general truths.

4. **avunculus**: *i.e.* great-uncle; her mother Antonia was daughter of Octavia, sister of Augustus.

municipali, *of low birth,* — her paramour being a native of the *municipium* of Volsinii. The provincial origin of Sejanus was an aggravation of Livia's disgrace.

praesentibus: Drusus was the

tur in conscientiam Eudemus, amicus ac medicus Liviae, specie artis frequens secretis. Pellit domo Seianus uxorem Apicatam, ex qua tres liberos genuerat, ne paelici 6 suspectaretur. Sed magnitudo facinoris metum prolationes, diversa interdum consilia adferebat.

4 Interim anni principio Drusus ex Germanici liberis togam virilem sumpsit, quaeque fratri eius Neroni de- 2 creverat senatus repetita. Addidit orationem Caesar, multa cum laude filii sui quod patria benevolentia in 3 fratris liberos foret. Nam Drusus, quamquam arduum sit eodem loci potentiam et concordiam esse, aequus adulescentibus aut certe non adversus habebatur.

4 Exin vetus et saepe simulatum proficiscendi in provincias consilium refertur. Multitudinem veteranorum praetexebat imperator et dilectibus supplendos exercitus; nam voluntarium militem deesse, ac si suppeditet, non eadem virtute ac modestia agere, quia plerumque 5 inopes ac vagi sponte militiam sumant. Percensuitque cursim numerum legionum et quas provincias tutaren- 6 tur. Quod mihi quoque exsequendum reor, quae tunc Romana copia in armis, qui socii reges, quanto sit 5 angustius imperitatum. Italiam utroque mari duae classes, Misenum apud et Ravennam, proximumque

legitimate heir to the throne; Sejanus was only a pretender.

5. **specie . . . secretis**: at all times the family physician has been admitted to family consultations.

Apicatam: it was through her that the crime became afterwards known to Tiberius. Dio, LVIII. 11 (p. 350).

4. decreverat: see III. 29. 1.

2. **fratris**: Drusus appears to have transferred to the sons of Germanicus, the affection he had felt for their father.

3. **loci**: limits **eodem**.

4. **vetus . . . consilium**: see I. 47. 5; III. 47. 3.

veteranorum: *i.e.* who demanded discharge; see I. 17. 8; 31. 4.

6. **socii reges**: see III. 55. 3 n.

angustius: *sc. quam nunc;* this was written after the conquests of Trajan. Moreover several provinces were added in the interval, as Britain, Mauretania, Lycia, Thrace.

5. utroque mari: Ravenna upon the Adriatic, Misenum upon the Tyrrhenian Sea.

Galliae litus rostratae naves praesidebant, quas Actiaca victoria captas Augustus in oppidum Foroiuliense miserat valido cum remige. Sed praecipuum robur Rhenum iuxta, commune in Germanos Gallosque subsidium, octo legiones erant. Hispaniae recens perdomitae tribus habebantur. Mauros Iuba rex acceperat donum populi Romani. Cetera Africae per duas legiones parique numero Aegyptus, dehinc initio ab Suriae usque ad flumen Euphraten, quantum ingenti terrarum sinu ambitur, quattuor legionibus coercita, accolis Hibero Albanoque et aliis regibus, qui magnitudine nostra proteguntur adversum externa imperia. Et Thraeciam Rhoemetalces ac liberi Cotyis, ripamque Danuvii legionum duae in Pannonia, duae in Moesia attinebant, totidem apud Delmatiam locatis, quae positu regionis a tergo illis, ac si repentinum auxilium Italia posceret,

Foroiuliense, *Fréjus*, founded by Julius Cæsar, and in the time of the empire an important naval station of the western Mediterranean.

2. **octo legiones**: see I. 3. 5. These occupied the region along the Rhine, organized by Tiberius into the two provinces of Germany.

3. **recens perdomitae**: B.C. 19, after a war of seven years against the Cantabrians and Asturians.

Iuba rex: Juba, king of Numidia, fought against Cæsar, and killed himself after the battle of Thapsus. Numidia was annexed by Augustus to the province of Africa, and Juba, son of the former king, received Mauretania in recompense, B.C. 25. At his death, A.D. 23, his son Ptolemæus succeeded (23. 1). His kingdom was made into two provinces by Caligula, A.D. 40.

4. **duas legiones**: see III. 9. 1 n.

initio ab Suriae: such anastrophe, not found in earlier prose writers, is rare in Tacitus, except in the case of dissyllabic prepositions, where it is frequent even without an adjective or genitive following.

ingenti . . . sinu: stretching up to the Albanian and Iberian frontier.

accolis, etc.: an ablative absolute of cause.

Hibero Albanoque: for these nations, see VI. 32 and 33.

5. **Rhoemetalces**: see III. 38. 4. Thrace, like Mauretania, was still independent.

duae in Pannonia: regularly three (I. 16. 2), but one had been despatched to Africa.

Moesia: this province, on the lower course of the Danube, was organized by Augustus, B.C. 29.

apud Delmatiam: the province formerly known as Illyricum, which term now embraced a group of provinces; see I. 5. 5 n.

illis: *i.e.* those in Pannonia and Mœsia.

haud procul accirentur, quamquam insideret urbem proprius miles, tres urbanae, novem praetoriae cohortes, Etruria ferme Umbriaque delectae aut vetere Latio et
6 coloniis antiquitus Romanis. At apud idonea provinciarum sociae triremes alaeque et auxilia cohortium, neque multo secus in iis virium: sed persequi incertum fuit, cum ex usu temporis huc illuc mearent, gliscerent numero et aliquando minuerentur.

6 Congruens crediderim recensere ceteras quoque rei publicae partes, quibus modis ad eam diem habitae sint, quoniam Tiberio mutati in deterius principatus initium
2 ille annus attulit. Iam primum publica negotia et privatorum maxima apud patres tractabantur, dabaturque primoribus disserere, et in adulationem lapsos cohibebat ipse; mandabatque honores, nobilitatem maiorum, claritudinem militiae, illustres domi artes spectando, ut satis
3 constaret non alios potiores fuisse. Sua consulibus, sua praetoribus species; minorum quoque magistratuum exercita potestas; legesque, si maiestatis quaestio exime-

proprius miles: see I. 8. 3 n.

vetere Latio: those towns which had the *ius Latinum* before the Social War.

coloniis antiquitus Romanis: this term is used to designate the old Roman colonies, situated in Italy, as distinguished from the military colonies of the empire. Heisterbergk, *Jus Italicum*, p. 169.

6. **apud idonea**, *at suitable points.*

neque multo secus: the number of auxiliaries about equalled that of the legionaries, which was twenty-five legions; **in iis** relates to **alaeque et auxilia cohortium**, the auxiliary cavalry and infantry.

persequi: *i.e.* in detail, as has been done with the legions.

ex usu, *according to need.*

6. quoniam, etc.: the praise here bestowed upon the administration of Tiberius during the first eight years of his reign is a sufficient reply to the insinuations of cruelty and hypocrisy that have been made in the earlier books. From this point the question is a new and more difficult one.

2. **primum**, *in the first place.*

publica negotia, etc.: Suetonius says (*Tib.* 30): *neque tam parvum quicquam, neque tam magnum publici privatique negotii fuit, de quo non ad patres conscriptos referretur.*

cohibebat: for illustrations, see I. 72. 2; III. 47. 5; IV. 37. 2.

potiores, *preferable.*

3. **species**, *honor, dignity;* their powers, on the other hand, had been reduced.

retur, bono in usu. At frumenta et pecuniae vectigales, 4
cetera publicorum fructuum societatibus equitum Romanorum agitabantur. Res suas Caesar spectatissimo 5
cuique, quibusdam ignotis ex fama mandabat, semelque assumpti tenebantur prorsus sine modo, cum plerique isdem negotiis insenescerent. Plebes acri quidem an- 6
nona fatigabatur, sed nulla in eo culpa ex principe: quin infecunditati terrarum aut asperis maris obviam iit, quantum impendio diligentiaque poterat. Et ne pro- 7
vinciae novis oneribus turbarentur utque vetera sine avaritia aut crudelitate magistratuum tolerarent providebat; corporum verbera, ademptiones bonorum aberant. Rari per Italiam Caesaris agri, modesta servitia, intra paucos libertos domus; ac si quando cum privatis disceptaret, forum et ius. Quae cuncta non quidem 7
comi via, sed horridus ac plerumque formidatus, retinebat tamen, donec morte Drusi verterentur: nam dum 2
superfuit, mansere, quia Seianus incipiente adhuc poten-

4. **frumenta**: the tithes of agricultural produce levied in certain provinces; **pecuniae vectigales**: the indirect taxes paid by citizens; see I. 11. 6 n.

societatibus equitum Romanorum: companies of capitalists, of the equestrian order, called *publicani*, who farmed the revenues and collected them through agents, — a common custom to this day in the East, but one that gave great opportunity for extortion and fraud.

5. **res suas**: the affairs of the *fiscus*, or privy purse; these were administered by special agents of the emperor, called *procuratores*.

tenebantur: cf. I. 80. 2; VI. 27. 3.

cum plerique, etc.: a contrast to the changeable administration of the Republic.

6. **acri annona**: *i.e.* the exorbitant price of grain.

obviam iit, *attempted to remedy;* III. 54. 8; VI. 13. 2.

7. **providebat**: according to Suetonius (*Tib.* 32): *praesidibus* [*i.e.* the governors of provinces] *onerandas tributo provincias suadentibus rescripsit boni pastoris esse tondere pecus, non deglubere.*

rari, *few and scattered*, not concentrated in enormous plantations, *latifundia*.

modesta, *under good discipline.*

intra paucos libertos: in contrast with the excessive power and insolence of this class under Claudius and Nero.

forum et ius: the regular tribunals.

7. horridus, etc., *forbidding in manner;* see I. 75. 6. Suetonius

tia bonis consiliis notescere volebat, et ultor metuebatur non occultus odii, sed crebro querens incolumi filio adiutorem imperii alium vocari: et quantum superesse, ut
3 collega dicatur? primas dominandi spes in arduo; ubi sis ingressus, adesse studia et ministros: exstructa iam sponte praefecti castra, datos in manum milites; cerni
4 effigiem eius in monumentis Cn. Pompei; communes illi cum familia Drusorum fore nepotes: precandam post haec modestiam, ut contentus esset. Neque raro neque apud paucos talia iaciebat, et secreta quoque eius corrupta uxore prodebantur.

8 Igitur Seianus maturandum ratus deligit venenum, quo paulatim irrepente fortuitus morbus assimularetur. Id Druso datum per Lygdum spadonem, ut octo post
2 annos cognitum est. Ceterum Tiberius per omnes valetudinis eius dies, nullo metu an ut firmitudinem animi ostentaret, etiam defuncto necdum sepulto, curiam in-
3 gressus est. Consulesque sede vulgari per speciem

(*Tib.* 68) says: *omnia ingrata atque arrogantiae plena.*'

2. **ultor**: *i.e.* Drusus.

occultus: used with the genitive only here and VI. 36. 3.

adiutorem imperii: not a formal title, but expressing his intimate participation in the counsels of the emperor; cf. *socium laborum*, 2. 4.

collega dicatur: this would be an official recognition of his share in the government; cf. I. 3. 3.

3. **studia et ministros**: *i.e.* personal adherents and (among these) agents to carry out his schemes; cf. *crimina et innoxios*, I. 55. 3. The fears of Drusus illustrate the wisdom of Augustus in designating a successor. — *sic cohiberi pravas aliorum spes*, III. 56. 4.

sponte, *at the behest of;* cf. VI. 31. 4. For the genitive, see II. 59. 3 n.

effigiem: see III. 72. 5.

4. **communes**, etc.: referring to the betrothal of a daughter of Sejanus to a son of Claudius (III. 29. 5).

8. Lygdum: a favorite slave of Drusus (10. 2), and probably *praegustator*, like the eunuch Halotus, who administered poison to Claudius (XII. 66. 5; cf. Suet. *Claud.* 44).

octo post annos: A.D. 31, after the fall of Sejanus, when the crime was divulged by Apicata, the divorced wife of Sejanus. Pistner (*L. Aelius Sejanus*, p. 49) raises some plausible doubts as to the probability that Apicata could have known of the crime, but the testimony of the ancients appears quite unanimous on the subject.

3. **sede vulgari**: *i.e.* on the *subsellia*, or benches, with the other senators. They regularly sat on

maestitiae sedentes honoris locique admonuit, et effusum in lacrimas senatum victo gemitu simul oratione continua erexit: non quidem sibi ignarum posse argui, quod tam recenti dolore subierit oculos senatus; vix propinquorum alloquia tolerari, vix diem aspici a plerisque lugentium. Neque illos imbecillitatis damnandos; 4 se tamen fortiora solacia e complexu rei publicae petivisse. Miseratusque Augustae extremam senectam, 5 rudem adhuc nepotum et vergentem aetatem suam, ut Germanici liberi, unica praesentium malorum levamenta, inducerentur petivit. Egressi consules firmatos allo- 6 quio adulescentulos deductosque ante Caesarem statuunt. Quibus apprensis: 'Patres conscripti, hos' inquit 'orbatos parente tradidi patruo ipsorum precatusque sum, quamquam esset illi propria suboles, ne secus quam suum sanguinem foveret, attolleret, sibique et posteris conformaret. Erepto Druso preces ad vos converto dis- 7 que et patria coram obtestor: Augusti pronepotes, clarissimis maioribus genitos, suscipite, regite, vestram meamque vicem explete. Hi vobis, Nero et Druse, 8 parentum loco. Ita nati estis ut bona malaque vestra ad rem publicam pertineant.' Magno ea fletu et mox 9 precationibus faustis audita; ac si modum orationi posuisset, misericordia sui gloriaque animos audientium

curule chairs, but now took the lower seat as an indication of sorrow.

ignarum = *ignotum;* cf. *gnarum*, I. 5. 4 n.

4. **e complexu rei publicae**: figurative, as if the republic were a near friend.

5. **nepotum**: there were three sons of Germanicus (Nero, Drusus, and Gaius), and two of Drusus (Tiberius and Germanicus).

vergentem aetatem, *declining years.*

6. **quibus apprensis**, *taking their hands.*

patruo: *i.e.* Drusus.

8. **Nero et Druse**: the younger son Gaius (afterwards the emperor Caligula) was now only eleven years of age.

9. gloria: *i.e.* resting upon his personal dignity, and proceeding from sympathy (**misericordia**).

impleverat: ad vana et totiens irrisa revolutus, de reddenda re publica utque consules seu quis alius regimen susciperent, vero quoque et honesto fidem dempsit.
2 Memoriae Drusi eadem quae in Germanicum decernuntur, plerisque additis, ut ferme amat posterior adulatio.
3 Funus imaginum pompa maxime illustre fuit, cum origo Iuliae gentis Aeneas omnesque Albanorum reges et conditor urbis Romulus, post Sabina nobilitas, Attus Clausus ceteraeque Claudiorum effigies longo ordine spectarentur.

10 In tradenda morte Drusi quae plurimis maximaeque fidei auctoribus memorata sunt rettuli; sed non omiserim eorundem temporum rumorem, validum adeo ut
2 nondum exolescat. Corrupta ad scelus Livia Scianum Lygdi quoque spadonis animum stupro vinxisse, quod is Lygdus aetate atque forma carus domino interque primores ministros erat; deinde inter conscios ubi locus veneficii tempusque composita sint, eo audaciae provectum ut verteret et occulto indicio Drusum veneni in patrem arguens moneret Tiberium, vitandam potionem quae
3 prima ei apud filium epulanti offerretur. Ea fraude captum senem, postquam convivium inierat, exceptum poculum Druso tradidisse; atque illo ignaro et iuveniliter hauriente auctam suspicionem, tamquam metu et

impleverat: the indicative, for more vivid effect, represents what came near taking place as having actually occurred. Cf. Hor. *Od.* II. 17. 28.

de reddenda, etc.: that it was a matter of serious concern, what would become of the state after his death, is shown by the history of his successor Caligula. It is not impossible that he considered the possibility of devising some plan which should avoid the rule of a boy.

2. **eadem**, etc.: II. 83.

posterior adulatio: trying to outdo those who have gone before.

3. **imaginum pompa**: the Julian gens claimed to be descended from Iulus, son of Æneas; the Claudian, from the Sabine Attus Clausus.

10. 2. **occulto indicio**, *by dark hints*.

in patrem: follows **veneni**.

3. **illo . . . hauriente**: the cup was really poisoned by the tools of Sejanus.

pudore sibimet irrogaret mortem quam patri struxerat. Haec vulgo iactata, super id quod nullo auctore certo **11** firmantur, prompte refutaveris. Quis enim mediocri 2 prudentia, nedum Tiberius tantis rebus exercitus, inaudito filio exitium offerret, idque sua manu et nullo ad paenitendum regressu? quin potius ministrum veneni excruciaret, auctorem exquireret, insita denique etiam in extraneos cunctatione et mora adversum unicum et nullius ante flagitii compertum uteretur? Sed quia 3 Seianus facinorum omnium repertor habebatur, ex nimia caritate in eum Caesaris et ceterorum in utrumque odio, quamvis fabulosa et immania credebantur, atrociore semper fama erga dominantium exitus. Ordo alioqui 4 sceleris per Apicatam Seiani proditus, tormentis Eudemi ac Lygdi patefactus est. Neque quisquam scriptor tam infensus exstitit ut Tiberio obiectaret, cum omnia alia conquirerent intenderentque. Mihi tradendi ar- 5 guendique rumoris causa fuit, ut claro sub exemplo falsas auditiones depellerem, peteremque ab iis quorum in manus cura nostra venerit, *ne* divulgata atque incredibilia avide accepta veris neque in miraculum corruptis antehabeant.

Ceterum laudante filium pro rostris Tiberio senatus **12** populusque habitum ac voces dolentum simulatione

11. **nullo auctore certo**, *no trustworthy authority*, — not necessarily no written account, but the use of the word **scriptor** below (4) shows that it could have been handed down only in oral tradition, or informal and irresponsible writings, like letters.

2. **ad paenitendum**: *i.e.* for himself.

ministrum veneni: the cupbearer, while **auctorem** was the contriver of the crime.

insita, *inborn = characteristic.*

3. **atrociore fama**, *rumor having always an inclination to the horrible.*

4. **alioqui**, *moreover.*

Seiani: *sc. uxorem.*

obiectaret: *i.e.* this story.

intenderent, *aimed at him.*

5. **auditiones**, *reports.*

cura nostra: *i.e.* this book.

12. **laudante . . . Tiberio**: Seneca (*ad Marc. de Cons.* 15) relates the same story, adding, *in conspectu posito corpore, interiecto*

magis quam libens induebat, domumque Germanici
2 revirescere occulti laetabantur. Quod principium favoris et mater Agrippina spem male tegens perniciem
3 acceleravere. Nam Seianus ubi videt mortem Drusi inultam interfectoribus, sine maerore publico esse, ferox scelerum, et quia prima provenerant, volutare secum quonam modo Germanici liberos perverteret, quorum
4 non dubia successio. Neque spargi venenum in tres poterat, egregia custodum fide et pudicitia Agrippinae
5 impenetrabili. Igitur contumaciam eius insectari, vetus Augustae odium, recentem Liviae conscientiam exagitare, ut superbam fecunditate, subnixam popularibus studiis inhiare dominationi apud Caesarem arguerent.
6 Atque haec callidis criminatoribus, inter quos delegerat

tantummodo velamento, quod pontificis oculos a funere arceret, — the emperor being *pontifex maximus.*

2. **favoris**: *i.e.* with the people, — *popularity.*

mater . . . tegens: Intr. 35 *q*; the present and future participles are very rare in this idiom; cf. I. 36. 2; IV. 34. 2; connected by **et** to **principium**.

perniciem: for the young men, Nero and Drusus.

3. **non dubia successio**: as the children of Drusus were still very young, those of Germanicus would be preferred in the succession.

5. **exagitare**, *excite;* used with both persons and feelings — excite the hatred of Augusta and Livia by the consciousness of crime; cf. Sall. *Cat.* 38; Cic. *Att.* III. 7. 2.

inhiare . . . arguerent: it is hard to believe that Agrippina actually engaged in plots against the emperor, — for this there could be no inducement, considering his great age, the maturity of her sons, and the infancy of those of Drusus; the succession would seem to have been secured to Nero, and this was confirmed by the acts of the emperor himself. Nevertheless, with her restless and ambitious temper, and his suspicious disposition, it would be easy for misunderstanding and hard feeling to arise between them.

6. **atque haec**, etc.: this passage is variously interpreted, and is probably corrupt. Furneaux makes **haec** relate to Livia (the younger), which is hardly possible, seeing that the last person mentioned is Agrippina; it is clear, too, that Livia was a mere tool, and that it was Sejanus, not she, who made use of the *callidi criminatores.* Madvig corrects to **alitque**; Orelli, more probably, construes **haec** as a neuter plural, governed by some such word as *egit.* Both take **Prisca** as subject of **efficiebat**; but it is the agency of Postumus, not of Prisca, that is in question, and **quia . . . valida** is a good explanation of **peridoneum**, while **quia . . . efficiebat** is not. It seems best to insert a comma after

Iulium Postumum, per adulterium Mutiliae Priscae inter intimos aviae et consiliis suis peridoneum, quia Prisca in animo Augustae valida, anum suapte natura potentiae anxiam insociabilem nurui efficiebat. Agrippinae quo- 7
que proximi illiciebantur pravis sermonibus tumidos spiritus perstimulare.

At Tiberius nihil intermissa rerum cura, negotia pro 13
solaciis accipiens, ius civium, preces sociorum tractabat; factaque auctore eo senatus consulta ut civitati Cibyraticae apud Asiam, Aegiensi apud Achaiam, motu terrae labefactis, subveniretur remissione tributi in triennium. Et Vibius Serenus pro consule ulterioris Hispaniae, de 2
vi publica damnatus, ob atrocitatem morum in insulam Amorgum deportatur. Carsidius Sacerdos, reus tam- 3
quam frumento hostem Tacfarinatem iuvisset, absolvitur, eiusdemque criminis C. Gracchus. Hunc comitem 4
exsilii admodum infantem pater Sempronius in insulam

valida (with which **erat** is to be understood), and to regard the sentence as an anacoluthon, — the subject of **efficiebat** being the same as that of *egit* understood (*i.e.* Sejanus), but the two verbs having no grammatical connection with one another. Nipperdey brackets the words **inter . . . et**, on the ground that Livia could not properly be called the grandmother of Agrippina, and that Postumus, as **inter intimos** of the empress, would not need to make Prisca his tool. This is a very probable hypothesis, — indeed, it is quite impossible to explain the phrase satisfactorily, while without it the sentence is reasonably clear, — but it is hard to conceive of any way in which these words could have crept into the text.

inter intimos, *intimate with*, referring to Postumus.

anxiam, *solicitous for*.

7. **Agrippinae**: best taken as dative.

tumidos spiritus: *i.e.* of Agrippina.

perstimulare: depends upon **illiciebantur**. Intr. 35 *l*.

13. Cibyraticae, etc.: Cibyra was a town of Phrygia, which carried on an extensive trade; cf. Horace (*Ep.* I. 6. 33), — *ne Cibyratica, ne Bithyna negotia perdas*.

Aegiensi: Ægium was a city of Achaia, the meeting place of the Achæan League.

2. **Vibius Serenus**: see II. 30. 1; 28. 1.

de vi publica: inflicting death, scourging, torture or imprisonment upon a Roman citizen after an appeal to Cæsar.

Amorgum: a small island in the Ægean, near Naxos.

deportatur: see 31. 5 n.

4. **Sempronius**: see I. 53. 4.

Cercinam tulerat. Illic adultus inter extorres et liberalium artium nescios, mox per Africam ac Siciliam mutando sordidas merces sustentabatur; neque tamen
5 effugit magnae fortunae pericula. Ac ni Aelius Lamia et L. Apronius, qui Africam obtinuerant, insontem protexissent, claritudine infausti generis et paternis adver-
14 sis foret abstractus. Is quoque annus legationes Graecarum civitatium habuit, Samiis Iunonis, Cois Aesculapii delubro vetustum asyli ius ut firmaretur pe-
2 tentibus. Samii decreto Amphictyonum nitebantur, quis praecipuum fuit rerum omnium iudicium, qua tempestate Graeci conditis per Asiam urbibus ora maris
3 potiebantur. Neque dispar apud Coos antiquitas, et accedebat meritum ex loco; nam cives Romanos templo Aesculapii induxerant, cum iussu regis Mithridatis apud cunctas Asiae insulas et urbes trucidarentur.
4 Variis dehinc et saepius irritis praetorum questibus,

mutando . . . merces: petty traffic was, by the ancients, regarded as unworthy a freeman, and Plato excluded hucksters from his ideal republic. Of commerce on a large scale Cicero says (*de Off.* I. 42), *non est admodum vituperanda.*

neque tamen, etc.: he came near being swept into destruction (**abstractus**), through the memory of his illustrious ancestors and guilty father: his low estate should have saved him from the perils of rank.

5. **Aelius Lamia**: *vir antiquissimi moris et priscam gravitatem semper humanitate temperans* (Vell. Pat. II. 116). Horace (*Ep.* I. 14. 6) speaks of *Lamiae pietas*; he also addresses to him *Odes* I. 26 and III. 17. For his death, see VI. 27. 2. For Apronius, see III. 21. 1.

14. is quoque annus: as well as the last; see III. 61–63.

Samiis, etc.: Samos and Cos were islands off the western coast of Asia Minor. Samos was a chief seat of the worship of Hera (Juno); the worship of Æsculapius at Cos was connected with a medical school.

2. **qua tempestate**, etc.: the early period of the colonization of the Greek cities of Asia Minor, at which time the Amphictyonic League had great sanctity and influence.

3. **induxerant**: *i.e.* to give them the protection of the asylum.

iussu regis Mithridatis: this event, B.C. 88, was the cause of the first Mithridatic war, conducted by Sulla against Mithridates, king of Pontus.

4. **variis . . . rettulit**: the prætors had failed to curb this licentiousness.

postremo Caesar de immodestia histrionum rettulit: multa ab iis in publicum seditiose, foeda per domos temptari; Oscum quondam ludicrum, levissimae apud vulgum oblectationis, eo flagitiorum et virium venisse *ut* auctoritate patrum coercendum sit. Pulsi tum histriones Italia.

Idem annus alio quoque luctu Caesarem adficit, alte- **15**
rum ex geminis Drusi liberis exstinguendo, neque
minus morte amici. Is fuit Lucilius Longus, omnium 2
illi tristium laetorumque socius unusque e senatoribus
Rhodii secessus comes. Ita quamquam novo homini 3
censorium funus, effigiem apud forum Augusti publica
pecunia patres decrevere, apud quos etiam tum cuncta
tractabantur, adeo ut procurator Asiae Lucilius Capito

histrionum: see I. 54. 3 n.

per domos, *in private homes*.

Oscum ludicrum: a kind of low farce, in the Oscan dialect, the speech of Campania and central Italy, sufficiently like the Latin to be understood by the Romans,—just as the Scotch dialect is understood upon our stage. By **levissimae oblectationis** is meant the frivolous amusement of the populace; once (**quondam**) this was the worst that could be said of it.

pulsi, etc.: they were allowed to return by Caligula (Dio, LIX. 2).

15. alterum: his name was Germanicus, and his age four.

2. **Rhodii secessus**: see I. 4. 4 n.

3. **novo homini**: *i.e.* none of his ancestors had held curule office.

censorium funus: a magnificent public funeral. The term is explained by some as being such a funeral as was given to censors, whose office was the first in dignity and honor; by others, as being under the direction of the censors,—the magistrates who had the charge of public contracts. The first explanation seems the most reasonable.

forum Augusti: a public square opened by Augustus to the northeast of the Forum Romanum, and adorned with the statues of distinguished generals; portions of its heavy walls, and the portico of the Temple of Mars Ultor, situated in it, are still to be seen; other *fora* were made by other emperors to the north and south of it.

procurator: the *procurator* was the special agent of the emperor, especially in matters which related to the *fiscus*, or privy purse (I. 80. 2). There was one in every province; and in the smallest provinces, like Judæa and Alpes Maritimæ, he was the sole governor. Standing in a specially close relation to the emperor, it might have been expected that he would be, like the slaves of the emperor, subject to his private jurisdiction.

accusante provincia causam dixerit, magna cum asseveratione principis, non se ius nisi in servitia et pecunias familiares dedisse; quod si vim praetoris usurpasset manibusque militum usus foret, spreta in eo
4 mandata sua: audirent socios. Ita reus cognito negotio damnatur. Ob quam ultionem, et quia priore anno in C. Silanum vindicatum erat, decrevere Asiae urbes
5 templum Tiberio matrique eius ac senatui. Et permissum statuere; egitque Nero grates ea causa patribus atque avo, laetas inter audientium adfectiones, qui recenti memoria Germanici illum aspici, illum audiri
6 rebantur. Aderantque iuveni modestia ac forma principe viro digna, notis in eum Seiani odiis ob periculum gratiora.

16 Sub idem tempus de flamine Diali in locum Servi Maluginensis defuncti legendo, simul roganda nova lege
2 disseruit Caesar: nam patricios confarreatis parentibus genitos tres simul nominari, ex quis unus legeretur, vetusto more; neque adesse, ut olim, eam copiam, omissa confarreandi assuetudine aut inter paucos re-

causam dixerit: *i.e.* before the senate.

dedisse: *sc.* **ei.**

vim praetoris: *i.e.* of the provincial governor (I. 74. 1 n); if the *procurator* had usurped the functions of governor, it was by no authority; for his powers extended only to matters touching the emperor's private property (**pecunias familiares**).

socios: see III. 55. 3 n.

4. **C. Silanum**: see III. 66–69.

templum: see 55 and 56.

5. **Nero**: the cities of Asia were his clients, as those of Sicily were the clients of Cicero in the action against Verres.

16. Maluginensis: see III. 58. 1 and 71. 3.

nova lege: *i.e.* in regard to filling this priesthood. The *flamen dialis* must be a patrician whose parents had been married by the peculiarly patrician rite of *confarreatio*; he must himself have been married by the same rite to a woman of the same qualifications, and his wife, the *flaminica*, had also certain official duties. As the patrician body had now become much reduced in numbers, and the antique ceremony of *confarreatio* had almost gone out of use, it was very difficult to find qualified candidates. The selection was made by the *pontifex maximus*, who had authority to take (*capere*) a qualified person even against his will.

tenta (pluresque eius rei causas adferebat, potissimam 3
penes incuriam virorum feminarumque; accedere ipsius
caerimoniae difficultates, quae consulto vitarentur), et
quod exiret e iure patrio qui id flamonium apisceretur
quaeque in manum flaminis conveniret; ita mendendum 4
senatus decreto aut lege, sicut Augustus quaedam ex
horrida illa antiquitate ad praesentem usum flexisset.
Igitur tractatis religionibus placitum instituto flaminum 5
nihil demutari; sed lata lex qua flaminica Dialis sacro-

3. **eius rei**: *i.e.* the omission of *confarreatio*.

penes: used with things only here, *Hist.* I. 57, and Hor. *A. P.* 71; Intr. 35 *i*.

difficultates: not only in the cumbersome ceremonial, but in the process of divorce (*diffareatio*), equally cumbersome and difficult; and the Romans of this age did not fancy having any obstacles in the way of divorce.

e iure patrio: every *paterfamilias* had through life his sons and unmarried daughters under his absolute authority (*patria potestas*), which included the power of life and death (*ius vitae necisque*). The son might be freed from this authority by being emancipated, or by being adopted into another family; also the *flamen dialis* and the vestal virgins were *sui iuris*. The authority of the paterfamilias extended also to his wife, who was *in loco filiae*, but in her case it was called *manus* instead of *potestas*; therefore **quae in manum flaminis conveniret** was his wife, the *flaminica*. The disqualifications attending the office would be a second reason (besides the disuse of *confarreatio*) for the want of candidates for the office; on this view **et** connects this clause with the causal ablative absolute **omissa**, etc. A still more influential cause must have been the numerous and vexatious petty requirements which attended the office (III. 58. 1 n.); and Nipperdey thinks that some words describing these must have dropped out (Gell. X. 15).

flamonium: this is attested by inscriptions to be the correct form, instead of **flaminium**.

4. **lege**: *leges*, passed by the people in *comitia*, were still adopted, although this form of legislation was being rapidly superseded by *senatus consulta* and edicts of the emperor.

Augustus: *e.g.* with regard to absence from the city (III. 71. 3).

5. **tractatis religionibus**, *after taking into consideration all religious aspects.*

flaminica Dialis, etc.: a woman married by *confarreatio* or *coemptio* came as a matter of course into the *manus* of her husband; but by the third form of marriage (*usus*) it was possible to avoid this, and the marriage without *manus* had now become the usual form. At the same time, while the woman escaped the *manus* of her husband, the *potestas* of her father was so far relaxed that she was practically her own mistress. Maine describes the relation at this period "as amounting in law to little more than a temporary deposit of the woman by her family" (*Anc.*

rum causa in potestate viri, cetera promisco feminarum
6 iure ageret. Et filius Maluginensis patri suffectus. Utque glisceret dignatio sacerdotum atque ipsis promptior animus foret ad capessendas caerimonias, decretum Corneliae Virgini, quae in locum Scantiae capiebatur, sestertium viciens, et quotiens Augusta theatrum introisset, ut sedes inter Vestalium consideret.

17 Cornelio Cethego Visellio Varrone consulibus pontifices eorumque exemplo ceteri sacerdotes, cum pro incolumitate principis vota susciperent, Neronem quoque et Drusum isdem dis commendavere, non tam caritate iuvenum quam adulatione, quae moribus corruptis per-
2 inde anceps, si nulla et ubi nimia est. Nam Tiberius haud umquam domui Germanici mitis, tum vero aequari adulescentes senectae suae impatienter indoluit; accitosque pontifices percontatus est num id precibus Agrip-
3 pinae aut minis tribuissent. Et illi quidem, quamquam abnuerent, modice perstricti; etenim pars magna e propinquis ipsius aut primores civitatis erant; ceterum

Law, p. 150). By the law in question, this freedom of status on the part of the *flaminica* was preserved in all the common relations of life (**cetera**), while in sacred matters alone she passed under the full authority of her husband. This law confirmed a *senatus consultum* of B.C. 11 of the same purport (*Gaius*, I. 136). See Mommsen, *Röm. St.* III. 1, p. 35.

6. **capiebatur**: see II. 86. 1 n.

sedes inter: see 5. 4 n.

17. Visellio Varrone: he was *curator riparum et alvei Tiberis* (*C. I. L.* VI. 1. 1237); for his father, see III. 41. 3.

vota susciperent: this took place regularly on the 3d of January.

perinde anceps: cf. II. 87. 2, *angusta et lubrica oratio*, etc.

2. **nam Tiberius**: there has been no indication thus far of any unfriendly feeling towards the sons of Germanicus, and on the present occasion the remarks of Tiberius to the senate were wise and sagacious. We see here, however, the beginnings of that jealous suspicion of Agrippina which may have been well founded, and which, at any rate, poisoned the aged emperor's mind during the last years of her life. As to the immediate occasion, see II. 69. 3 n.; such vows were freely permitted in behalf of women (III. 64. 1).

3. **perstricti**, *reprimanded.*

in senatu oratione monuit in posterum ne quis mobiles adulescentium animos praematuris honoribus ad superbiam extolleret. Instabat quippe Seianus incusabatque 4
diductam civitatem ut civili bello: esse qui se partium Agrippinae vocent, ac ni resistatur, fore pluris; neque aliud gliscentis discordiae remedium quam si unus alterve maxime prompti subverterentur.

Qua causa C. Silium et Titium Sabinum aggreditur. 18
Amicitia Germanici perniciosa utrique, Silio et quod ingentis exercitus septem per annos moderator partisque apud Germaniam triumphalibus Sacroviriani belli victor, quanto maiore mole procideret, plus formidinis in alios dispergebatur. Credebant plerique auctam of- 2
fensionem ipsius intemperantia, immodice iactantis suum militem in obsequio duravisse, cum alii ad seditiones prolaberentur; neque mansurum Tiberio imperium, si iis quoque legionibus cupido novandi fuisset. Destrui per haec fortunam suam Caesar imparemque tanto merito rebatur. Nam beneficia eo usque laeta sunt, 3
dum videntur exsolvi posse: ubi multum antevenere, pro gratia odium redditur. Erat uxor Silio Sosia Galla, 19
caritate Agrippinae invisa principi. Hos corripi dilato ad tempus Sabino placitum, immissusque Varro consul, qui paternas inimicitias obtendens odiis Seiani per de- 2
decus suum gratificabatur. Precante reo brevem moram, dum accusator consulatu abiret, adversatus est

4. **instabat . . . Seianus**: he is always represented as the instigator of these suspicions.

diductam, *divided* into factions.

unus alterve: *i.e.* of the adherents of Agrippina.

18. C. Silium: commander of Upper Germany in Book I.; see also III. 42. 2. His army had taken no part in the mutiny.

partis triumphalibus: I. 72. 1.

Silio et (= *etiam*): *sc. perniciosum erat.*

2. **mansurum**: *sc.* **fuisse.**

imparem, etc.: such a service could never be requited (**exsolvi**).

19. paternas inimicitias: see III. 43. 4.

2. **dum . . . abiret**: as the Romans had no official prosecutors

Caesar: solitum quippe magistratibus diem privatis dicere; nec infringendum consulis ius, cuius vigiliis niteretur ne quod res publica detrimentum caperet.
3 Proprium id Tiberio fuit scelera nuper reperta priscis verbis obtegere. Igitur multa asseveratione, quasi aut legibus cum Silio ageretur aut Varro consul aut illud
4 res publica esset, coguntur patres. Silente reo, vel si defensionem coeptaret, non occultante cuius ira premeretur, conscientia belli Sacrovir diu dissimulatus, victoria
5 per avaritiam foedata et uxor Sosia arguebantur. Nec dubie repetundarum criminibus haerebant, sed cuncta quaestione maiestatis exercita, et Silius imminentem
20 damnationem voluntario fine praevertit. Saevitum tamen in bona, non ut stipendiariis pecuniae redderentur, quorum nemo repetebat, sed liberalitas Augusti avulsa,
2 computatis singillatim quae fisco petebantur. Ea prima Tiberio erga pecuniam alienam diligentia fuit.

Sosia in exsilium pellitur Asinii Galli sententia, qui

(Intr. 16), the prosecution by a high magistrate would carry more weight than by a private citizen.

diem dicere: the technical expression for bringing a prosecution.

3. **priscis verbis**: language borrowed from the usages of the republic. The phrase quoted by Tiberius had reference to the proclamation of martial law, not to ordinary criminal prosecutions.

quasi, etc.: as if there were any reality in the forms of the republic.

4. **cuius ira**: *i.e.* that it was on the ground of his friendship for Agrippina.

conscientia . . . foedata: Intr. 35 *q*.

uxor Sosia: *i.e.* her offences.

arguebantur, *were charged against him.*

5. **haerebant**, *were caught.*

maiestatis: the correct ground, if he was guilty of complicity in the rebellion of Sacrovir; and Tacitus does not deny that he was. Stahr.

20. tamen: this was in violation of the rule mentioned VI. 29. 2,— that, of those who escaped condemnation by suicide, *manebant testamenta*.

stipendiariis, *the tributaries* of the province, in behalf of whom the charge of *repetundae* had been prosecuted; but it seems they themselves took no part in the prosecution (**nemo repetebat**).

liberalitas Augusti: the gifts bestowed upon him by Augustus.

singillatim: a strict reckoning by items.

2. **ea prima**, etc.: see III. 18. 2, *satis firmus adversum pecuniam.*

partem bonorum publicandam, pars ut liberis relinqueretur censuerat. Contra M'. Lepidus quartam accusatoribus secundum necessitudinem legis, cetera liberis concessit. Hunc ego Lepidum temporibus illis gravem et sapientem virum fuisse comperior: nam pleraque ab saevis adulationibus aliorum in melius flexit. Neque tamen temperamenti egebat, cum aequabili auctoritate et gratia apud Tiberium viguerit. Unde dubitare cogor fato et sorte nascendi, ut cetera, ita principum inclinatio in hos, offensio in illos, an sit aliquid in nostris consiliis, liceatque inter abruptam contumaciam et deforme obsequium pergere iter ambitione ac periculis vacuum. At Messalinus Cotta haud minus claris maioribus, sed animo diversus, censuit cavendum senatus consulto, ut quamquam insontes magistratus et culpae alienae nescii provincialibus uxorum criminibus proinde quam suis plecterentur. 3 4 5 6

Actum dehinc de Calpurnio Pisone, nobili ac feroci viro. Is namque, ut rettuli, cessurum se urbe ob factiones accusatorum in senatu clamitaverat et spreta potentia Augustae trahere in ius Urgulaniam domoque principis excire ausus erat. Quae in praesens Tiberius civiliter habuit; sed in animo revolvente iras, etiam si impetus offensionis languerat, memoria valebat. Piso- 21 2 3

3. **M'. Lepidus**: cf. III. 50. 1.
quartam: *sc.* **partem**; this was the regular share of the accuser by the *lex maiestatis*.

4. **pleraque**: he obtained the mitigation of many judgments which the flatterers of the emperor would have made more severe.
neque . . . egebat, *he had no need to control himself*, enjoying as he did the favor of the prince.
aequabili, *steady*.

5. **liceat**: *i.e.* by discretion (**aliquid in nostris consiliis**). For Tacitus' attitude on fatalism, see VI. 22.

6. **uxorum criminibus**: see the proposition of Cæcina, III. 33. 1; this had perhaps been occasioned by observation of the administration of Silius, who was in his near neighborhood.

21. ut rettuli: see II. 34. 1.
2. **revolvente**: as a habit.

nem Q. Granius secreti sermonis incusavit adversum maiestatem habiti, adiecitque in domo eius venenum
4 esse, eumque gladio accinctum introire curiam. Quod ut atrocius vero tramissum; ceterorum, quae multa cumulabantur, receptus est reus, neque peractus ob mor-
5 tem opportunam. Relatum et de Cassio Severo exsule, qui sordidae originis, maleficae vitae, sed orandi validus, per immodicas inimicitias ut iudicio iurati senatus Cretam amoveretur effecerat; atque illic eadem actitando recentia veteraque odia advertit, bonisque exutus, interdicto igni atque aqua, saxo Seripho consenuit.

22 Per idem tempus Plautius Silvanus praetor incertis causis Aproniam coniugem in praeceps iecit, tractusque ad Caesarem ab L. Apronio socero turbata mente respondit, tamquam ipse somno gravis atque eo ignarus,
2 et uxor sponte mortem sumpsisset. Non cunctanter Tiberius pergit in domum, visit cubiculum, in quo reluc-
3 tantis et impulsae vestigia cernebantur. Refert ad senatum, datisque iudicibus Urgulania Silvani avia pugionem nepoti misit. Quod perinde creditum quasi principis monitu, ob amicitiam Augustae cum Urgula-
4 nia. Reus frustra temptato ferro venas praebuit exsolvendas. Mox Numantina, prior uxor eius, accusata

3. **adversum maiestatem**, *treasonable*.

gladio, etc.: carrying concealed weapons into the senate was strictly forbidden.

5. **Cassio Severo**: see I. 72. 4.

orandi validus: Quintilian says of him (X. 1. 116), *ingenii plurimum est in eo et acerbitas mira, et urbanitas eius summa, sed plus stomacho quam consilio dedit.*

iurati, *on oath*, a more formal procedure, contrasted with the usual *discessio;* cf. I. 74. 5.

advertit: *sc.* **in se.**

saxo: the barren, rocky island.

22. in praeceps: out of the window.

2. **non cunctanter**, etc.: a striking example of Tiberius' earnestness in the administration of justice; cf. I. 75. 1.

3. **datis iudicibus**: either the regular criminal court, to which the senate referred the case, or a judicial committee of the senate itself.

amicitiam Augustae: II. 34. 3.

4. **venas exsolvendas**: opening

iniecisse carminibus et veneficiis vecordiam marito, insons iudicatur.

Is demum annus populum Romanum longo adversum **23** Numidam Tacfarinatem bello absolvit. Nam priores duces, ubi impetrando triumphalium insigni sufficere res suas crediderant, hostem omittebant; iamque tres laureatae in urbe statuae, et adhuc raptabat Africam Tacfarinas, auctus Maurorum auxiliis, qui, Ptolemaeo Iubae filio iuventa incurioso, libertos regios et servilia imperia bello mutaverant. Erat illi praedarum receptor ac so- 2 cius populandi rex Garamantum, non ut cum exercitu incederet, sed missis levibus copiis, quae ex longinquo in maius audiebantur; ipsaque e provincia, ut quis fortuna inops, moribus turbidus, promptius ruebant, quia Caesar post res a Blaeso gestas, quasi nullis iam in Africa hostibus, reportari nonam legionem iusserat, nec pro consule eius anni P. Dolabella retinere ausus erat, iussa principis magis quam incerta belli metuens. Igi- **24** tur Tacfarinas disperso rumore rem Romanam aliis quoque ab nationibus lacerari eoque paulatim Africa decedere, ac posse reliquos circumveniri, si cuncti, qui-

the arteries in a warm bath was a favorite mode of suicide.

iniecisse . . . vecordiam: and that this was the cause of the murder.

23. ubi: *i.e.* as soon as.

triumphalium insigni: the *ornamenta triumphalia;* see I. 72. 1; dative after **sufficere**.

tres . . . statuae: of Camillus (II. 52. 9), Blæsus (III. 72. 6), and probably Apronius (III. 21).

Ptolemaeo: see 5. 3 n.; his Egyptian name came from his mother, who was Cleopatra Selene, daughter of Mark Antony and Cleopatra.

iuventa: ablative of cause.

libertos . . . imperia: a hendiadys, — *the servile rule of the king's freedmen*, under the indolent (**incurioso**) prince.

2. **rex Garamantum**: III. 74. 2.

in maius: cf. *in deterius*, I. 62. 3; *in melius*, III. 54. 9; Intr. 35. *i.*

audiebantur, *were reported.*

ipsa provincia: the Roman province of Africa.

nonam legionem: see 5. 4.

24. paulatim: the ninth legion had gone, the other would follow soon.

reliquos; the troops who were left behind.

bus libertas servitio potior, incubuissent, auget vires positisque castris Thubuscum oppidum circumsidet.

2 At Dolabella contracto quod erat militum, terrore nominis Romani et quia Numidae peditum aciem ferre nequeunt, primo sui incessu solvit obsidium locorumque opportuna permunivit; simul principes Musulamiorum
3 defectionem coeptantes securi percutit. Dein, quia pluribus adversum Tacfarinatem expeditionibus cognitum non gravi nec uno incursu consectandum hostem vagum, excito cum popularibus rege Ptolemaeo quattuor agmina parat, quae legatis aut tribunis data; et praedatorias manus delecti Maurorum duxere: ipse consultor
25 aderat omnibus. Nec multo post adfertur Numidas apud castellum semirutum, ab ipsis quondam incensum, cui nomen Auzea, positis mapalibus consedisse, fisos
2 loco, quia vastis circum saltibus claudebatur. Tum expeditae cohortes alaeque, quam in partem ducerentur ignarae, cito agmine rapiuntur. Simulque coeptus dies et concentu tubarum ac truci clamore aderant semisomnos in barbaros, praepeditis Numidarum equis aut di-
3 versos pastus pererrantibus. Ab Romanis confertus pedes, dispositae turmae, cuncta proelio provisa; hosti-

Thubuscum: this is probably the same as Thubursicum, a town on the slopes of Mount Aurasius, in the southern part of Numidia, in the neighborhood of the Musulamii; it is mentioned by Mommsen (*Provinces*, II. 366) as having arisen from a former settlement of Numidians.

2. **sui**: Tacitus often uses this genitive without any special emphasis; cf. *nostri origine*, II. 54. 3.

Musulamiorum: see II. 52. 2.

3. **cognitum**: *sc.* **erat**; has for subject the clause **non . . . vagum**.

gravi . . . incursu: a single movement of heavy troops; he adopted the same policy as Blæsus (III. 74. 1).

praedatorias manus: in addition to the **quattuor agmina**.

25. Auzea: this town was further west than Thubuscum, in the eastern part of Mauretania.

positis mapalibus: equivalent to pitching tents (see III. 74. 5).

2. **coeptus**: *sc.* **est**.

praepeditis, *hobbled*, fastened by one foot, according to the custom of Orientals.

3. **ab Romanis**, *on the part of the Romans*.

confertus, *in close order*.

bus contra omnium nesciis non arma, non ordo, non consilium, sed pecorum modo trahi occidi capi. In- 4
fensus miles memoria laborum et adversum eludentis optatae totiens pugnae se quisque ultione et sanguine explebant. Differtur per manipulos, Tacfarinatem om- 5
nes, notum tot proeliis, consectentur: non nisi duce interfecto requiem belli fore. At ille deiectis circum 6
stipatoribus vinctoque iam filio et effusis undique Romanis, ruendo in tela captivitatem haud inulta morte effugit isque finis armis impositus.

Dolabellae petenti abnuit triumphalia Tiberius, Se- **26**
iano tribuens ne Blaesi avunculi eius laus obsolesceret. Sed neque Blaesus ideo illustrior, et huic negatus honor 2
gloriam intendit: quippe minore exercitu insignis captivos, caedem ducis bellique confecti famam deportarat. Sequebantur et Garamantum legati, raro in urbe visi, 3
quos Tacfarinate caeso perculsa gens et culpae nescia ad satis faciendum populo Romano miserat. Cognitis 4
dehinc Ptolemaei per id bellum studiis repetitus ex vetusto more honos missusque e senatoribus, qui scipionem eburnum, togam pictam, antiqua patrum munera, daret regemque et socium atque amicum appellaret.

Eadem aestate mota per Italiam servilis belli semina **27**
fors oppressit. Auctor tumultus T. Curtisius, quondam praetoriae cohortis miles, primo coetibus clandestinis apud Brundisium et circumiecta oppida, mox positis

5. **differtur**, *word is spread.*
6. **effusis**, *pouring in upon him.*
26. avunculi: see III. 72. 6. Of the motives of this refusal we really know nothing, but as Tiberius was already strongly under the influence of Sejanus, we may fairly admit the justice of Tacitus' suspicion, and regard this, like the case in 20. 2, as an indication of the change for the worse in Tiberius.
3. **culpae nescia**: it was their king, not the nation, that had sent aid to Tacfarinas (23. 2); some editors, nevertheless, change **et** to **set**.
4. **Ptolemaei**: king of Mauretania (23. 1). His sympathy (**studiis**) had been with the Romans.

propalam libellis ad libertatem vocabat agrestia per longinquos saltus et ferocia servitia, cum velut munere deum tres biremes appulere ad usus commeantium illo
2 mari. Et erat isdem regionibus Cutius Lupus quaestor, cui provincia vetere ex more calles evenerant: is disposita classiariorum copia coeptantem cum maxime
3 coniurationem disiecit. Missusque a Caesare propere Staius tribunus cum valida manu ducem ipsum et proximos audacia in urbem traxit, iam trepidam ob multitudinem familiarum, quae gliscebat immensum, minore in dies plebe ingenua.

28 Isdem consulibus miseriarum ac saevitiae exemplum atrox, reus pater, accusator filius (nomen utrique Vi-
2 bius Serenus) in senatum inducti sunt. Ab exsilio retractus illuvieque ac squalore obsitus et tum catena vinctus pater oranti filio comparatur. Adulescens multis munditiis, alacri vultu, structas principi insidias, missos in Galliam concitores belli index idem et testis dicebat, adnectebatque Caecilium Cornutum praetorium ministravisse pecuniam; qui taedio curarum, et quia periculum pro exitio habebatur, mortem in se festinavit.

27. libellis, *proclamations.*

per longinquos saltus: this part of Italy was occupied for the most part in pasturage, the herds being tended by slaves.

2. **provincia**: the word is used here in its primitive sense, as a special field of duties, not a territory to be administered.

calles, *lanes* = the lanes or by-paths by which the pastures were reached, and so, by usage, the pastures themselves. The extensive pastures, which were the property of the state in these regions, appear to have been under the charge of a quæstor, whose business it was to collect the revenues and protect the pastures from highwaymen, etc.; see App. I.

classiariorum: *i.e.* from the three biremes.

cum maxime: qualifies **coeptantem**, — *at its very beginning.*

3. **familiarum**, *slaves*; the slaves of a household were called *familia*.

quae gliscebat, etc.: slave labor was fast expelling the free population.

28. Vibius Serenus: see 13. 2.

2. **oranti**, *speaking*, — conducting the prosecution.

comparatur, *is confronted*, — a figure taken from gladiators.

multis munditiis, *elegantly dressed.*

At contra reus nihil infracto animo obversus in filium 3
quatere vincla, vocare ultores deos ut sibi quidem red-
derent exsilium, ubi procul tali more ageret, filium au-
tem quandoque supplicia sequerentur. Asseverabatque
innocentem Cornutum et falsa exterritum ; idque facile
intellectu, si proderentur alii : non enim se caedem
principis et res novas uno socio cogitasse. Tum accu- 29
sator Cn. Lentulum et Seium Tuberonem nominat,
magno pudore Caesaris, cum primores civitatis, intimi
ipsius amici, Lentulus senectutis extremae, Tubero de-
fecto corpore, tumultus hostilis et turbandae rei publicae
accerserentur. Sed hi quidem statim exempti ; in pa-
trem ex servis quaesitum, et quaestio adversa accusatori
fuit. Qui scelere vecors, simul vulgi rumore territus, 2
robur et saxum aut parricidarum poenas minitantium,
cessit urbe. Ac retractus Ravenna exsequi accusa- 3
tionem adigitur, non occultante Tiberio vetus odium
adversum exsulem Serenum. Nam post damnatum Libo- 4
nem missis ad Caesarem litteris exprobraverat suum tan-
tum studium sine fructu fuisse, addideratque quaedam
contumacius quam tutum apud aures superbas et offen-

belli: *i.e.* the war of Sacrovir.

index, etc.: the **index** was the one who brought the crime to the knowledge of the magistrates (II. 28. 3); here the son also gave testimony in the trial as **testis**.

3. **falsa exterritum**, *terrified by lies;* **falsa** is a Græcism, an adverbial accusative.

alii: *i.e.* conspirators, besides Cornutus; no man would be so rash as to conspire with one accomplice.

29. Cn. Lentulum: for his death see 44. 1.

Seium Tuberonem: brother of Sejanus.

accerserentur, *were accused of.*

2. **minitantium**: agrees with **vulgi**. By **robur** is meant the Tullianum or Mamertine prison, just above the Forum, described by Sallust (*Cat.* 55), and still to be seen; **saxum** is the Tarpeian rock, from which evil-doers were hurled; parricides were sewed in a sack with a dog, a cock, a viper, and a monkey, and then dropped in the sea.

3. **exsequi accusationem**: which he had dropped when the preliminary investigation (**quaestio**) had gone against him.

4. **post damnatum Libonem**: Serenus (the father) had been one of the accusers (II. 30. 1), and, it seems, had alone of the accusers received no share of Libo's property.

sioni proniores. Ea Caesar octo post annos rettulit, medium tempus varie arguens, etiam si tormenta per-
30 vicacia servorum contra evenissent. Dictis dein sententiis ut Serenus more maiorum puniretur, quo molliret
2 invidiam, intercessit. Gallus Asinius *cum* Gyaro aut Donusa claudendum censeret, id quoque aspernatus est, egenam aquae utramque insulam referens dandosque
3 vitae usus, cui vita concederetur. Ita Serenus Amorgum reportatur. Et quia Cornutus sua manu ceciderat, actum de praemiis accusatorum abolendis, si quis maiestatis postulatus ante perfectum iudicium se ipse vita
4 privavisset. Ibaturque in eam sententiam, ni durius contraque morem suum palam pro accusatoribus Caesar irritas leges, rem publicam in praecipiti conquestus esset: subverterent potius iura quam custodes eorum
5 amoverent. Sic delatores, genus hominum publico exitio repertum et *nec* poenis quidem umquam satis coercitum, per praemia eliciebantur.

31 His tam assiduis tamque maestis modica laetitia intericitur, quod C. Cominium equitem Romanum, probrosi in se carminis convictum, Caesar precibus fratris,
2 qui senator erat, concessit. Quo magis mirum habeba-

5. **medium tempus**, etc.: the man was clearly of a bad character, and the offences for which he had been banished the year before had been committed since the affair of Libo. But although the emperor desired his conviction, it is noticeable that he took care to make the punishment as mild as possible.

contra evenissent, *had failed.*

30. more maiorum: by scourging and beheading (see II. 32. 5).

2. **Gyaro aut Donusa**: two small islands among the Cyclades.

3. **Amorgum**: his former place of exile (13. 2).

de praemiis, etc.: see 20. 3; it would seem that in such cases the informers received their share, even although the property as a whole was not confiscated.

4. **ibatur . . . ni**, *it was on the point of being voted, but.*

irritas: *sc.* **fore.**

subverterent, *abolish.*

custodes eorum: see Intr. 16. To disappoint the accusers of their share of the confiscated property, and thus put an end to their trade, would be to abolish the machinery for the punishment of crimes.

5. **publico exitio**: dative.

tur gnarum meliorum, et quae fama clementiam sequeretur, tristiora malle. Neque enim socordia peccabat; 3
nec occultum est quando ex veritate, quando adumbrata laetitia facta imperatorum celebrentur. Quin ipse, 4
compositus alias et velut eluctantium verborum, solutius promptiusque eloquebatur, quotiens subveniret. At P. 5
Suillium, quaestorem quondam Germanici, cum Italia arceretur convictus pecuniam ob rem iudicandam cepisse, amovendum in insulam censuit, tanta contentione animi ut iure iurando obstringeret e re publica id esse. Quod aspere acceptum ad praesens mox in laudem 6
vertit regresso Suillio; quem vidit sequens aetas praepotentem, venalem et Claudii principis amicitia diu prospere, numquam bene usum. Eadem poena in Ca- 7
tum Firmium senatorem statuitur, tamquam falsis maiestatis criminibus sororem petivisset. Catus, ut rettuli, Libonem illexerat insidiis, deinde indicio perculerat. Eius operae memor Tiberius, sed alia praetendens, ex- 8
silium deprecatus est; quo minus senatu pelleretur non obstitit.

Pleraque eorum, quae rettuli quaeque referam, parva 32

31. 2. **quae fama**, etc.: this judgment as to the emperor's disposition is significant; he always acted with deliberation (**neque socordia peccabat**), and it was easy to note his gratification when he could temper justice with mercy (**quotiens subveniret**: *sc.* **reo**); but he was not deterred from severe measures by their unpopularity, to which the applause of his flatterers did not blind him (**nec occultum est**, etc.).

4. **eluctantium**, *struggling forth*; *i.e.* uttered slowly and with difficulty.

5. **cum Italia arceretur**: the penalty of *relegatio* (III. 17. 8 n.) was on the point of being voted, when he substituted *deportatio in insulam*, a punishment which took the place (with enhanced severity) of *aquae et ignis interdictio*. It required residence in a specified place, generally an island, and entailed loss of citizenship (Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht*, III. 140).

contentione, *earnestness*.

iure iurando, etc., *swore* (I. 14. 6).

6. **aspere acceptum**: the aristocracy was not fond of seeing justice exercised upon members of its own order.

7. **ut rettuli**: II. 27. 2.

forsitan et levia memoratu videri non nescius sum; sed nemo annales nostros cum scriptura eorum contenderit,
2 qui veteres populi Romani res composuere. Ingentia illi bella, expugnationes urbium, fusos captosque reges, aut si quando ad interna praeverterent, discordias consulum adversum tribunos, agrarias frumentariasque leges, plebis et optimatium certamina libero egressu
3 memorabant: nobis in arto et inglorius labor; immota quippe aut modice lacessita pax, maestae urbis res et
4 princeps proferendi imperii incuriosus erat. Non tamen sine usu fuerit introspicere illa primo aspectu levia, ex
33 quis magnarum saepe rerum motus oriuntur. Nam cunctas nationes et urbes populus aut primores aut singuli regunt; delecta ex iis et consociata rei publicae forma laudari facilius quam evenire, vel si evenit, haud
2 diuturna esse potest. Igitur ut olim plebe valida, vel cum patres pollerent, noscenda vulgi natura et quibus modis temperanter haberetur, senatusque et optimatium ingenia qui maxime perdidicerant, callidi temporum et sapientes credebantur, sic converso statu neque

32. **annales nostros**: see Intr. 3, (5) n.

2. **agrarias frumentariasque leges**: the agrarian laws, providing for the distribution of land to poor citizens, and the corn laws, providing for the distribution of grain at less than the market price.

libero egressu, *with free scope;* contrasted with **in arto**.

3. **immota . . . erat**: a peaceful policy did not deserve the attention of the historian. Intr. 34.

33. **nationes et urbes**: the Greeks and Romans built their political system upon the *City*, in contrast to the *Nations* of the Orient.

populus, etc.: democracy, aristocracy, and monarchy.

delecta ex iis: the mixed form of government, praised by philosophers, of which the modern constitutional monarchy is an example.

2. **plebe valida**, etc.: Intr. 35. *r.*

noscenda: *sc.* **erat**. The construction changes with the clause **quibus**, etc., with which is to be understood **noscendum**. This clause belongs to **plebe valida**, — under democracies the way of managing the people must be studied; the clause **senatus . . . credebantur** belongs to **cum patres pollerent**, — in aristocracies those are esteemed wise statesmen who understand the senate and nobles.

converso statu, *the government having been changed.*

alia re Romana quam si unus imperitet, haec conquiri tradique in rem fuerit, quia pauci prudentia honesta ab deterioribus, utilia ab noxiis discernunt, plures aliorum eventis docentur. Ceterum ut profutura, ita minimum 3 oblectationis adferunt. Nam situs gentium, varietates proeliorum, clari ducum exitus retinent ac redintegrant legentium animum: nos saeva iussa, continuas accusationes, fallaces amicitias, perniciem innocentium et easdem exitu causas coniungimus, obvia rerum similitudine et satietate. Tum quod antiquis scriptoribus rarus ob- 4 trectator, neque refert cuiusquam Punicas Romanasne acies laetius extuleris: at multorum, qui Tiberio regente poenam vel infamias subiere, posteri manent. Utque 5 familiae ipsae iam exstinctae sint, reperies qui ob similitudinem morum aliena malefacta sibi obiectari putent. Etiam gloria ac virtus infensos habet, ut nimis ex pro- 6 pinquo diversa arguens. Sed ad inceptum redeo.

Cornelio Cosso Asinio Agrippa consulibus Cremutius **34** Cordus postulatur, novo ac tunc primum audito crimine, quod editis annalibus laudatoque M. Bruto C. Cassium

alia . . . quam, *other than;* ablative absolute; it was a monarchy in fact, if not in form.

haec: 32. 1.

in rem, *to the purpose;* predicate with **fuerit**.

pauci, *only a few;* the distinction is between the discernment of principles and the teaching of experience.

prudentia: ablative.

3. easdem exitu, *always having the same issue.* Some editors change **exitu** to **exitii**.

4. tum quod: for *accedit quod*, or the like; he goes back to 32, and gives another reason why **nemo contenderit**, etc,

Romanasne: see App. I.

5. ut, *although.*

6. ut nimis, etc.: *i.e.* the nearness of the illustration in time makes the comparison distasteful.

34. Asinio Agrippa: he was son of Asinius Gallus, by Vipsania, daughter of Agrippa.

Cremutius Cordus: he wrote a history of the Civil Wars and one of the reign of Augustus. The work in question had been published some years before.

novo . . . crimine: cf. *Agricola*, 2: *legimus cum Aruleno Rustico Paetus Thrasea, Herennio Senecioni Priscus Helvidius laudati essent, capitale fuisse.*

2 Romanorum ultimum dixisset. Accusabant Satrius Secundus et Pinarius Natta, Seiani clientes. Id perniciabile reo, et Caesar truci vultu defensionem accipiens quam Cremutius, relinquendae vitae certus, in hunc modum exorsus est: 'Verba mea, patres conscripti, ar-
3 guuntur: adeo factorum innocens sum. Sed neque haec in principem aut principis parentem, quos lex maiestatis amplectitur; Brutum et Cassium laudavisse dicor, quorum res gestas cum plurimi composuerint, nemo
4 sine honore memoravit. Titus Livius, eloquentiae ac fidei praeclarus in primis, Cn. Pompeium tantis laudibus tulit ut Pompeianum eum Augustus appellaret; neque
5 id amicitiae eorum offecit. Scipionem, Afranium, hunc ipsum Cassium, hunc Brutum nusquam latrones et parricidas, quae nunc vocabula imponuntur, saepe ut insignis
6 viros nominat. Asinii Pollionis scripta egregiam eorundem memoriam tradunt; Messalla Corvinus imperato-

Romanorum ultimum: Suetonius (*Tib.* 61) says, *quod Brutum Cassiumque ultimos Romanorum dixisset.* This term was, however, applied to Cassius by Brutus himself, and was probably taken up by Cordus. This sole example of the condemnation of a literary work by Tiberius is defended by Stahr on the ground that to eulogize Brutus and Cassius because of their assassination of Cæsar was an open declaration that the act might rightfully be repeated.

2. **Satrius Secundus**: the one who afterwards betrayed the plot of Sejanus to Antonia (VI. 47. 2).

Seiani clientes: according to Seneca (*Cons. ad Marc.* 22. 4), Sejanus was enraged, *quod* [*Cordus*] *tacitus ferre non potuerat Seianum in cervices nostras ne imponi quidem, sed escendere* (see also III. 72. 5 n.).

et Caesar, etc., *and also the fact that Cæsar*, etc.; connected by **et** with **id**, *i.e.* the fact that the accusers were dependents of Sejanus.

adeo, *so true it is that.*

4. **fidei**, *impartiality.* Cf. Sen. *Suas.* 6. 22: *natura candidissimus omnium magnorum ingeniorum aestimator T. Livius.*

5. **Scipionem**: Metellus Scipio, father-in-law of Pompey, who led the opponents of Cæsar after the death of Pompey; like Cato, he killed himself after the battle of Thapsus. Afranius was another leader of the same party.

quae, etc.: Valerius Maximus, who flourished in the reign of Tiberius, says (I. 8. 8), *Cassius numquam sine praefatione publici patricidii nominandus;* similarly of Brutus (VI. 4. 5).

6. **Asinii Pollionis**: I. 12. 6 n.
Messalla: III. 34. 2 n.

rem suum Cassium praedicabat: et uterque opibus atque honoribus perviguere. Marci Ciceronis libro, 7
quo Catonem caelo aequavit, quid aliud dictator Caesar quam rescripta oratione, velut apud iudices, respondit? Antonii epistulae, Bruti contiones falsa quidem in Au- 8
gustum probra, sed multa cum acerbitate habent; carmina Bibaculi et Catulli referta contumeliis Caesarum leguntur: sed ipse divus Iulius, ipse divus Augustus et tulere ista et reliquere, haud facile dixerim moderatione magis an sapientia. Namque spreta exolescunt: si irascare, agnita videntur. Non attingo Graecos, quorum 35
non modo libertas, etiam libido impunita; aut si quis advertit, dictis dicta ultus est. Sed maxime solutum et 2
sine obtrectatore fuit prodere de iis quos mors odio aut gratiae exemisset. Num enim armatis Cassio et Bruto 3
ac Philippenses campos obtinentibus belli civilis causa populum per contiones incendo? an illi quidem septuagesimum ante annum perempti, quo modo imaginibus suis noscuntur, quas ne victor quidem abolevit, sic partem memoriae apud scriptores retinent? Suum cuique 4
decus posteritas rependit; nec deerunt, si damnatio ingruit, qui non modo Cassii et Bruti, sed etiam mei meminerint.'

7. **Marci Ciceronis,** etc.: this book was called *Laus Catonis* (A. Gell. XIII. 19), or simply *Cato* (Cic. *ad Att.* XIII. 46); Cæsar replied in a work called *Anticato* (A. Gell. IV. 16), of which Cicero says (*ad Att.* XII. 40), *colligit vitia Catonis, sed cum maximis laudibus meis.*

8. **Antonii epistulae,** etc.: some extracts from these letters are given by Suetonius (*Oct.* 7, 16, 63, 69). Of these speeches of Brutus nothing is known. Bibaculus was a poet, described by Horace (*Sat.* II. 5. 40) as of an inflated style. The vulgar abuse of Cæsar in the poems of Catullus (11 and 29) is still extant.

spreta, *if you despise them.*

agnita, *recognized = confessed.*

35. 2. **solutum,** *free.*

3. **num**: when used, as here, to introduce the first member of a double question, **num** has the same force as in single questions; *i.e.* the question introduced by **num** is negatived, that introduced by **an** is asserted, — *is it not rather?* etc.

4. **etiam mei**: *i.e.* as a champion of liberty.

5 Egressus dein senatu vitam abstinentia finivit. Libros per aediles cremandos censuere patres: sed manse-
6 runt, occultati et editi. Quo magis socordiam eorum irridere libet, qui praesenti potentia credunt exstingui posse etiam sequentis aevi memoriam. Nam contra punitis ingeniis gliscit auctoritas, neque aliud externi reges aut qui eadem saevitia usi sunt nisi dedecus sibi
36 atque illis gloriam peperere. Ceterum postulandis reis tam continuus annus fuit ut feriarum Latinarum diebus praefectum urbis Drusum, auspicandi gratia tribunal ingressum, adierit Calpurnius Salvianus in Sextum Marium; quod a Caesare palam increpitum causa exsilii

5. **vitam abstinentia finivit**: this is described by Seneca, *Consolatio ad Marciam*, 22. 6 (Marcia was his daughter, whom he kept in ignorance of his design): *in cubiculum se quasi gustaturus contulit et dimissis pueris quaedam per fenestram, ut videretur edisse, proiecit. A cena deinde, quasi iam satis in cubiculo edisset, abstinuit. Altero quoque die et tertio idem fecit. Quartus ipsa infirmitate corporis faciebat indicium. Complexus itaque te: "Carissima," inquit, "filia, et hoc unum tota celata vita, iter mortis ingressus sum, et iam medium fere teneo. Revocare me nec debes nec potes." Atque ita iussit lumen omne praecludi et se in tenebras condidit.* His daughter afterwards published his writings.

6. **auctoritas**, *influence.*

36. continuus, *uninterrupted; i.e.* even by this solemn festival.

feriarum Latinarum: a movable festival (*feriae conceptivae*), appointed directly after the new consuls entered upon their office, and generally celebrated in the spring. It was held upon the Alban Mount, at this period for four days.

praefectum urbis: under the kings and in the early republic the chief magistrate appointed a *praefectus urbis* to administer in his absence, whenever he was absent from the city for more than one day. After the establishment of the office of prætor, that of præfect was no longer necessary, except on the occasion of the Latin Festival, which all magistrates were required to attend. The office became, therefore, a mere form, being filled by young men below the senatorial age, and with the understanding that no business of importance should be brought before them; hence the irregularity of this prosecution. This officer was distinguished from the regular city præfect by the title *praefectus urbi feriarum Latinarum causa.*

auspicandi: the duty of every magistrate on assuming office. The auspices were regularly taken upon the *Arx*, or northern summit of the Capitoline; the tribunal employed on this occasion was that which he was entitled to use by virtue of his office.

increpitum: perhaps on the ground of this irregularity; but Ti-

Salviano fuit. Obiecta publice Cyzicenis incuria cae- 2
rimoniarum divi Augusti, additis violentiae criminibus
adversum cives Romanos. Et amisere libertatem quam 3
bello Mithridatis meruerant, circumsessi nec minus sua
constantia quam praesidio Luculli pulso rege. At Fon- 4
teius Capito, qui pro consule Asiam curaverat, absolvi-
tur, comperto ficta in eum crimina per Vibium Serenum.
Neque tamen id Sereno noxae fuit, quem odium publi- 5
cum tutiorem faciebat. Nam ut quis destrictior accusa-
tor, velut sacrosanctus erat: leves, ignobiles poenis
adficiebantur.

Per idem tempus Hispania ulterior missis ad senatum **37**
legatis oravit ut exemplo Asiae delubrum Tiberio matri- 2
que eius exstrueret. Qua occasione Caesar, validus
alioqui spernendis honoribus et respondendum ratus iis
quorum rumore arguebatur in ambitionem flexisse,
huiusce modi orationem coepit: 'Scio, patres conscripti, 3
constantiam meam a plerisque desideratam, quod Asiae
civitatibus nuper idem istud petentibus non sim adver-
satus. Ergo et prioris silentii defensionem et quid in
futurum statuerim, simul aperiam. Cum divus Augus- 4
tus sibi atque urbi Romae templum apud Pergamum

berius had not yet wholly lost his disposition to check the excesses of the delators.

2. **Cyzicenis**: they had failed to complete a chapel (ἡρῷον), which they had commenced to Augustus, and had imprisoned some Romans (Dio, LVII. 24).

3. **bello Mithridatis**: this is the siege of Cyzicus mentioned by Cicero in his oration for the Manilian law (8. 20); they had forfeited their privileges once before, in the reign of Augustus, but they had been afterwards restored.

4. **Vibium Serenum**: of course, the son (28. 1).

5. **destrictior**: the figure is taken from a drawn sword, — *more active* or *vindictive;* cf. Plin. *Epp.* IX. 21. 4, *destricte minatus.*

37. exemplo Asiae: see 15. 4; on this occasion the name of the senate was added to those of Tiberius and his mother. Furneaux suggests that the occasion was gratitude for the punishment of Serenus (30).

2. **ambitionem**, *vain-glory.*

3. **desideratam**, *missed,* on the earlier occasion.

sisti non prohibuisset, qui omnia facta dictaque eius vice legis observem, placitum iam exemplum promptius secutus sum, quia cultui meo veneratio senatus adiungebatur. Ceterum ut semel recepisse veniam habuerit, ita omnes per provincias effigie numinum sacrari ambitiosum superbum; et vanescet Augusti honor, si promiscis adulationibus vulgatur. Ego me, patres conscripti, mortalem esse et hominum officia fungi satisque habere, si locum principem impleam, et vos testor et meminisse posteros volo; qui satis superque memoriae meae tribuent, ut maioribus meis dignum, rerum vestrarum providum, constantem in periculis, offensionum pro utilitate publica non pavidum credant. Haec mihi in animis vestris templa, hae pulcherrimae effigies et mansurae. Nam quae saxo struuntur, si iudicium posterorum in odium vertit, pro sepulcris spernuntur. Proinde socios cives et deos ipsos precor, hos ut mihi ad finem usque vitae quietam et intellegentem humani divinique iuris mentem duint, illos ut, quandoque concessero, cum laude et bonis recordationibus facta atque famam nominis mei prosequantur.' Perstititque posthac secretis etiam sermonibus aspernari talem sui cultum. Quod alii

4. **qui . . . observem**: Strabo says (VI. 288), Τιβέριος, κανόνα τῆς διοικήσεως καὶ τῶν προσταγμάτων ποιούμενος ἐκεῖνον [Augustus].

placitum, *approved.*

5. **effigie numinum**, *a statue with divine attributes;* the genitive defines the class of statues meant; cf. I. 10. 5.

38. officia: Tacitus uses *fungor* with the accusative only here and III. 2. 1, — in each case quoting from Tiberius, who appears to have affected an archaic style; cf. App. I. (note on III. 2. 1).

ut = *dummodo:* in this sense generally with a correlative *ita*. All the merits here claimed must certainly be conceded to him up to this time; later his natural severity of disposition degenerated into unreasoning cruelty.

2. **mansurae**: cf. Verg. *Aen.* III. 86.

pro sepulcris: *i.e.* as the abode of the dead, not of a living deity.

3. **duint**: cf. Cic. *Cat.* I. 9. 22.

concessero: see II. 71. 2 n.

4. **secretis**, *private.*

alii, etc.: Intr. 35 *r.*

modestiam, multi, quia diffideret, quidam ut degeneris animi interpretabantur. Optimos quippe mortalium altissima cupere: sic Herculem et Liberum apud Graecos, Quirinum apud nos deum numero additos; melius Augustum, qui speraverit. Cetera principibus statim adesse: unum insatiabiliter parandum, prosperam sui memoriam; nam contemptu famae contemni virtutes.

At Seianus nimia fortuna socors et muliebri insuper cupidine incensus, promissum matrimonium flagitante Livia, componit ad Caesarem codicillos: moris quippe tum erat quamquam praesentem scripto adire. Eius talis forma fuit: benevolentia patris Augusti et mox plurimis Tiberii iudiciis ita insuevisse ut spes votaque sua non prius ad deos quam ad principum aures conferret. Neque fulgorem honorum umquam precatum: excubias ac labores, ut unum e militibus, pro incolumitate imperatoris malle. Ac tamen quod pulcherrimum adeptum, ut coniunctione Caesaris dignus crederetur: hinc initium spei. Et quoniam audiverit Augustum in collocanda filia non nihil etiam de equitibus Romanis

5. **sic Herculem**, etc.: see Horace, *Od.* III. 3. 9–16: *Hac arte Pollux et vagus Hercules | Enisus arces attigit igneas, | Quos inter Augustus recumbens | Purpureo bibit ore nectar. | Hac te merentem, Bacche pater, tuae | Vexere tigres, indocili iugum | Collo trahentes, — hac Quirinus | Martis equis Acheronta fugit.* |

melius: see I. 43. 1 n.

speraverit: contrasted with **diffideret** above.

6. **statim**: *i.e.*, without effort.

contemptu famae: but in the words, **cum laude**, etc., there is a noble expression of desire for a more genuine and worthy fame than the popular view of deification.

39. muliebri: relating to Livilla; cf. I. 33. 6.

codicillos, *a memorial.*

moris . . . adire: Cæsar introduced this practice (Plut. *Caes.* 17), and Augustus even conversed with his wife Livia on important subjects in writing, *ne plus minusve loqueretur ex tempore* (Suet. *Oct.* 84).

2. **eius**: related by synesis to **codicillos.**

4. **coniunctione Caesaris**: see 7. 3, and III. 29. 5.

5. **de equitibus Romanis**: Suetonius (*Oct.* 63) says, *multis ac diu, etiam ex equestri ordine, circumspectis condicionibus;* probably Proculeius, mentioned in the next chapter, was one of these.

consultavisse, ita, si maritus Liviae quaereretur, haberet in animo amicum sola necessitudinis gloria usurum.
6 Non enim exuere imposita munia: satis aestimare firmari domum adversum iniquas Agrippinae offensiones, idque liberorum causa; nam sibi multum superque vitae fore, quod tali cum principe explevisset.
40 Ad ea Tiberius laudata pietate Seiani suisque in eum beneficiis modice percursis, cum tempus tamquam ad integram consultationem petivisset, adiunxit: ceteris mortalibus in eo stare consilia, quid sibi conducere putent; principum diversam esse sortem, quibus praecipua rerum ad famam derigenda. Ideo se non illuc decurrere, quod promptum rescriptu, posse ipsam Liviam statuere nubendum post Drusum an in penatibus isdem tolerandum haberet; esse illi matrem et aviam, propiora
3 consilia. Simplicius acturum, de inimicitiis primum Agrippinae, quas longe acrius arsuras si matrimonium Liviae velut in partes domum Caesarum distraxisset.
4 Sic quoque erumpere aemulationem feminarum, eaquè discordia nepotes suos convelli: quid si intendatur cer-
5 tamen tali coniugio? 'Falleris enim, Seiane, si te man-

sola: *i.e.* he would aspire to nothing higher; cf. III. 57. 3 n.

necessitudinis, *connection* (here by marriage).

6. **munia**: as prætorian præfect.

satis: *sc.* **esse.**

domum, etc.: representing Agrippina as his personal enemy.

liberorum causa: not on his own account; for he was protected by the emperor, whom he had no wish to survive (**sibi multum,** etc.). Furneaux.

40. praecipua rerum: Intr. 35 *d.*

2. **illuc,** *to this answer; i.e.* **posse ipsam Liviam,** etc.

nubendum: *sc.* **sibi esse.**

matrem, aviam: see Intr. p. xxix., no. 19.

3. **Agrippinae**: see 39. 6; it will be noticed that fear of Agrippina's ambition is given as a leading motive of Tiberius at this period. The rivalry of her family (that of Germanicus) with that of Drusus is represented as already strong; the marriage of Livia would give birth to a third faction.

4. **sic quoque,** *even as things were.*

nepotes suos: the children of Germanicus and of Drusus.

intendatur, *made more intense.*

surum in eodem ordine putas, et Liviam, quae Gaio Caesari, mox Druso nupta fuerit, ea mente acturam ut cum equite Romano senescat. Ego ut sinam, credisne pas- 6
suros qui fratrem eius, qui patrem maioresque nostros in summis imperiis videre? Vis tu quidem istum intra 7
locum sistere: sed illi magistratus et primores, qui te invitum perrumpunt omnibusque de rebus consulunt, excessisse iam pridem equestre fastigium longeque antisse patris mei amicitias non occulti ferunt, perque invidiam tui me quoque incusant. At enim Augustus filiam suam equiti Romano tradere meditatus est: mi- 8
rum hercule, si cum in omnis curas distraheretur, immensumque attolli provideret quem coniunctione tali super alios extulisset, C. Proculeium et quosdam in sermonibus habuit insigni tranquillitate vitae, nullis rei publicae negotiis permixtos. Sed si dubitatione Au- 9
gusti movemur, quanto validius est quod Marco Agrippae, mox mihi collocavit? Atque ego haec pro amicitia 10
non occultavi: ceterum neque tuis neque Liviae destinatis adversabor. Ipse quid intra animum voluta- 11

5. **in eodem ordine**: *i.e.* the equestrian order, to which Sejanus belonged. Membership of this order was inconsistent with a political career; but Sejanus must have entered the senatorial order when he held the consulship, A.D. 31.

7. **istum locum**: the equestrian order.

te perrumpunt, *break through your reserve.*

patris mei amicitias: such as Agrippa, Mæcenas, and Proculeius, mentioned below.

8. **in omnis curas**, etc.: Augustus, unlike Tiberius, had on his shoulders all the cares of state; while his contemplated sons-in-law were, unlike Sejanus, withdrawn from public life, and would be elevated by their marriage.

immensum: adverbial, qualifying **attolli**.

C. Proculeium: of whom Horace speaks (*Od.* II. 2. 5): — *Vivet extento Proculeius aevo,* | *Notus in fratres animi paterni.*

insigni . . . permixtos: these men lived modestly and humbly, in contrast to Sejanus.

9. **quanto validius**, etc.: his final decision, after deliberation, should weigh more than his hesitation. Agrippa was, to be sure, of low birth, but he had attained senatorial rank.

10. **pro amicitia**, *as our friendship demands.*

verim, quibus adhuc necessitudinibus immiscere te mihi
12 parem, omittam ad praesens referre ; id tantum aperiam, nihil esse tam excelsum quod non virtutes istae tuusque in me animus mereantur, datoque tempore vel in senatu vel in contione non reticebo.'

41 Rursum Seianus, non iam de matrimonio, sed altius metuens, tacita suspicionum, vulgi rumorem, ingruen-
2 tem invidiam deprecatur. Ac ne assiduos in domum coetus arcendo infringeret potentiam aut receptando facultatem criminantibus praeberet, huc flexit, ut Tiberium ad vitam procul Roma amoenis locis degendam im-
3 pelleret. Multa quippe providebat : sua in manu aditus litterarumque magna ex parte se arbitrum fore, cum per milites commearent ; mox Caesarem vergente iam senecta secretoque loci mollitum munia imperii facilius tramissurum : et minui sibi invidiam adempta salutantum turba, sublatisque inanibus veram potentiam augeri.
4 Igitur paulatim negotia urbis, populi accursus, multitudinem adfluentium increpat, extollens laudibus quietem et solitudinem, quis abesse taedia et offensiones ac praecipua rerum maxime agitari.

42 Ac forte habita per illos dies de Votieno Montano,

41. rursum, *in reply*, in a second letter.

altius: *i.e.* the intimation that he was looked upon as already too powerful.

suspicionum: Intr. 35 *d*.

2. **assiduos coetus**: relates to **qui . . . consulunt** in the last chapter: by excluding the nobles from his house he would be guilty of an affront, by receiving them he would incur more and more suspicion.

3. **aditus**: *sc.* **ad principem**.

per milites: soldiers called *speculatores* (see Suet. *Calig.* 44) were employed as couriers in the army, although the regular letter-carriers (*tabellarii*) of the imperial post were ordinarily slaves or freedmen. Hirschfeld, *Untersuchungen*, p. 105.

tramissurum, *let slip through his hands*.

adempta . . . turba: the crowd of dependents and parasites who every morning attended the hall of the great man.

4. **praecipua . . . agitari**: *i.e.* there would be leisure to attend to really important concerns.

42. Votieno Montano: an orator of some distinction,—*rarissimi*,

celebris ingenii viro, cognitio cunctantem iam Tiberium perpulit ut vitandos crederet patrum coetus vocesque, quae plerumque verae et graves coram ingerebantur. Nam postulato Votieno ob contumelias in Caesarem dic- 2
tas, testis Aemilius e militaribus viris dum studio probandi cuncta refert et quamquam inter obstrepentes magna asseveratione nititur, audivit Tiberius probra quis per occultum lacerabatur, adeoque perculsus est ut se vel statim vel in cognitione purgaturum clamitaret precibusque proximorum, adulatione omnium aegre componeret animum. Et Votienus quidem maiestatis poe- 3
nis adfectus est. Caesar obiectam sibi adversus reos inclementiam eo pervicacius amplexus Aquiliam adulterii delatam cum Vario Ligure, quamquam Lentulus Gaetulicus consul designatus lege Iulia damnasset, exsilio punivit Apidiumque Merulam, quod in acta divi Augusti non iuraverat, albo senatorio erasit.

Auditae dehinc Lacedaemoniorum et Messeniorum **43**
legationes de iure templi Dianae Limnatidis, quod suis

etiam si non emendatissimi ingenii (Sen. *Contr.* IX. 5. 15).

cunctantem iam: he had already brought the emperor to consider the project, but he still hesitated.

voces, *abusive language.*

coram, *in his presence,* contrasted with **per occultum** below.

2. **obstrepentes**: *i.e.* the senators, in the effort to drown his voice, which he raised above the din (**magna asseveratione**); cf. *obturbabant*, VI. 24. 4.

lacerabatur: the imperfect shows that it is not the specific assaults of Votienus that excited him, but the knowledge that he was popularly the object of attacks of this nature. See Intr. 14.

cognitione, *the trial;* at present it was only a preliminary examination.

3. **eo pervicacius amplexus**: driven by these indignities to accept with insistence the character of severity which had been attributed to him.

damnasset: *i.e.* had given his *sententia* to this effect, having been called upon first, as *consul designatus;* so with **punivit**.

exsilio: this punishment entailed the loss of citizenship and property; while the Lex Iulia inflicted temporary exile, with loss of only a part of the property (II. 50. 5 n.).

in . . . iuraverat: see I. 72. 2.

43. de iure templi: *i.e.* the jurisdiction over it. The temple was at Limnæ, on the confines of

a maioribus suaque in terra dicatum Lacedaemonii firmabant annalium memoria vatumque carminibus, sed Macedonis Philippi, cum quo bellassent, armis ademptum ac post C. Caesaris et M. Antonii sententia reddi-
2 tum. Contra Messenii veterem inter Herculis posteros divisionem Peloponnesi protulere, suoque regi Denthaliatem agrum, in quo id delubrum, cessisse ; monumentaque
3 eius rei sculpta saxis et aere prisco manere. Quod si vatum annalium ad testimonia vocentur, plures sibi ac locupletiores esse ; neque Philippum potentia, sed ex
4 vero statuisse : idem regis Antigoni, idem imperatoris
5 Mummii iudicium ; sic Milesios permisso publice arbitrio, postremo Atidium Geminum praetorem Achaiae
6 decrevisse. Ita secundum Messenios datum. Et Segestani aedem Veneris montem apud Erycum, vetustate

Messenia and Laconia. It will be remembered that Messenia was for several hundred years subject to the Lacedæmonians, so that questions of boundary and jurisdiction might easily arise.

Macedonis Philippi: the father of Alexander the Great.

2. **divisionem Peloponnesi**: at the Dorian conquest of the Peloponnesus, the so-called *Return of the Heraclidæ*, at the traditionary date of B.C. 1104. At this time the three great Dorian states of Argos, Sparta, and Messene were founded.

Denthaliatem agrum: probably the name of the district in which the temple was situated. A late writer, Stephanus Byzantius, speaks of certain Δενθάλιοι, who are perhaps the same.

3. **locupletiores**, *more reliable.*

potentia, *by an arbitrary act of power.*

4. **regis Antigoni**: Antigonus Doson; he invaded the Peloponnesus, B.C. 223, and died two years later.

imperatoris Mummii: the Roman commander who captured Corinth, B.C. 146.

5. **permisso . . . arbitrio**: *i.e.* they had been taken as umpires. An inscription containing their judgment has been discovered, from which it appears that the vote in favor of the Messenian claim was 584 to 16. From this Furneaux infers "that the case was clear, and that the subsequent counter-decision was probably an instance in which Antonius had traded on the memoranda of Cæsar." The date was probably B.C. 135.

Atidium Geminum: perhaps B.C. 29 (Nipperdey).

6. **Segestani**: the people of Segesta, in Sicily, near Mount Eryx. The worship of Venus on this mountain was believed to have been founded by Æneas (Verg. *Aen.* V. 759) in honor of his brother Eryx, son of Venus and Butes. The form **Erycum** is found in Cicero (*Verr.* Act. II., II. 8. 22; 47. 115).

dilapsam, restaurari postulavere, nota memorantes de origine eius et laeta Tiberio. Suscepit curam libens ut consanguineus. Tunc tractatae Massiliensium preces 7
probatumque P. Rutilii exemplum; namque eum legibus pulsum civem sibi Zmyrnaei addiderant. Quo iure 8
Vulcatius Moschus exsul in Massilienses receptus bona sua rei publicae eorum ut patriae reliquerat.

Obiere eo anno viri nobiles Cn. Lentulus et L. Do- 44
mitius. Lentulo super consulatum et triumphalia de Getis gloriae fuerat bene tolerata paupertas, dein magnae opes innocenter partae et modeste habitae. Domi- 2
tium decoravit pater civili bello maris potens, donec Antonii partibus, mox Caesaris misceretur. Avus Pharsalica acie pro optimatibus ceciderat. Ipse delectus, 3
cui minor Antonia, Octavia genita, in matrimonium

laeta Tiberio: because the Julian race, to which he belonged by adoption, professed to be descended from Iulus, son of Æneas; this made him **consanguineus**.

7. **preces**: explained by what follows. The will of Moschus had been contested on the ground that he could not thus expatriate himself; but it was sustained by the precedent of Rutilius (III. 66. 2), who, under similar circumstances, had become a citizen of Smyrna.

8. **Massilienses**: this rich and populous commercial city, although deprived of most of its territory by Julius Cæsar, B.C. 49, still, like Rhodes (I. 4. 4 n.), retained its independence, as a *civitas foederata* (Plin. *N. H.* III. 4. 35), and possessed therefore the *ius exsilii*, or right of receiving exiled Roman citizens.

44. Cn. Lentulus: see I. 27. 1. The Getæ, whom he subdued, were a Thracian people residing upon both banks of the Danube, probably identical with the Dacians.

L. Domitius: grandfather of the emperor Nero. His grandfather, Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, fell at Pharsalus on the side of Pompey (**pro optimatibus**); he was, says Suetonius (*Nero*, 2), *vir neque satis constans et ingenio truci*, and adds that he favored treating neutrals as enemies.

gloriae: dative of service.

2. **misceretur**, *joined.*

pater civili bello maris potens: this son Gnæus, whom Suetonius (*Nero*, 3) pronounces *omnibus gentis suae procul dubio praeferendum*, commanded the republican fleet, under Brutus and Cassius, and after the downfall of his party, delivered it up to Antony, receiving therefor pardon, and retaining his property; he afterwards went over to Octavius. He is the *Enobarbus* of Shakespeare.

3. **minor Antonia**: Suetonius

daretur, post exercitu flumen Albim transcendit, longius penetrata Germania quam quisquam priorum, easque ob
4 res insignia triumphi adeptus est. Obiit et L. Anto-
5 nius, multa claritudine generis, sed improspera. Nam patre eius Iulo Antonio ob adulterium Iuliae morte punito hunc admodum adulescentulum, sororis nepotem, seposuit Augustus in civitatem Massiliensem, ubi specie
6 studiorum nomen exsilii tegeretur. Habitus tamen supremis honor, ossaque tumulo Octaviorum illata per decretum senatus.

45 Isdem consulibus facinus atrox in citeriore Hispania admissum a quodam agresti nationis Termestinae. Is praetorem provinciae L. Pisonem, pace incuriosum, ex improviso in itinere adortus uno vulnere in mortem adfecit; ac pernicitate equi profugus, postquam saltuosos locos attigerat, dimisso equo per derupta et avia sequen-
2 tis frustratus est. Neque diu fefellit: nam prenso ductoque per proximos pagos equo, cuius foret cognitum.
3 Et repertus cum tormentis edere conscios adigeretur, voce magna sermone patrio frustra se interrogari clamitavit: assisterent socii ac spectarent; nullam vim
4 tantam doloris fore ut veritatem eliceret. Idemque cum postero ad quaestionem retraheretur, eo nisu pro-

(*Nero*, 5) says it was the elder, no doubt correctly (see III. 3. 2 n.). For their son, the father of Nero, see 75. 1.

post . . . adeptus est: he commanded in Germany for six years, ending B.C. 1 (see I. 63. 6).

5. **Iulo Antonio**: see I. 10. 3.

sororis nepotem: his mother was Marcella, daughter of Octavia, the sister of Augustus.

specie studiorum: so Agricola *sedem ac magistram studiorum Massiliam habuit, locum Graeca comitate et provinciali parsimonia mistum ac bene compositum* (Tac. *Agr.* 4).

45. Termestinae: of Termes, west of Numantia.

praetorem, etc.: this being an imperial province, was governed by a *legatus pro praetore* of the emperor (see Intr. 17 and 18, B. 17).

L. Pisonem: believed to have been the elder of the two brothers to whom Horace addressed the epistle known as *Ars Poetica: O maior iuvenum*, etc.

ripuit se custodibus saxoque caput adflixit ut statim exanimaretur. Sed Piso Termestinorum dolo caesus habetur; quippe pecunias e publico interceptas acrius quam ut tolerarent barbari cogebat. 5

Lentulo Gaetulico C. Calvisio consulibus decreta tri- **46**
umphi insignia Poppaeo Sabino contusis Thraecum gentibus, qui montium editis incultu atque eo ferocius agitabant. Causa motus super hominum ingenium, 2
quod pati dilectus et validissimum quemque militiae nostrae dare aspernabantur, ne regibus quidem parere nisi ex libidine soliti, aut si mitterent auxilia, suos ductores praeficere nec nisi adversum accolas belligerare. Ac tum rumor incesserat fore ut disiecti aliisque nationi- 3
bus permixti diversas in terras traherentur. Sed ante- 4
quam arma inciperent, misere legatos amicitiam obsequiumque memoraturos, et mansura haec, si nullo novo onere temptarentur: sin ut victis servitium indiceretur, esse sibi ferrum et iuventutem et promptum libertati

4. **custodibus**: dative after **proripuit**, with the construction of *eripere*.

5. **pecunias e publico**: *i.e.* due from the town of Termes.

interceptas, *withheld;* he, as governor, exacted the tribute with excessive rigor.

46. Lentulo Gaetulico: he afterwards conspired against Caligula, and was put to death by him.

Poppaeo Sabino: see I. 80. 1.

montium editis: cf. *subiecta vallium*, I. 65. 1; these were in the Hæmus range, north of the cultivated parts of Thrace.

incultu: a modal ablative, — *in barbarism*. Nipperdey. See App. I.

2. **pati dilectus**, etc.: the change from their native license to the strictness of the Roman administration was too great.

ne regibus quidem, etc.: cf. Tac. *Germ.* 7; *nec regibus infinita aut libera potestas, et duces exemplo potius quam imperio . . . praesunt.*

suos ductores: so as not to form a part of the Roman army, like the auxiliaries, who served under Roman *praefecti*, but, like the later *foederati*, as an independent, national force.

3. **disiecti**, etc.: this was the Roman policy, to prevent local or national sympathies in the several armies; but it had not been enforced in this turbulent region.

diversas, *distant:* cf. the complaints of the Pannonian legions (I. 17. 5), *trahi diversas in terras.*

4. **memoraturos**: this form, since Livy, often expresses purpose.

haec: their present condition of order and obedience.

5 aut ad mortem animum. Simul castella rupibus indita collatosque illuc parentes et coniuges ostentabant bel-
47 lumque impeditum arduum cruentum minitabantur. At Sabinus, donec exercitus in unum conduceret, datis mitibus responsis, postquam Pomponius Labeo e Moesia cum legione, rex Rhoemetalces cum auxiliis popularium, qui fidem non mutaverant, venere, addita praesenti copia ad hostem pergit compositum iam per angustias sal-
2 tuum. Quidam audentius apertis in collibus visebantur, quos dux Romanus acie suggressus haud aegre pepulit, sanguine barbarorum modico ob propinqua suffugia.
3 Mox castris in loco communitis valida manu montem occupat, angustum et aequali dorso continuum usque ad proximum castellum, quod magna vis armata aut incon-
4 dita tuebatur. Simul in ferocissimos, qui ante vallum more gentis cum carminibus et tripudiis persultabant,
5 mittit delectos sagittariorum. Ii dum eminus grassabantur, crebra et inulta vulnera fecere: propius incedentes eruptione subita turbati sunt receptique subsidio Sugambrae cohortis, quam Romanus promptam ad pericula nec minus cantuum et armorum tumultu trucem
48 haud procul instruxerat. Translata dehinc castra hostem propter, relictis apud priora munimenta Thraecibus,
2 quos nobis adfuisse memoravi. Iisque permissum vas-

5. **indita**: cf. Florus, I. 36. 14; *inditam monti urbem.*

47. **Pomponius Labeo**: governor of Mœsia (VI. 29. 1).

Rhoemetalces: king of a part of Thrace (II. 67. 4); he was required to furnish auxiliaries (5. 5).

compositum, *gathered together.*

2. **visebantur**, *showed themselves.*

suffugia: in the mountain retreats.

3. **aequali dorso continuum**, *stretching in a continuous ridge.*

incondita: only in part armed and disciplined (cf. III. 43. 2).

4. **tripudiis**, *a war dance.*

5. **recepti**, *rescued.*

nec minus: *i.e.* than the Thracians. The Sugambrians were a German tribe who had been removed to the west bank of the Rhine (see II. 26. 3), and who were afterwards merged in the Franks.

cantuum et armorum tumultu: it is well known what terror is inspired by the Indian war-whoop;

tare, trahere praedas, dum populatio lucem intra sisteretur noctemque in castris tutam et vigilem capesserent. Id primo servatum: mox versi in luxum et raptis opulenti omittere stationes, lascivia epularum aut somno et vino procumbere. 3

Igitur hostes incuria eorum comperta duo agmina parant, quorum altero populatores invaderentur, alii castra Romana appugnarent, non spe capiendi, sed ut clamore telis suo quisque periculo intentus sonorem alterius proelii non acciperet. Tenebrae insuper delectae augendam ad formidinem. Sed qui vallum legionum temptabant, facile pelluntur; Thraecum auxilia repentino incursu territa, cum pars munitionibus adiacerent, plures extra palarentur, tanto infensius caesi, quanto perfugae et proditores ferre arma ad suum patriaeque servitium incusabantur. Postera die Sabinus exercitum aequo loco ostendit, si barbari successu noctis alacres proelium auderent. Et postquam castello aut coniunctis tumulis non degrediebantur, obsidium coepit per praesidia, quae opportune iam muniebat; dein fossam loricamque contexens quattuor milia passuum ambitu amplexus est; tum paulatim, ut aquam pabulumque eriperet, contrahere claustra artaque circumdare; et struebatur agger, unde saxa hastae ignes propinquum iam in hostem 4 5 49 2

Tacitus describes the war-songs of the Germans, *Germ.* 3.

48. 3. **id**, *these directions.*

somno et vino: a hendiadys, — *a drunken sleep;* cf. Verg. *Aen.* IX. 189.

5. **munitionibus adiacerent**: explaining the carelessness of their watch, — lying around instead of standing guard; cf. I. 65. 1.

quanto, *in proportion as;* they were more incensed against their traitorous countrymen than against the Romans.

49. 2. **castello**: 47. 3.

praesidia, *redoubts.*

loricam: properly the work constructed to strengthen the palisade (*vallum*), here used for the whole breastwork. This was constructed from redoubt to redoubt, making a continuous circumvallation enclosing the fortress.

claustra: the fortified line de-

3 iacerentur. Sed nihil aeque quam sitis fatigabat, cum ingens multitudo bellatorum imbellium uno reliquo fonte
4 uterentur; simul equi armenta, ut mos barbaris, iuxta clausa, egestate pabuli exanimari; adiacere corpora hominum, quos vulnera, quos sitis peremerat; pollui cuncta sanie odore contactu.

50 Rebusque turbatis malum extremum discordia accessit, his deditionem, aliis mortem et mutuos inter se ictus parantibus; et erant qui non inultum exitium, sed erup-
2 tionem suaderent. Neque ignobiles tantum his diversi sententiis, verum e ducibus Dinis, provectus senecta et longo usu vim atque clementiam Romanam edoctus, ponenda arma, unum adflictis id remedium disserebat, primusque se cum coniuge et liberis victori permisit; secuti aetate aut sexu imbecilli et quibus maior vitae quam
3 gloriae cupido. At iuventus Tarsam inter et Turesim
4 distrahebatur. Utrique destinatum cum libertate occidere, sed Tarsa properum finem, abrumpendas pariter spes ac metus clamitans, dedit exemplum demisso in pectus ferro; nec defuere qui eodem modo oppeterent.
5 Turesis sua cum manu noctem opperitur, haud nescio duce nostro; igitur firmatae stationes densioribus glo-
6 bis. Et ingruebat nox nimbo atrox, hostisque clamore turbido, modo per vastum silentium, incertos obsessores effecerat, cum Sabinus circumire, hortari ne ad ambigua

scribed above; by advancing this (**contrahere**), the enclosed space became **arta**.

3. **imbellium**: the non-combatants — women, children, etc.; cf. 50. 2; 51. 2.

4. **iuxta clausa**, *shut up along with them*.

50. 2. **neque ignobiles tantum**: see App. I.; it was not only the commonalty who were thus divided in opinion, but even one of the leaders favored surrender, while those opposed to him were divided between the two parties headed by Tarsa and Turesis (3).

6. **modo**: answers to *modo* understood before **clamore turbido**.

vastum: cf. III. 4. 1, *dies per silentium vastus*.

ad: *i.e.* in reference to, by giving heed to, etc.

sonitus aut simulationem quietis casum insidiantibus aperirent, sed sua quisque munia servarent immoti telisque non in falsum iactis. Interea barbari catervis de- **51**
currentes nunc in vallum manualia saxa, praeustas sudes, decisa robora iacere, nunc virgultis et cratibus et corporibus exanimis complere fossas, quidam pontis et scalas ante fabricati inferre propugnaculis eaque prensare, detrahere et adversum resistentis comminus niti. Miles 2
contra deturbare telis, pellere umbonibus, muralia pila, congestas lapidum moles provolvere. His partae victoriae spes et, si cedant, insignitius flagitium, illis extrema iam salus et assistentes plerisque matres et coniuges earumque lamenta addunt animos. Nox aliis 3
in audâciam, aliis ad formidinem opportuna; incerti ictus, vulnera improvisa; suorum atque hostium ignoratio et montis anfractu repercussae velut a tergo voces adeo cuncta miscuerant ut quaedam munimenta Romani quasi perrupta omiserint. Neque tamen pervascre 4
hostes nisi admodum pauci: ceteros, deiecto promptissimo quoque aut saucio, appetente iam luce trusere in summa castelli, ubi tandem coacta deditio. Et proxima 5
sponte incolarum recepta; reliquis, quo minus vi aut obsidio subigerentur, praematura montis Haemi et saeva hiems subvenit.

casum = *occasionem.*

in falsum: *i.e.* into empty space.

51. catervis: cf. *Hist.* II. 42. 4, *catervis et cuneis concurrebant.*

manualia: capable of being grasped with the hand.

iacere ... provolvere: Intr. 35 *k.*

2. **muralia**, *to be thrown from the walls;* larger javelins than those used in battle.

his: the Romans; **illis**: the barbarians.

partae: the victory was just in their hands; but their confidence became only a hope by the obstinacy of their antagonists.

3. **aliis ... aliis**: the barbarians ... the Romans.

omiserint, *neglected to guard;* cf. I. 36. 2 n.; 47. 1.

5. **proxima**: the country round about.

sponte, *by the voluntary submission;* cf. 7. 3 n.; II. 59. 3.

52 At Romae commota principis domo, ut series futuri in Agrippinam exitii inciperet, Claudia Pulchra sobrina
2 eius postulatur, accusante Domitio Afro. Is recens praetura, modicus dignationis et quoquo facinore properus clarescere, crimen impudicitiae, adulterum Furnium, veneficia in principem et devotiones obiectabat.
3 Agrippina semper atrox, tum et periculo propinquae accensa, pergit ad Tiberium ac forte sacrificantem patri
4 repperit. Quo initio invidiae non eiusdem ait mactare divo Augusto victimas et posteros eius insectari. Non in effigies mutas divinum spiritum transfusum: se imaginem veram, caelesti sanguine ortam, intellegere dis-
5 crimen, suscipere sordes. Frustra Pulchram praescribi, cui sola exitii causa sit quod Agrippinam stulte prorsus ad cultum delegerit, oblita Sosiae ob eadem adflictae.
6 Audita haec raram occulti pectoris vocem elicuere, correptamque Graeco versu admonuit non ideo laedi, quia
7 non regnaret. Pulchra et Furnius damnantur. Afer primoribus oratorum additus, divulgato ingenio et secuta asseveratione Caesaris, qua suo iure disertum eum ap-

52. sobrina, *second cousin*. Her mother, Marcella, was daughter of Octavia; see table, Intr. p. xxix.

Domitio Afro: an orator of some distinction. Quintilian calls him (XII. 11. 3) *longe omnium, quos mihi cognoscere contigit, summum oratorem*; cf. Plin. *Ep.* II. 14. 10.

2. **recens praetura**: a new construction; cf. *recens dolore*, I. 41. 4.

devotiones: see II. 69. 5.

3. **atrox**, *harsh*.

4. **quo initio invidiae**, *taking this act as an occasion for her reproaches*.

effigies: referring to the image of Augustus, before which they stood.

divinum spiritum: *i.e.* of Augustus.

suscipere sordes, *put on mourning*.

5. **praescribi**, *given as a pretext*.

Sosiae: see 19. 1.

6. **occulti pectoris vocem**, *betrayal of his hidden feelings*.

correptamque: Suetonius (*Tib.* 53) says, *nurum Agrippinam . . . manu apprehendit Graecoque versu, 'Si non dominaris,' inquit, 'filiola, iniuriam te accipere existimas?' nec ullo mox sermone dignatus est.* The original Greek is not known.

7. **primoribus**, *the first rank*.

ingenio: *i.e.* the fame of his genius.

suo iure, *with full right*.

pellavit. Mox capessendis accusationibus aut reos tu- 8
tando prosperiore eloquentiae quam morum fama fuit,
nisi quod aetas extrema multum etiam eloquentiae demp-
sit, dum fessa mente retinet silentii impatientiam.

At Agrippina pervicax irae et morbo corporis im- 53
plicata, cum viseret eam Caesar, profusis diu ac per
silentium lacrimis, mox invidiam et preces orditur: sub-
veniret solitudini, daret maritum; habilem adhuc iuven-
tam sibi, neque aliud probis quam ex matrimonio
solacium; esse in civitate * * * Germanici coniugem
ac liberos eius recipere dignarentur. Sed Caesar non 2
ignarus quantum ex re publica peteretur, ne tamen
offensionis aut metus manifestus foret, sine responso
quamquam instantem reliquit. Id ego, a scriptoribus 3
annalium non traditum, repperi in commentariis Agrip-
pinae filiae, quae Neronis principis mater vitam suam et
casus suorum posteris memoravit. Ceterum Seianus 54
maerentem et improvidam altius perculit, immissis qui
per speciem amicitiae monerent paratum ei venenum,
vitandas soceri epulas. Atque illa simulationum nescia, 2
cum propter discumberet, non vultu aut sermone flecti,
nullos attingere cibos, donec advertit Tiberius, forte an
quia audiverat; idque quo acrius experiretur, poma, ut
erant apposita, laudans nurui sua manu tradidit. Aucta 3

8. **nisi quod**: cf. Tac. *Agr.* 6.

silentii impatientiam: Quintilian (XII. 11. 3) adds that it was said of him, *malle eum deficere quam desinere.*

53. invidiam et preces: mingled entreaties and reproaches.

habilem, *marriageable.*

Germanici: there is before this word a gap of about fourteen letters, probably to be filled by something in the sense of *qui in memoriam.*

2. **quantum ex republica**: *i.e.* her sons being the only surviving heirs to the throne, her husband would occupy a public position.

3. **Agrippinae filiae**: the younger Agrippina, infamous for her debaucheries.

54. 2. **non . . . flecti**: her countenance and voice showed unfriendliness, and this she did not change during the interview.

ut erant apposita, *just as they were placed upon the table*, not tasting them first himself.

ex eo suspicio Agrippinae, et intacta ore servis tramisit. Nec tamen Tiberii vox coram secuta, sed, obversus ad matrem, non mirum ait si quid severius in eam statuis-
4 set, a qua veneficii insimularetur. Inde rumor parari exitium, neque id imperatorem palam audere, secretum ad perpetrandum quaeri.

55 Sed Caesar quo famam averteret, adesse frequens senatui legatosque Asiae, ambigentes quanam in civitate
2 templum statueretur, pluris per dies audivit. Undecim urbes certabant, pari ambitione, viribus diversae. Neque multum distantia inter se memorabant de vetustate generis, studio in populum Romanum per bella Persi et
3 Aristonici aliorumque regum. Verum Hypaepeni Tralliani que Laodicenis ac Magnetibus simul tramissi ut
4 parum validi; ne Ilienses quidem, cum parentem urbis Romae Troiam referrent, nisi antiquitatis gloria pollebant.
5 Paulum addubitatum, quod Halicarnasii mille et ducentos per annos nullo motu terrae nutavisse sedes

3. **coram**, *addressed to her*.

statuisset, *should determine*, representing the future perfect of direct address.

4. **secretum**, *a secret opportunity*.

55. famam: of his designs against Agrippina.

templum: see 15. 4.

audivit: joined by a peculiar combination with the historical infinitive **adesse**.

2. **Persi**: this form of this genitive (as if from Perses) is found also in Sallust. Perseus, king of Macedonia, was subdued by the Romans in the battle of Pydna, B.C. 168.

Aristonici: Aristonicus, natural son of Eumenes II., king of Pergamus, revolted after the death of Attalus III., and attempted to set aside the provisions of his will, which bequeathed his dominions to the Roman people. He was captured and sent to Rome, where he was beheaded, B.C. 129.

3. **Hypaepeni**, etc.: Hypæpa was a town on the southern slope of Mt. Tmolus; Tralles, Laodicea, and Magnesia had all been considerable towns, but had suffered from earthquakes (Strabo, XII. 579); the Magnesia mentioned by Strabo is the one ὑπὸ Σιπύλῳ, from which it is probable that that is the one here referred to.

simul: used here as a preposition, governing the ablative (Intr. 35 *i*); cf. III. 64. 3.

tramissi, *passed over*.

4. **Ilienses**: see II. 54. 3 n.

5. **Halicarnasii**: Halicarnassus, in Caria, was the most important of the Dorian cities of Asia Minor.

suas vivoque in saxo fundamenta templi asseveraverant. Pergamenos (eo ipso nitebantur) aede Augusto ibi sita 6
satis adeptos creditum. Ephesii Milesiique, hi Apollinis, illi Dianae caerimonia occupavisse civitates visi.

Ita Sardianos inter Zmyrnaeosque deliberatum. Sar- 7
diani decretum Etruriae recitavere ut consanguinei: nam Tyrrhenum Lydumque Atye rege genitos ob multitudinem divisisse gentem; Lydum patriis in terris resedisse, Tyrrheno datum novas ut conderet sedes; et ducum e nominibus indita vocabula illis per Asiam, his in Italia; auctamque adhuc Lydorum opulentiam missis in Graeciam populis, cui mox a Pelope nomen. Simul 8
litteras imperatorum et icta nobiscum foedera bello Macedonum ubertatemque fluminum suorum, temperiem caeli ac dites circum terras memorabant. At 56
Zmyrnaei repetita vetustate, seu Tantalus Iove ortus illos, sive Theseus divina et ipse stirpe, sive una Ama-

6. **Pergamenos**: see 37. 4, and III. 63. 3.

eo ipso, etc.: what they gave as the ground of their claim was in reality decisive against it.

Ephesii Milesiique: see III. 61. 1, and 63. 5.

civitates: *sc.* **suas**; *i.e.* these cults had occupation of the cities, so that they would obscure any new one.

7. **Sardianos**: they too had suffered from an earthquake (II. 47. 3), but had probably been restored.

Zmyrnaeos: see III. 63. 4.

Etruriae: in the old days of its power.

Atye rege: Atys, a traditionary king of Lydia, son of Hercules and Omphale.

novas . . . sedes: Herodotus also tells this story (I. 94): ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Ὀμβρικοὺς, ἔνθα σφέας ἐνιδρύσασθαι πόλις καὶ οἰκεῖειν τὸ μέχρι τοῦδε. The story, however, has little historical value; the Etruscans probably entered Italy from the north.

auctam adhuc, *further increased.*

cui: properly only a part of Greece.

Pelope: Pelops, from whom the Peloponnesus was named, was believed to have been son of Tantalus, a king of Lydia.

8. **litteras imperatorum**: *i.e.* Roman generals of the republic.

bello Macedonum: the war with Perseus (see 55. 2 n.).

ubertatem fluminum: the gold sands of the River Pactolus are proverbial, although it yielded no gold at this time.

circum: an adverb, but with adjectival force; cf. *superne*, II. 20. 3 n.

56. et ipse: *i.e.* as well as Tantalus.

Theseus: he was asserted to

zonum condidisset, transcendere ad ea, quis maxime fidebant, in populum Romanum officiis, missa navali copia non modo externa ad bella, sed quae in Italia tolerabantur; seque primos templum urbis Romae statuisse, M. Porcio consule, magnis quidem iam populi Romani rebus, nondum tamen ad summum elatis, stante
2 adhuc Punica urbe et validis per Asiam regibus. Simul L. Sullam testem adferebant, gravissimo in discrimine exercitus ob asperitatem hiemis et penuriam vestis, cum id Zmyrnam in contionem nuntiatum foret, omnes qui astabant detraxisse corpori tegmina nostrisque legioni-
3 bus misisse. Ita rogati sententiam patres Zmyrnaeos praetulere. Censuitque Vibius Marsus, ut M'. Lepido, cui ea provincia obvenerat, super numerum legaretur qui templi curam susciperet. Et quia Lepidus ipse deligere per modestiam abnuebat, Valerius Naso e praetoriis sorte missus est.

57 Inter quae diu meditato prolatoque saepius consilio tandem Caesar in Campaniam *abscessit*, specie dedicandi templa apud Capuam Iovi, apud Nolam Augusto, sed

have been son, not of Ægeus, but of Poseidon.

officiis: attracted to the case of **quis**.

quae in Italia tolerabantur: *i.e.* the Social War, B.C. 90.

M. Porcio: Marcus Porcius Cato was consul, B.C. 195, five years before Antiochus the Great, who ruled over all Western Asia (**validis per Asiam regibus**), was defeated at Magnesia. Carthage was not destroyed until 146. The designation of a year by the name of one consul alone is unusual; probably it is done because of Cato's fame. This mode of recognizing the growing greatness of Rome is an interesting illustration of the religious thought of the ancients.

2. **gravissimo in discrimine**: B.C. 84, during the war against Mithridates.

3. **ea provincia**: Lepidus is shown also by an inscription to have been proconsul of Asia.

super numerum, etc.: *i.e.* an additional *legatus*, to take charge of the temple; the regular number of *legati* for the proconsul of a senatorial province of the highest grade, was three, selected by himself, usually from men of consular dignity.

57. Nolam: the place of Augustus' death; see I. 9. 1.

certus procul urbe degere. Causam abscessus quam- 2
quam secutus plurimos auctorum ad Seiani artes rettuli,
quia tamen caede eius patrata sex postea annos pari
secreto coniunxit, plerumque permoveor num ad ipsum
referri verius sit, saevitiam ac libidinem cum factis
promeret, locis occultantem. Erant qui crederent in 3
senectute corporis quoque habitum pudori fuisse:
quippe illi praegracilis et incurva proceritas, nudus ca-
pillo vertex, ulcerosa facies ac plerumque medicaminibus
interstincta; et Rhodi secreto vitare coetus, recondere
voluptates insuerat. Traditur etiam matris impotentia 4
extrusum, quam dominationis sociam aspernabatur neque
depellere poterat, cum dominationem ipsam donum eius
accepisset. Nam dubitaverat Augustus Germanicum, 5
sororis nepotem et cunctis laudatum, rei Romanae im-
ponere, sed precibus uxoris evictus Tiberio Germanicum,
sibi Tiberium ascivit. Idque Augusta exprobrabat,
reposcebat. Profectio arto comitatu fuit: unus senator 58

2. **causam abscessus**: Pistner (*L. Ælius Sejanus*, Landshut 1880) points out the great advantage which the ruler of the empire would have in being removed from the necessity of attending in person to wearisome details, long-continued sessions of the senate, etc.

eius: Sejanus was overthrown A.D. 31; Tiberius died 37. The reasoning is not valid, as a life of seclusion begun by the influence of Sejanus might have been kept up by inertia or an acquired liking.

permoveor num: in the sense of *nescio an, I am inclined to think.*

saevitiam ... occultantem, *concealing by seclusion* [**locis**] *the cruelty and debauchery of which he was guilty in act;* the unusual order emphasizes the bad qualities.

3. **corporis habitum**, etc.: this description of the old man is in painful contrast with the manly beauty displayed in the statues of Tiberius.

Rhodi: genitive, not locative. There is very little ground for accepting the stories of a debauched life at Rhodes, when he was in the prime of an honorable manhood, however it may have been at Capri, in his debased old age.

4. **impotentia**, *arrogance.* Suetonius (*Tib.* 50 and 51) also gives this as a cause of his retirement.

5. **dubitaverat**, *had considered with hesitation, inclined;* a rare use of *dubito*, but found also in the classical age (cf. Cic. *Att.* XII. 49. 1).

ascivit: *i.e.* caused his adoption (see I. 3. 5).

reposcebat: *i.e.* recognition, as of a debt or obligation.

58. arto, *scanty.*

consulatu functus, Cocceius Nerva, cui legum peritia, eques Romanus praeter Seianum ex illustribus Curtius Atticus, ceteri liberalibus studiis praediti, ferme Graeci, quorum sermonibus levaretur.

2 Ferebant periti caelestium iis motibus siderum excessisse Roma Tiberium, ut reditus illi negaretur. Unde exitii causa multis fuit properum finem vitae coniectantibus vulgantibusque; neque enim tam incredibilem casum providebant ut undecim per annos libens patria
3 careret. Mox patuit breve confinium artis et falsi, vera-
4 que quam obscuris tegerentur. Nam in urbem non regressurum haud forte dictum: ceterorum nescii egere, cum propinquo rure aut litore et saepe moenia urbis assidens extremam senectam compleverit.

59 Ac forte illis diebus oblatum Caesari anceps periculum auxit vana rumoris, praebuitque ipsi materiem cur
2 amicitiae constantiaeque Seiani magis fideret. Vescebantur in villa, cui vocabulum Speluncae, mare Amunclanum inter *et* Fundanos montes, nativo in specu.

Cocceius Nerva: a distinguished jurist, belonging to the school of Labeo (see III. 75. 2 n.), grandfather of the emperor Nerva; his death is related VI. 26. 1. The selection by Tiberius of a man of his unblemished character and free principles as his chief companion, goes a great way to show that his object in secluding himself was not to indulge in private debauchery. The company of those **liberalibus studiis praediti** indicates that it was his intention to spend the rest of his life in the cultivation of literature.

ex illustribus: see II. 59. 4; this class included also the younger members of senatorial families, who had not yet been admitted to the senate.

2. **periti caelestium**, *astrologers.*

3. **artis**, *genuine science*, — the prediction that he would never return was true (**artis**); that he was soon to die was guess-work (**falsi**).

quam: interrogative.

4. **forte**, *at hap-hazard.*

ceterorum: neuter.

egere, *they were.*

assidens, *close to.*

59. 2. **Speluncae**: the name is preserved in the modern village of *Sperlonga*.

mare Amunclanum, etc.: the town of Fundi lay at the foot of the mountains, at some distance from the coast; Amunclæ or Amyclæ was on the sea at the nearest point to Fundi. This whole region abounds in natural caverns.

Eius os lapsis repente saxis obruit quosdam ministros; 3
hinc metus in omnes et fuga eorum qui convivium celebrabant. Seianus genu vultuque et manibus super Cae- 4
sarem suspensus opposuit sese incidentibus, atque habitu tali repertus est a militibus qui subsidio venerant.

Maior ex eo et, quamquam exitiosa suaderet, ut non sui anxius, cum fide audiebatur. Assimulabatque iudi- 5
cis partes adversum Germanici stirpem, subditis qui accusatorum nomina sustinerent maximeque insectarentur Neronem proximum successioni et, quamquam modesta iuventa, plerumque tamen quid impraesentiarum conduceret oblitum, dum a libertis et clientibus, apiscendae potentiae properis, exstimulatur ut erectum et fidentem animi ostenderet: velle id populum Romanum, cupere exercitus, neque ausurum contra Seianum, qui nunc patientiam senis et segnitiam iuvenis iuxta insultet. Haec atque talia audienti nihil quidem pravae cogita- 60
tionis, sed interdum voces procedebant contumaces et inconsultae, quas appositi custodes exceptas auctasque cum deferrent neque Neroni defendere daretur, diversae insuper sollicitudinum formae oriebantur. Nam alius 2
occursum eius vitare, quidam salutatione reddita statim averti, plerique inceptum sermonem abrumpere, insi-

4. **incidentibus**: neuter.
non sui anxius, *disinterested.*
5. **iudicis partes**, *an impartial attitude.*
potentiae: the genitive after *properus*, found in a few other passages, is best taken as objective; although Furneaux considers it a genitive of relation, as with *praecipuus* and *primus* (VI. 4. 1).
erectum . . . ostenderet: cf. *promptos ostentavere*, I. 35. 3. The passage shows a degree of indiscretion on the part of Nero which, by itself, would probably have created no suspicion, but which, taken in connection with his mother's behavior (*e.g.* 54. 3), served to alienate the emperor and hasten the catastrophe.
ausurum: the absolute use of *audeo* is frequent in Tacitus; cf. I. 13. 2.
60. audienti, *from him*, etc.
sollicitudinum: things to excite anxiety.
2. **insistentibus**, *coming to a stand*, contrasted with those who avoided him.

stentibus contra irridentibusque qui Seiano fautores
3 aderant. Enimvero Tiberius torvus aut falsum renidens
vultu; seu loqueretur seu taceret iuvenis, crimen ex
4 silentio, ex voce. Ne nox quidem secura, cum uxor
vigilias somnos suspiria matri Liviae atque illa Seiano
patefaceret; qui fratrem quoque Neronis Drusum traxit
in partes, spe obiecta principis loci, si priorem aetate et
5 iam labefactum demovisset. Atrox Drusi ingenium
super cupidinem potentiae et solita fratribus odia ac-
cendebatur invidia, quod mater Agrippina promptior
6 Neroni erat. Neque tamen Seianus ita Drusum fovebat
ut non in eum quoque semina futuri exitii meditaretur,
gnarus praeferocem et insidiis magis opportunum.

61 Fine anni excessere insignes viri Asinius Agrippa,
claris maioribus quam vetustis vitaque non degener, et
Q. Haterius, familia senatoria, eloquentiae, quoad vixit,
celebratae; monumenta ingenii eius haud perinde reti-
2 nentur. Scilicet impetu magis quam cura vigebat; utque
aliorum meditatio et labor in posterum valescit, sic
Haterii canorum illud et profluens cum ipso simul ex-
stinctum est.

62 M. Licinio L. Calpurnio consulibus ingentium bello-
rum cladem aequavit malum improvisum: eius initium

irridentibus: *i.e.* at the occurrence just noted.

3. **falsum renidens**, *assuming a smiling countenance.*

4. **uxor**: Julia, daughter of Drusus (see III. 29. 4). She does not appear to have been in the conspiracy, but betrayed her husband unintentionally.

5. **solita . . . odia**: which, when it exists, is very bitter.

promptior, *more favorable.*

61. Agrippa: one of the eponymous consuls of the year 25 (34. 1).

claris quam vetustis, *distinguished, but not ancient* (Intr. 35 *m*). His grandfathers, Pollio and Agrippa, were among the most eminent men of Augustus' reign, but were both of low birth.

Haterius: see I. 13. 4.

haud perinde retinentur: *i.e.* as standard works.

2. **illud**, *that well-known style*; cf. Cic. *de Or.* III. 7. 28; *profluens quiddam habuit Carbo et canorum.*

62. M. Licinio, etc.: Licinius is supposed to have been the younger

simul et finis exstitit. Nam coepto apud Fidenam am- 2
phitheatro Atilius quidam libertini generis, quo spectaculum gladiatorum celebraret, neque fundamenta per solidum subdidit neque firmis nexibus ligneam compagem superstruxit, ut qui non abundantia pecuniae nec municipali ambitione, sed in sordidam mercedem id negotium quaesivisset. Adfluxere avidi talium, imperi- 3
tante Tiberio procul voluptatibus habiti, virile ac muliebre secus, omnis aetas, ob propinquitatem loci effusius; unde gravior pestis fuit, conferta mole, dein convulsa, dum ruit intus aut in exteriora effunditur immensamque vim mortalium, spectaculo intentos aut qui circum astabant, praeceps trahit atque operit. Et illi quidem, 4
quos principium stragis in mortem adflixerat, ut tali sorte, cruciatum effugere: miserandi magis quos abrupta 5
parte corporis nondum vita deseruerat; qui per diem visu, per noctem ululatibus et gemitu coniuges aut liberos noscebant. Iam ceteri fama exciti, hic fratrem, 6
propinquum ille, alius parentes lamentari. Etiam quo- 7
rum diversa de causa amici aut necessarii aberant, pavere tamen; nequedum comperto quos illa vis perculisset, latior ex incerto metus. Ut coepere dimoveri 63

of the two sons addressed by Horace in his *Ars Poetica* (cf. 45. 1 n.). He was adopted into the Licinian gens, and was father of the Piso Licinianus who was adopted by Galba, and lost his life directly after. Calpurnius was son of that Piso who was accused of having poisoned Germanicus; he bore at first his father's name, Gnæus (see III. 17. 8).

2. **Fidenam**: the name is usually plural, *Fidenae*. It is an ancient Etruscan city upon the Tiber, about five miles northeast of Rome.

per solidum, *on solid ground.*

municipali ambitione: with the object of recommending himself to office. It was purely a money-making affair.

3. **imperitante . . . habiti**: see I. 54. 4. Such shows were rare in Rome during this economical and unostentatious reign.

secus, *sex;* usually construed as an adverbial accusative.

effunditur, *falls apart.*

4. **ut tali sorte**: considering the sadness of their fate.

5. **noscebant**, *made efforts to recognize;* cf. Plin. *Ep.* VI. 20. 14.

7. **nequedum**, *for not yet.*

comperto: Intr. 35 *o.*

obruta, concursus ad exanimos complectentium, osculantium; et saepe certamen, si confusior facies sed par
2 forma aut aetas errorem agnoscentibus fecerat. Quinquaginta hominum milia eo casu debilitata vel obtrita sunt; cautumque in posterum senatus consulto, ne quis gladiatorium munus ederet, cui minor quadringentorum milium res, neve amphitheatrum imponeretur nisi solo
3 firmitatis spectatae. Atilius in exsilium actus est. Ceterum sub recentem cladem patuere procerum domus, fomenta et medici passim praebiti, fuitque urbs per illos dies quamquam maesta facie veterum institutis similis, qui magna post proelia saucios largitione et cura sustentabant.

64 Nondum ea clades exoleverat, cum ignis violentia urbem ultra solitum adfecit, deusto Monte Caelio; feralemque annum ferebant et ominibus adversis susceptum principi consilium absentiae, qui mos vulgo, fortuita ad culpam trahentes, ni Caesar obviam isset tribuendo pe-
2 cunias ex modo detrimenti. Actaeque ei grates apud senatum ab illustribus, famaque apud populum, quia sine ambitione aut proximorum precibus ignotos etiam

63. obruta, *the ruins.*

confusior: disfigured and unrecognizable.

2. **quinquaginta . . . milia**: Suetonius (*Tib.* 40) says that upwards of 20,000 perished.

quadringentorum milium: an extension to adjectives of the familiar rule of *plus*, *minus*, and *amplius;* cf. Plin. *Ep.* X. 79. 3, *minor triginta annorum.* This sum (= $20,000) was the equestrian census.

3. **medici**: generally slaves or freedmen in the households of nobles.

veterum institutis: cf. Liv. II. 47. 12, *consul saucios milites curandos dividit patribus.*

64. deusto: cf. VI. 45. 1.

Monte Caelio: the Cælimontium was the second of the fourteen *regiones* or wards into which Augustus divided the city.

principi: dative of agency.

qui mos, *as is the custom.*

ni Caesar, etc.: the apodosis is **ferebant**, etc., — they would have laid the blame of the casualty on him.

2. **ab illustribus**: the senators, whose formal thanks are contrasted with the popularity gained with the masses (**fama apud populum**).

sine ambitione: with entire impartiality, with no effort to gain favor or applause.

et ultro accitos munificentia iuverat. Adduntur sententiae ut mons Caelius in posterum Augustus appellaretur, quando cunctis circum flagrantibus sola Tiberii effigies, sita in domo Iunii senatoris, inviolata mansisset. Evenisse id olim Claudiae Quintae, eiusque statuam vim ignium bis elapsam maiores apud aedem matris deum consecravisse. Sanctos acceptosque numinibus Claudios et augendam caerimoniam loco in quo tantum in principem honorem di ostenderint. 3 4 5

Haud fuerit absurdum tradere montem eum antiquitus Querquetulanum cognomento fuisse, quod talis silvae frequens fecundusque erat, mox Caelium appellitatum a Caele Vibenna, qui dux gentis Etruscae cum auxilium portavisset, sedem eam acceperat a Tarquinio Prisco, seu quis alius regum dedit; nam scriptores in eo dissentiunt. Cetera non ambigua sunt, magnas eas copias per plana etiam ac foro propinqua habitavisse, unde Tuscum vicum e vocabulo advenarum dictum. 65 2

Sed ut studia procerum et largitio principis adversum casus solacium tulerant, ita accusatorum maior in dies et infestior vis sine levamento grassabatur. Corripuerat 66

3. **ut mons Caelius,** etc.: according to Suetonius (*Tib.* 48) it was Tiberius himself who ordered the change of name. But the change does not appear to have been made.

4. **Claudiae Quintae**: a lady (according to some, a vestal virgin) who with her own hand drew the ship containing the sacred stone of Cybele, the mother of the gods, when this cult was introduced into Rome, B.C. 204; the story was that this marvel was a testimony to her chastity, which had been suspected. Tiberius, too, belonged to this distinguished Claudian gens.

vim, etc.: these occasions were B.C. 111 and A.D. 3.

5. **augendam caerimoniam**: by changing the name; cf. III. 61. 3.

65. talis silvae: of oak.

Caele Vibenna: this half-mythical personage is placed at various epochs and in various connections. The only certainty we can extract from the story is the fact of an Etruscan immigration at some time, which settled in the *vicus Tuscus*, west of the Forum, and possibly on the Cælian mount; also the rule of an Etruscan dynasty of kings.

2. **plana,** *the low ground;* the *vicus Tuscus* ran from the Forum to the

Varum Quintilium, divitem et Caesari propinquum, Domitius Afer, Claudiae Pulchrae matris eius condemnator, nullo mirante quod diu egens et parto nuper
2 praemio male usus plura ad flagitia accingeretur. P. Dolabellam socium delationis exstitisse miraculo erat, quia claris maioribus et Varo conexus suam ipse nobili-
3 tatem, suum sanguinem perditum ibat. Restitit tamen senatus et opperiendum imperatorem censuit, quod unum urgentium malorum suffugium in tempus erat.

67 At Caesar dedicatis per Campaniam templis, quamquam edicto monuisset ne quis quietem eius irrumperet, concursusque oppidanorum disposito milite prohiberentur, perosus tamen municipia et colonias omniaque in continenti sita, Capreas se in insulam abdidit, trium milium freto ab extremis Surrentini promunturii diiunc-
2 tam. Solitudinem eius placuisse maxime crediderim, quoniam importuosum circa mare et vix modicis navigiis pauca subsidia; neque appulerit quisquam nisi gnaro
3 custode. Caeli temperies hieme mitis obiectu montis,

river, on ground originally swampy, and drained by the *cloaca maxima*.

66. Varum Quintilium: son of the general defeated by Arminius, A.D. 9; his kinship to the emperor was through his mother Claudia Pulchra (see 52. 1).

praemio: for the condemnation of Claudia and her paramour.

2. **P. Dolabellam**: see 23. 2 and following.

3. **quod unum**, etc.: proof that the abuses of delation were still the work rather of the laws and the senate than of the emperor.

67. templis: 57. 1.

monuisset, etc.: Suetonius says (*Tib.* 40), *urbe egredienti, ne quis se interpellaret edixerat, ac toto itinere adeuntes summoverat.*

tamen: *i.e.* as if that were not enough seclusion.

Capreas: the island of Capri. It had been bought by Augustus from the Neapolitans.

2. **subsidia**, *places of refuge* — ports.

custode: the guards stationed on the island.

3. **caeli temperies**, etc.: a mountain in the north to protect from the winter gales; a slope in the west, open to the summer breezes. Probably Tacitus had never visited the island, as the mountain is at its western extremity, and the mountains back of Baiæ and Cumæ, which are to the north, are too distant to be very efficient protection. The climate is, however, mild and equable.

quo saeva ventorum arcentur; aestas in Favonium obversa et aperto circum pelago peramoena; prospectabatque pulcherrimum sinum antequam Vesuvius mons ardescens faciem loci verteret. Graecos ea tenuisse 4
Capreasque Telebois habitatas fama tradit. Sed tum 5
Tiberius duodecim villarum nominibus et molibus insederat, quanto intentus olim publicas ad curas, tanto occultior in luxus et malum otium resolutus. Manebat quippe suspicionum et credendi temeritas, quam Seianus augere etiam in urbe suetus acrius turbabat, non iam occultis adversum Agrippinam et Neronem insidiis. Quis 6
additus miles nuntios introitus, aperta secreta velut in annales referebat, ultroque struebantur qui monerent perfugere ad Germaniae exercitus vel celeberrimo fori effigiem divi Augusti amplecti populumque ac senatum auxilio vocare. Eaque spreta ab illis, velut pararent, obiciebantur.

Iunio Silano et Silio Nerva consulibus foedum anni 68
principium incessit tracto in carcerem illustri equite Romano, Titio Sabino, ob amicitiam Germanici: neque

Vesuvius, etc.: the great eruption of 79, which buried Pompeii and Herculaneum, converting all the surrounding country into a desert. From this time it has continued to be an active volcano.

4. **Telebois**: a people of Ætolia.

5. **nominibus ac molibus**: these words appear to refer to the splendid structures and special titles which distinguished these country seats. One of them is known to have been called *Villa Iovis*, and it has been thought that the twelve were named for the twelve Olympian deities.

tanto: the words compared are **intentus** and **resolutus**, while **occultior** merely adds a subsidiary thought. Pfitzner. Most editors read either **occultiores** or **occultos**.

temeritas, *readiness*.

quam: object of **augere**; **turbabat** governs **eum** understood.

6. **additus**: *i.e.* a guard, acting as a spy.

ultro, *more than this*; he passed from espionage to attempts to commit them to disloyal acts.

celeberrimo fori: at the time of day when the forum was most crowded.

ea: this treacherous advice.

obiciebantur: *i.e.* to the emperor.

68. Titio Sabino: see 18. 1. Pliny (*N. H.* VIII. 145) and Dio Cassius (LVIII. 1) relate a touching story

enim omiserat coniugem liberosque eius percolere, sectator domi, comes in publico, post tot clientes unus
2 eoque apud bonos laudatus et gravis iniquis. Hunc Latinius Latiaris, Porcius Cato, Petilius Rufus, M. Opsius praetura functi aggrediuntur, cupidine consulatus, ad quem non nisi per Seianum aditus; neque Seiani
3 voluntas nisi scelere quaerebatur. Compositum inter ipsos ut Latiaris, qui modico usu Sabinum contingebat, strueret dolum, ceteri testes adessent, deinde accusa-
4 tionem inciperent. Igitur Latiaris iacere fortuitos primum sermones, mox laudare constantiam, quod non, ut ceteri, florentis domus amicus adflictam deseruisset; simul honora de Germanico, Agrippinam miserans, dis-
5 serebat; et postquam Sabinus, ut sunt molles in calamitate mortalium animi, effudit lacrimas, iunxit questus, audentius iam onerat Seianum, saevitiam superbiam
6 spes eius. Ne in Tiberium quidem convicio abstinet; iique sermones, tamquam vetita miscuissent, speciem
7 artae amicitiae fecere. Ac iam ultro Sabinus quaerere Latiarem, ventitare domum, dolores suos quasi ad fidis-
69 simum deferre. Consultant quos memoravi quonam
2 modo ea plurium auditu acciperentur. Nam loco, in quem coibatur, servanda solitudinis facies; et si pone fores assisterent, metus visus, sonitus, aut forte ortae
3 suspicionis erat. Tectum inter et laquearia tres sena-

of the attachment of his dog to him, refusing to leave his dead body, even after it had been cast into the Tiber.

clientes: the application of this term, which properly implied dependence and inferior rank to an 'illustrious' knight, is a significant indication of the growth of the monarchical principle; he was follower of a member of the imperial family.

unus: the only one remaining.

3. **modico usu contingebat**, *had a slight acquaintance with.*

5. **onerat**: *i.e.* with reproaches; the word is nowhere else used absolutely in this sense.

6. **tamquam vetita miscuissent**: as if they had been partners in prohibited acts.

69. 3. **laquearia**: the perforated panels of the ceiling; there

tores, haud minus turpi latebra quam detestanda fraude, sese abstrudunt, foraminibus et rimis aurem admovent. Interea Latiaris repertum in publico Sabinum, velut 4
recens cognita narraturus, domum et in cubiculum trahit; praeteritaque et instantia, quorum adfatim copia, ac novos terrores cumulat. Eadem ille et diutius, quanto maesta, ubi semel prorupere, difficilius reticentur. Properata inde accusatio, missisque ad Caesarem 5
litteris ordinem fraudis suumque ipsi dedecus narravere. Non alias magis anxia et pavens civitas, tegens adver- 6
sum proximos; congressus, colloquia, notae ignotaeque aures vitari; etiam muta atque inanima, tectum et parietes circumspectabantur.

Sed Caesar sollemnia incipientis anni kalendis Ianua- 70
riis epistula precatus, vertit in Sabinum, corruptos quosdam libertorum et petitum se arguens, ultionemque haud obscure poscebat. Nec mora quin decerneretur; 2
et trahebatur damnatus, quantum obducta veste et

was a space between these and the roof.

tres senatores: Cato, Rufus, and Opsius; as, having held magistracies, they were members of the senate.

4. **instantia**, *the present.*

ille: Sabinus.

diutius: qualifies *disserit* understood.

quanto, *in proportion as — seeing that.*

6. **tegens**: *sc.* **se**; see App. I.

70. sollemnia . . . precatus: the New Year solemnities. As it was a matter of religion that no evil omen should taint the commencement of the year (**verbis etiam profanis abstineri mos erat**), the arrest of Sabinus (**inter sacra et vota**) was a peculiarly heinous act.

libertorum: *i.e.* of Tiberius. There was, therefore, some more specific and serious charge than the mere talk described in the previous chapters.

2. **obducta veste**, etc.: his toga being thrown over his head, and the rope drawn around his neck with which he was to be strangled in prison. The account here given, as well as that in Dio Cassius, would imply a condemnation by the senate without trial (like a bill of attainder); but the words of Pliny, *cum animadverteretur ex causa Neronis Germanici filii in Titium Sabinum et servitia eius*, imply more formal deliberation and definite proof. It appears that the emperor, panic-stricken on account of some real or fancied danger (**trepidam sibi vitam**) allowed himself to depart from his habitual slow and cautious methods. Sabinus was perhaps

astrictis faucibus niti poterat clamitans sic incohari annum, has Seiano victimas cadere. Quo intendisset oculos, quo verba acciderent, fuga vastitas, deseri itinera fora. Et quidam regrediebantur ostentabantque se rursum, id ipsum paventes quod timuissent. Quem enim diem vacuum poena, ubi inter sacra et vota, quo tempore verbis etiam profanis abstineri mos esset, vincla et laqueus inducantur? Non imprudentem Tiberium tantam invidiam adisse, sed quaesitum meditatumque, ne quid impedire credatur quo minus novi magistratus, quo modo delubra et altaria, sic carcerem recludant. Secutae insuper litterae grates agentis, quod hominem infensum rei publicae punivissent, adiecto trepidam sibi vitam, suspectas inimicorum insidias, nullo nominatim compellato; neque tamen dubitabatur in Neronem et Agrippinam intendi.

71 Ni mihi destinatum foret suum quaeque in annum referre, avebat animus antire statimque memorare exitus, quos Latinius atque Opsius ceterique flagitii eius repertores habuere, non modo postquam Gaius Caesar rerum potitus est, sed incolumi Tiberio, qui scelerum ministros ut perverti ab aliis nolebat, ita plerumque satiatus et oblatis in eandem operam recentibus veteres et prae-

guilty, but the manner of his conviction shows how far Tiberius had fallen from his earlier standard of justice.

Seiano, etc.: as if he were a god.

4. **quod timuissent**: that they had exhibited terror might itself excite suspicion.

5. **quem diem**, etc.: cf. Suet. *Tib.* 61, *nullus a poena hominum cessavit dies, ne religiosus quidem ac sacer.*

6. **recludant**: as the temples were opened for worship, so the prison was opened to receive victims.

7. **adiecto**: Intr. 35 *o*; this participle is here only used in this way.

in Neronem: see the words of Pliny in the note above.

intendi: see II. 36. 2 n.

71. perverti ab aliis: for Tiberius' defence of the delators as a class necessary for the security of justice, see 30. 4, and Intr. 16.

recentibus: *sc.* **ministris**; when he had found new instruments, he threw away the old.

praegraves: on account of the sense of obligation.

graves adflixit: verum has atque alias sontium poenas 2
in tempore trademus. Tum censuit Asinius Gallus, 3
cuius liberorum Agrippina matertera erat, petendum a
principe ut metus suos senatui fateretur amoverique
sineret. Nullam aeque Tiberius, ut rebatur, ex virtuti- 4
bus suis quam dissimulationem diligebat: eo aegrius
accepit recludi quae premeret. Sed mitigavit Seianus, 5
non Galli amore, verum ut cunctationes principis aperi-
rentur, gnarus lentum in meditando, ubi prorupisset,
tristibus dictis atrocia facta coniungere.

Per idem tempus Iulia mortem obiit, quam neptem 6
Augustus convictam adulterii damnaverat proieceratque
in insulam Trimerum, haud procul Apulis litoribus.
Illic viginti annis exsilium toleravit Augustae ope sus- 7
tentata, quae florentes privignos cum per occultum sub-
vertisset, misericordiam erga adflictos palam ostentabat.

Eodem anno Frisii, transrhenanus populus, pacem 72
exuere, nostra magis avaritia quam obsequii impatientes.
Tributum iis Drusus iusserat modicum pro angustia 2
rerum, ut in usus militares coria boum penderent, non
intenta cuiusquam cura quae firmitudo, quae mensura,

2. **trademus**: for the overthrow of Latiaris see VI. 4; that of the others must belong to the lost portions of the *Annals*.

3. **matertera**: Asinius Gallus married Vipsania after her divorce from Tiberius (see I. 12. 6); Agrippina was her half-sister, and therefore aunt to her children.

4. **ut rebatur**, *as he considered them*, dissimulation being a virtue in his eyes.

quae premeret, *what he kept concealed.*

5. **aperirentur**: used reflexively —*might be left to disclose themselves*,

lentum: *sc. principem.*

6. **Iulia**: daughter of Julia, daughter of Augustus, and therefore sister of Agrippina (see table, Intr. p. xxix).

7. **quae**, etc.: a general statement, only partly applicable to Julia, who, as has just been said, was banished for crime.

72. Frisii: they occupied the coast of the North Sea, in the modern Friesland, and further south.

2. **Drusus**: the elder Drusus, who conquered this part of Germany (I. 33. 3 n.).

non intenta cuiusquam cura, *no one giving any attention*,

donec Olennius e primipilaribus regendis Frisiis impositus terga urorum delegit, quorum ad formam acciperentur. Id aliis quoque nationibus arduum apud Germanos difficilius tolerabatur, quis ingentium beluarum feraces saltus, modica domi armenta sunt. Ac primo boves ipsos, mox agros, postremo corpora coniugum aut liberorum servitio tradebant. Hinc ira et questus, et postquam non subveniebatur, remedium ex bello. Rapti qui tributo aderant milites et patibulo adfixi: Olennius infensos fuga praevenit, receptus castello, cui nomen Flevum; et haud spernenda illic civium sociorumque manus litora Oceani praesidebat. Quod ubi L. Apronio inferioris Germaniae pro praetore cognitum, vexilla legionum e superiore provincia peditumque et equitum auxiliarium delectos accivit ac simul utrumque exercitum Rheno devectum Frisiis intulit, soluto iam castelli obsidio et ad sua tutanda degressis rebellibus.

Igitur proxima aestuaria aggeribus et pontibus traducendo graviori agmini firmat. Atque interim repertis vadis alam Canninefatem et quod peditum Germano-

e primipilaribus: see II. 11. 2 n.

terga urorum: the hides of these wild buffaloes were taken as a standard (**ad formam**) instead of the small domestic cattle of the Germans (see 3, and *Germ.* 5).

3. **id**: this standard, which would have been a difficult one anywhere.

5. **patibulo**: see I. 61. 6 n.

6. **Flevum** (see I. 45. 1 n.): a fort at the mouth of the *fossa Drusiana* (II. 8. 1), where it flows into the *Lacus Flevo* (Zuyder Zee).

73. pro praetore: *sc.* **legato**; not a *propraetor*, but a *legatus* of the emperor, with prætorian powers.

vexilla: see I. 20. 1 n.

e superiore provincia: see Intr. 18. B. 16.

utrumque exercitum: *i.e.* his own army, and the detachments (**vexilla**) from the upper army.

2. **igitur**, etc.: he constructs a road with bridges and causeways along this coast, which is here interrupted by numerous estuaries.

graviori: the large and heavily armed force, with its baggage-trains, would require a more solid roadway.

Canninefatem: the Canninefates inhabited the eastern portion of the *insula Batavorum*, and were, like the Batavians, subject to Rome.

quod peditum . . . **delectos** above.

rum inter nostros merebat circumgredi terga hostium iubet, qui iam acie compositi pellunt turmas sociales equitesque legionum subsidio missos. Tum tres leves 3
cohortes ac rursum duae, dein tempore interiecto alarius eques immissus: satis validi, si simul incubuissent, per intervallum adventantes neque constantiam addiderant turbatis et pavore fugientium auferebantur. Cethego 4
Labeoni legato quintae legionis quod reliquum auxiliorum tradit. Atque ille dubia suorum re in anceps tractus missis nuntiis vim legionum implorabat. Pro- 5
rumpunt quintani ante alios et acri pugna hoste pulso recipiunt cohortis alasque fessas vulneribus. Neque 6
dux Romanus ultum iit aut corpora humavit, quamquam multi tribunorum praefectorumque et insignes centuriones cecidissent. Mox compertum a transfugis non- 7
gentos Romanorum apud lucum, quem Baduhennae vocant, pugna in posterum extracta confectos, et aliam quadringentorum manum occupata Cruptorigis quondam stipendiarii villa, postquam proditio metuebatur, mutuis ictibus procubuisse.

turmas: the subdivisions of the *ala* of auxiliary cavalry (**sociales**); this refers to the Canninefates.

equites legionum: the cavalry, 120 in number, attached to each legion. They were auxiliaries, differently armed from the *alarius eques*, or regular auxiliary cavalry.

3. **leves cohortes**: these were auxiliary infantry.

satis validi: refers to the whole force sent, which would have been enough had it been sent in a body (**si simul incubuissent**); coming a few at a time, — first the **ala Canninefas**, then the **equites legionum**, then **tres leves cohortes**, then **duae**, and, finally, the whole **alarius eques**, — they did not succeed in rallying those who had been routed, but were themselves carried away by the panic.

4. **quintae legionis**: this was a legion of Lower Germany (I. 31. 3).

vim legionum: so far only auxiliary troops had been sent.

6. **dux Romanus**: Apronius.

insignes, *of the higher ranks* (see I. 61. 5).

7. **Baduhennae**: a genitive — probably the name of some goddess to whom the grove was sacred, like Tamfana (I. 51. 2).

in posterum: *sc.* **diem**.

stipendiarii: as a mercenary in the Roman army.

villa: Cruptorix was probably one of those chiefs described in the *Ger-*

74 Clarum inde inter Germanos Frisium nomen, dissimulante Tiberio damna, ne cui bellum permitteret. 2 Neque senatus in eo cura an imperii extrema dehonestarentur; pavor internus occupaverat animos, cui 3 remedium adulatione quaerebatur. Ita quamquam diversis super rebus consulerentur, aram clementiae, aram amicitiae, effigiesque circum Caesaris ac Seiani censuere, crebrisque precibus efflagitabant visendi sui copiam 4 facerent. Non illi tamen in urbem aut propinqua urbi degressi sunt: satis visum omittere insulam et in 5 proximo Campaniae aspici. Eo venire patres eques magna pars plebis, anxii erga Seianum, cuius durior congressus, atque eo per ambitum et societate consilio- 6 rum parabatur. Satis constabat auctam ei arrogantiam foedum illud in propatulo servitium spectanti; quippe Romae sueti discursus, et magnitudine urbis incertum quod quisque ad negotium pergat: ibi campo aut litore iacentes nullo discrimine noctem ac diem iuxta gratiam aut fastus ianitorum perpetiebantur, donec id quoque 7 vetitum; et revenere in urbem trepidi quos non sermone, non visu dignatus erat, quidam male alacres quibus infaustae amicitiae gravis exitus imminebat.

75 Ceterum Tiberius neptem Agrippinam Germanico ortam cum coram Cn. Domitio tradidisset, in urbe cele-

many (13 and 14), who lived in a kind of baronial style, surrounded by their armed retainers (*comites*).

74. ne cui, etc.: it is implied that he was unwilling to entrust the war to any commander who might by its means build up a military reputation which would be dangerous.

3. **quamquam**, etc.: *i.e.* they went beyond the business laid before them, to vote these honors.

circum, *on either side.*

5. **durior**: *i.e.* than before.

congressus: *sc.* **erat.**

societate consiliorum: admitting him to their counsels.

parabatur, *it was secured;* these were the only means to obtain an audience.

7. **alacres**, *in good spirits.*

infaustae: referring to the fall of Sejanus, two years later.

75. Cn. Domitio: described by Suetonius (*Nero*, 5) as *omni parte*

brari nuptias iussit. In Domitio super vetustatem 2
generis propinquum Caesaribus sanguinem delegerat;
nam is aviam Octaviam et per eam Augustum avuncu-
lum praeferebat.

vitae detestabilem. The fruit of this marriage was the emperor Nero.

2. **aviam Octaviam**: his mother was the elder Antonia (see 44. 3).

Drusus, Son of Tiberius.
(*From a coin in the Berlin Museum.*)

ARGUMENT OF BOOK V.

A.D. 29; C. FUFIUS GEMINUS, L. RUBELLIUS GEMINUS, Coss.

1, 2. Death and character of Julia Augusta (the Empress Livia). 3. Increase of severity. Accusation of Agrippina and Nero. 4. Disturbances in the city. 5. Displeasure of Tiberius.

For the gap between Books V. and VI., containing the overthrow of Sejanus: —

A.D. 30; M. VINICIUS, L. CASSIUS LONGINUS, Coss.

A.D. 31; TI. CAESAR AUGUSTUS V., L. AELIUS SEIANUS, Coss. FAUSTUS CORNELIUS SULLA, SEX. TEIDIUS CATULLUS, Coss. SUFF. L. FULCINIUS TRIO, P. MEMMIUS REGULUS, Coss. SUFF.

LIBRI V. FRAGMENTUM.

Rubellio et Fufio consulibus, quorum utrique Gemi- 1
nus cognomentum erat, Iulia Augusta mortem obiit,
aetate extrema, nobilitatis per Claudiam familiam et
adoptione Liviorum Iuliorumque clarissimae. Primum 2
ei matrimonium et liberi fuere cum Tiberio Nerone, qui,
bello Perusino profugus, pace inter Sex. Pompeium ac
triumviros pacta in urbem rediit. Exin Caesar cupidine 3
formae aufert marito, incertum an invitam, adeo prope-
rus ut ne spatio quidem ad enitendum dato penatibus
suis gravidam induxerit. Nullam posthac subolem edi- 4
dit, sed sanguini Augusti per coniunctionem Agrippinae
et Germanici adnexa communes pronepotes habuit.
Sanctitate domus priscum ad morem, comis ultra quam 5

1. Geminus cognomentum: it was a tradition in the early church that the death of Christ was in the consulship of 'the two Gemini'; cf. Lact. *Inst.* IV. 10, Aug. *Civ. Dei*, XVIII. 54.

aetate extrema: she was eighty-six years old.

per Claudiam familiam, etc.: her father was a Claudius by birth, adopted into the Livian gens, probably by the distinguished tribune of B.C. 91, Marcus Livius Drusus, whence he bore the name Marcus Livius Drusus Claudianus. The empress, therefore, while of the blood of the patrician Claudii, was a Livia by the adoption of her father; and was afterwards, by the will of her husband (I. 8. 2), adopted into the Julian gens, receiving the name Julia Augusta.

2. **bello Perusino:** this was a brief episode in the civil wars of the second triumvirate, set on foot by Fulvia, the wife of Mark Antony, and his brother Lucius, against Octavian, B.C. 41. It was ended by the capture of Perusia (the modern *Perugia*), after which, according to tradition, the soldiers of Octavian exhibited great cruelty. The peace (of short duration) made by the triumvirs with Sextus Pompeius, was two years afterwards, B.C. 39.

3. **gravidam:** her younger son Drusus, father of Germanicus, was born after her marriage to Cæsar; cf. I. 10. 4.

4. **pronepotes:** see genealogical table, Intr. p. xxix.

5. **sanctitate,** *strict morality.*
comis, *of easy manners.*

antiquis feminis probatum, mater impotens, uxor facilis et cum artibus mariti simulatione filii bene composita.
6 Funus eius modicum, testamentum diu irritum fuit. Laudata est pro rostris a Gaio Caesare pronepote, qui
2 mox rerum potitus est. At Tiberius, quod supremis in matrem officiis defuisset, nihil mutata amoenitate vitae, magnitudinem negotiorum per litteras excusavit, honoresque memoriae eius ab senatu large decretos quasi per modestiam imminuit, paucis admodum receptis et addito ne caelestis religio decerneretur: sic ipsam
2 maluisse. Quin et parte eiusdem epistulae increpuit amicitias muliebres, Fufium consulem oblique perstrin-
3 gens. Is gratia Augustae floruerat, aptus alliciendis feminarum animis, dicax idem et Tiberium acerbis facetiis irridere solitus, quarum apud praepotentes in longum memoria est.

3 Ceterum ex eo praerupta iam et urgens dominatio;

impotens, *imperious.*

uxor facilis: she is said to have winked at and assisted her husband's irregularities of life.

cum artibus, etc.: her great-grandson, Gaius (Caligula), used to call her "Ulysses in petticoats" (*Ulyxem stolatum*, Suet. *Cal.* 23).

6. **irritum**: so Suetonius, *Tib.* 51; her legacies were paid in full by Caligula (Suet. *Cal.* 16).

rerum potitus est: A.D. 37, at the death of Tiberius.

2. defuisset: *toto quidem triennio, quo vivente matre afuit, semel omnino eam, nec amplius quam uno die, paucissimis vidit horis: ac mox neque aegrae adesse curavit, defunctamque, et, dum adventus sui spem facit, complurium dierum mora, corrupto demum et tabido corpore funeratam prohibuit consecrari, quasi id ipsa mandasset* (Suet. *Tib.* 51). Stahr excuses this neglect on the ground of illness, advanced age, and heavy cares: hardly an adequate excuse.

caelestis religio, *deification;* so Suetonius, *prohibuit consecrari.* This honor was paid her by her grandson, the emperor Claudius.

2. **amicitias**: *omnes amicitias et familiaritates, etiam quibus ea funeris sui curam moriens demandaverat, intra breve tempus adflixit* (Suet. *Tib.* 51). Livia was, no doubt, arrogant and exacting, and often interfered injuriously in the administration of affairs.

muliebres, *among women* (cf. I. 33. 6).

Fufium consulem: Dio (LVIII. 4; see page 345) tells us that in A.D. 31 Tiberius put to death Γάιος Ῥοῦφος Γεμῖνιος,— probably a corrupted form of this name.

3. **acerbis facetiis**: cf. IV. 42. 2.

3. ex eo, *from this time.*

nam incolumi Augusta erat adhuc perfugium, quia Tiberio inveteratum erga matrem obsequium, neque Seianus audebat auctoritati parentis antire: tunc velut frenis 2
exsoluti proruperunt, missaeque in Agrippinam ac Neronem litterae, quas pridem allatas et cohibitas ab Augusta credidit vulgus; haud enim multo post mortem eius recitatae sunt. Verba inerant quaesita asperi- 3
tate; sed non arma, non rerum novarum studium, amores iuvenum et impudicitiam nepoti obiectabat. In 4
nurum ne id quidem confingere ausus, arrogantiam oris et contumacem animum incusavit, magno senatus pavore ac silentio, donec pauci, quis nulla ex honesto spes (et publica mala singulis in occasionem gratiae trahuntur), ut referretur postulavere, promptissimo Cotta Messalino cum atroci sententia. Sed aliis a primoribus maxime- 5
que a magistratibus trepidabatur: quippe Tiberius etsi infense invectus cetera ambigua reliquerat.

Fuit in senatu Iunius Rusticus, componendis patrum 4
actis delectus a Caesare, eoque meditationes eius introspicere creditus. Is fatali quodam motu (neque enim 2
ante specimen constantiae dederat) seu prava sollertia,

perfugium: see VI. 51. 6.

2. **missae ... litterae**: that these proceedings had been suppressed by the influence of Livia is hardly consistent with her alleged complicity in the murder of Germanicus (II. 43. 5).

allatas: from Capreae to Rome.

3. **non arma**, etc.: as Stahr remarks, it is significant that the charge made was not of treason (cf. IV. 59. 5; 70. 7). Velleius (II. 130) says, *quam diu pectus eius flagravit incendio, quod ex nuru, quod ex nepote dolere indignari erubescere coactus est!*

4. **ut referretur**: see I. 13. 4 n.

Cotta Messalino: called (VI. 5. 1) *saevissimae cuiusque sententiae auctor*; for an illustration, see II. 32. 2.

promptissimo . . . sententia, *readiest to support the motion, and that with severe propositions.*

5. **cetera**: *i.e.* the next step to take; he had brought charges, but made no proposition.

4. componendis patrum actis: to edit the journal of the senate, which was published as a sort of official bulletin (see III. 3. 2 n.).

2. **fatali . . . motu**: his efforts for mercy must have been by divine instigation, for they were not in keeping with his former character.

prava, *perverse*: his shrewdness deceived him; for, in guarding

dum imminentium oblitus incerta pavet, inserere se dubitantibus ac monere consules ne relationem inciperent; disserebatque brevibus momentis summa verti: posse quandoque *domus* Germanici exitium paenitentiae
3 *esse* seni. Simul populus effigies Agrippinae ac Neronis gerens circumsistit curiam faustisque in Caesarem ominibus falsas litteras et principe invito exitium domui eius
4 intendi clamitat. Ita nihil triste illo die patratum. Ferebantur etiam sub nominibus consularium fictae in Seianum sententiae, exercentibus plerisque per occultum
5 atque eo procacius libidinem ingeniorum. Unde illi ira violentior et materies criminandi: spretum dolorem principis ab senatu; descivisse populum; audiri iam et legi novas contiones, nova patrum consulta: quid reliquum nisi ut caperent ferrum et, quorum imagines pro vexillis secuti forent, duces imperatoresque deligerent?

5 Igitur Caesar repetitis aaversum nepotem et nurum probris increpitaque per edictum plebe, questus apud patres quod fraude unius senatoris imperatoria maiestas elusa publice foret, integra tamen sibi cuncta postulavit.

against future perils (**incerta**), he forgot the immediate danger of his action (**imminentium oblitus**).

brevibus momentis, *impulses of trifling weight. Momentum* here has its primary force (from *moveo*), as that which causes motion. For the thought, cf. Cic. *Phil.* 5. 10. 26, *minimis momentis maximae inclinationes temporum fiunt.*

domus, etc.: see App. I.

3. **faustis . . . ominibus,** *with demonstrations of favor;* protesting their loyalty to the emperor (cf. I. 35. 3).

invito, *without the consent of,* that **is,** without his knowledge.

4. **ferebantur,** *were reported,* as having been uttered in the senate.

5. **audiri iam et legi**: *i.e.* spoken and published, and thus both heard and read.

novas, nova, *revolutionary.*

contiones, *speeches.*

patrum consulta: no vote had been taken, but these as well as the speeches might be falsified.

imagines: those of Agrippina and Nero, mentioned above.

5. fraude, *disloyalty.*

unius senatoris: Junius Rusticus.

integra . . . cuncta: *i.e.* that the whole matter be put in his hands.

Nec ultra deliberatum quo minus, non quidem extrema 2
decernerent (id enim vetitum), sed paratos ad ultionem
vi principis impediri testarentur.

2. **deliberatum**: taken as a verb of hindering, and thus followed by **quo minus**, *there was no further hesitation in*, etc.

extrema: *i.e.* punishment.

paratos, etc.: to give the impression that the senate was eager to punish, but was restrained by the emperor's interposition.

There is at this point no gap in the manuscript, but, as the history of more than two years is omitted, it is evident that the copyist by some blunder passed over several pages. All recent editors agree that the six chapters which follow, formerly regarded as a part of Book V., really belong to Book VI. The history of the intervening period can be partly reconstructed from the account of Dio Cassius, a translation of which, together with passages of Juvenal and Suetonius bearing on the same events, is here inserted.

DIO CASSIUS, BOOK LVIII.

2. Now Sejanus was exalted more and more, and it was voted that his birthday should be celebrated as a public holiday; and it would not be possible to count the statues erected to him by the senate, the equestrian order, the tribes, and the chief men of the state; special embassies, moreover, were sent both to him and to Tiberius by the senate on its own account, and the knights on their own account, and the people, as represented both by the tribunes and the ædiles; and prayers and sacrifices were offered for both alike, and oaths were sworn by the fortune of each.

A.D. 30.

3. Now Tiberius seized a favorable opportunity to attack Gallus, who had married his divorced wife,[1] and had used too great freedom of speech about the government. He had, it is true, paid court to Sejanus, either in good faith, believing him destined to be emperor, or through fear of Tiberius, or through artifice, in order that Sejanus might by insolence lose credit with the emperor; and he had proposed numerous and great honors to him, and had taken an active part in the embassies sent to him. But now the emperor sent a missive to the senate, accusing Gallus, among other things, of envy towards Sejanus on the ground of his friendship with him

[1] Vispania, daughter of Marcus Agrippa (see I. 12. 6). Gallus was now seventy years of age.

[Tiberius], although he himself was intimate with Syriacus.[1] And he did not disclose this to Gallus, but treated him with great honor, so that there befell him the strangest fate, such as never happened to any other person. For on the very same day that he banqueted with Tiberius and drank his health, he was condemned to death by the senate, and a prætor was sent to put him in chains and conduct him to punishment. And yet Tiberius, after he had done this, would not allow him to die, much as he wished it when he learned what had been voted; but, in order that he might suffer to the utmost, bade him be of good courage, and ordered him to be kept guarded, but without fetters, until he himself should come to the city; in order, as I have said, that he might be tormented as much as possible by shame and dread. And this is what happened: he was constantly watched by whoever were consuls for the time being (that is, except when Tiberius held the consulship, for then he was guarded by the prætors), not for fear he would escape, — no, by Zeus, but to prevent his death. He had neither friend nor slave with him, nor did he speak to any one or see any one except when he was forced to take food. And this was such, in amount and quality, as neither to give him pleasure nor strength, but just to keep him alive; for this was the most dreadful thing of all.[2]

Tiberius did the same to many others. Having thrown one of his friends in prison, then, when the question came up of putting him to death, he said that he was not yet reconciled with him. In the case of another, whose innocence he had ascertained after having tortured him very severely, he put him to death immediately, saying that after having suffered such indignities he could not honorably continue in life. Syriacus too, although he had neither committed any crime nor been accused of any, and was distinguished for culture, was executed, merely because Tiberius said that he was a friend of Gallus.

Sejanus also slandered Drusus[3] by means of his wife. For, having intrigues with nearly all the wives of the principal men, he learned everything that was done and said by them, making the women his tools by promising to marry them. But when Tiberius only sent Drusus to Rome, Sejanus, fearing that he might change his mind, persuaded Cassius to bring charges against him.

4. Now Sejanus constantly became more powerful and formidable, so that the senate and the citizens paid court to him as if he were emperor, and even treated Tiberius with contempt. Therefore Tiberius, becoming aware of this, did not regard it with indifference, nor yet did he neglect it; for he feared that they would declare him emperor outright. He did

[1] See below. [2] For his death see VI. 23.
[3] *i.e.* the son of Germanicus.

nothing, however, openly: for Sejanus had completely gained over the body-guard,[1] and had brought the senators over to his support, partly by favors, partly by hopes, partly by fears, and secured the friendship of all the attendants of Tiberius, so that everything which the emperor said and did was immediately reported to him, while nothing that he did was made known to Tiberius. Therefore Tiberius undertook to hunt him down in a different way, nominating him to the consulship, calling him the partner of his cares, repeatedly saying "my Sejanus," and making a display A.D. 31 of all this in letters to the senate and the people. Therefore, deceived by these expressions, and fully believing in them, men erected brazen statues of both alike everywhere, and coupled their names in documents, and placed gilded chairs for them in the theatres. And finally it was voted that they should be declared joint consuls for five years, and that a joint public reception should be offered to them whenever they should enter Rome. And at last they sacrificed to his statues just as to those of Tiberius.

Thus it went with Sejanus. And many other distinguished men perished, among them Gaius Rufus Geminius.[2] He, being accused of impiety against Tiberius, brought his will into the senate, and read it aloud, showing that he had bequeathed his property in equal shares to the emperor and his own children. And being taunted with his weakness, he went home before the vote was taken; and when he was informed that the quæstor was at his door to execute the judgment, he stabbed himself, and, showing him the wound, said: "Carry word to the senate that this is the way a man dies." And his wife, Publia Prisca, being accused upon some charge, went into the senate and there stabbed herself with a dagger which she secretly carried with her.

5. Sejanus became so intolerably insolent in spirit and in sense of power, that, to speak briefly, he seemed in good sooth to be emperor, and Tiberius a petty island king, by reason of his continually living at Capri. There was a constant press and throng at his doors, since every one feared, not merely that he would miss being seen by him, but even that he would not be among the first to be seen by him: for he watched everything very closely, both words and demeanor, especially in the case of prominent men. . . . But once on the Kalends, when a great throng was pressing into the house of Sejanus, a bench in the hall in which he was holding a reception broke down under the multitude of those who were sitting upon it; and when he went out of the house a weasel ran through the crowd. And when, after sacrificing on the Capitol, he went down to the Forum, his servants and guards, not being able to follow him on account

[1] *i.e.* the prætorian guards. (I. 7. 3 n.)
[2] No doubt Gaius Fufius Geminus (see V. 2. 2 n.).

of the crowd, turned aside through the street which led to the prison, and, as they descended the steps[1] down which condemned criminals are wont to be hurled, stumbled and fell. And as he was taking the auspices after this, no bird of good omen made its appearance, but ravens in great numbers hovering and crawling about him flew to the prison and perched upon it.

6. These signs, however, neither Sejanus nor any one else took to heart; for even if some god had foretold clearly the change of fortune that was shortly to take place, no one would have believed it. Therefore they continued without stint to swear by his fortune, and to call him the colleague of Tiberius, having in mind not merely the consulship, but the imperial dignity. But nothing which happened to him escaped the knowledge of Tiberius; and he, consulting in his own mind how he might destroy him, and finding no way to do this openly without peril, hit upon a remarkable plan for learning accurately not only his sentiments, but also those of others. He wrote continually and at great length a variety of things about himself both to Sejanus and the senate, at one time saying that he was very ill, and could not last much longer, and at another time that he was in excellent health, and was intending shortly to come to Rome. And Sejanus himself he now praised to the skies, and again depreciated very much, and honored some of his companions and disgraced others on his account, so that Sejanus, being by turns filled with vanity and with dread, was always in a state of suspense. For it did not occur to him (being still treated with distinction) to apprehend any danger, — which might have set him to excite a rebellion, — nor on the other hand to be emboldened to take some decisive step, for he was constantly losing in consideration. And at the same time all others, hearing at short intervals first one story and then just the opposite, and feeling secure neither in admiring Sejanus nor in despising him, constantly expecting too to hear that Tiberius was dead or that he was on his way to the city, were kept in equal uncertainty.

7. Now Sejanus was disturbed by these things, and all the more because first a great cloud of smoke arose from one of his statues, and when the head was removed in order to see what was the cause, a great snake crawled out of it; and when another head had been placed upon it, and he was about to offer sacrifice to himself (for he sacrificed to himself as well as to the gods), a rope was found twisted about the neck. And a statue of Fortune, which had, as men believed, belonged to Servius Tullius, who had once been king in Rome, and which now Sejanus had in his

[1] The *Scalae Gemoniae* (see III. 14. 6 n.). The principal street, the *Clivus Capitolinus*, came down by the right, about where the Via del Campidoglio now is.

house, and honored greatly, turned its back upon him as he was sacrificing to it. [There is here a short gap in the manuscript.] . . . And now others began to be suspicious; but, not knowing the purpose of Tiberius, and taking into consideration the fiery temper of Sejanus, and the uncertainty of affairs, they were in a dilemma, secretly consulting for their own safety, but in public paying court to him, especially because Tiberius conferred priestly offices upon both him and his son along with Gaius[1]; therefore they gave him the proconsular power, and voted in addition that all who should be consuls should take him as their model in governing. Therefore Tiberius, although he honored him with the priesthood, did not summon him to him, but even when he asked leave to go to Campania on the ground that his betrothed was sick, he bade him remain where he was, as he himself was intending soon to repair to Rome.

8. This depressed Sejanus still more, and especially because Tiberius, in appointing Gaius to a priesthood, commended him in high terms, and showed that he regarded him as his successor. And he would have excited a revolution, especially as the soldiers were ready to obey him in everything, if he had not seen that the people were greatly pleased at what had been said about Gaius, in consideration of his father Germanicus. He had before thought that they too were on his side, but now he was discouraged, perceiving that they were enthusiastically devoted to Gaius. And now he regretted not having seized the power during his consulship.[2] Others were influenced moreover by the fact that Tiberius acquitted an enemy of his, who had been appointed to the government of Spain ten years before, and then accused by him upon some charges; and that he gave orders that in future those who were to govern provinces or perform any other public service, should not be prosecuted on such grounds during their office.[3] And when he wrote to the senate concerning the death of Nero, he mentioned Sejanus merely by his name, without any of the terms of honor which he was accustomed to use, and moreover forbade sacrifices to be offered to any mortal (as had been done to Sejanus), even to himself, for many such honors had been voted to him. He had, to be sure, prohibited this before, but now he renewed it on account of Sejanus; for what he had refused for himself he could not permit to another.

9. For these reasons people began to slight him still more, and openly disregard him, avoid him and neglect him. Tiberius therefore learning this, and being confident that he should have the senate and the people

[1] Son of Germanicus, afterwards the emperor Caligula. μετὰ Γαΐου is a conjecture of Bekker for μετ' αὐτοῦ, which makes no sense. For Gaius' receiving the priesthood, see chap. 8.

[2] He had held the consulship with Tiberius during the first part of this year, A.D. 31.

[3] ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ seems here to have this meaning.

on his side, made a direct attack upon him. Giving out that he was about to bestow the tribunician power upon him, — in order that he might take him unawares, — he brought accusations against him before the senate through Nævius Sertorius Macro, whom he had secretly commissioned to command the body-guard, and to whom he had given authority to do whatever should be necessary. And Macro coming by night to Rome, as if on some other business, laid his commands before the consul Memmius Regulus[1] (for his colleague was of the party of Sejanus), and Græcinus Laco, commander of the night-guards; and going in the morning to the palace[2] (for the session of the senate was to be held in the temple of Apollo), he met Sejanus, who had not yet entered the hall; and seeing that he was greatly disturbed because Tiberius had sent no message to him, he reassured him, by telling him in private that he brought him the tribunician power. And he, recovering his spirits at this news, tripped into the senate-house; but Macro sent the guardsmen who were about Sejanus and the senate back to the camp, announcing to them that he was to be their commander, and saying that he brought letters from Tiberius giving donatives to them. Then, after placing the night-guards around the temple in their stead, he entered it, and, giving the letter to the consuls, went away before any part of it was read; then, directing Laco to command the guard there, he hastened to the camp, for fear there might be some outbreak.

10. And now the letter was read aloud. It was long, and did not contain any connected accusation against Sejanus, but first some other matter, and then a slight censure of him, and after this something else, and then again something against him; and at last it declared that two senators who were intimate with him should be punished and he himself put in prison. For Tiberius did not at once order him to be put to death — not that he did not wish it, but because he feared that some disturbance would arise from it; and, on the ground that he could not make the journey safely, he sent for one of the consuls to accompany him. This was the purport of the letter, and thereupon many strange things were to be seen and heard. For in the first place, before it was read, all spoke in high praise of him [Sejanus], expecting that he was about to receive the tribunician power, and shouted in applause — anticipating what they expected, and wishing to show him that they themselves were ready to give it to him; but when nothing of this sort followed, but everything that they heard was just the opposite of what they expected, they fell into great embarrassment and dejection. Some who were sitting on the bench with

[1] *Consul suffectus* for this year with Fulcinius Trio (see V. 11. 1).

[2] εἰς τὸ παλάτιον seems to refer to the *palace* rather than the *hill*; the temple of Apollo was in the palace of Augustus.

him rose up; having before been most eager to make him their friend, now they would not even sit on the same seat with him. And at this the prætors and tribunes gathered about him, in order that he might not rush out and make a disturbance, which he would certainly have done if the full weight of the accusation had fallen upon him at first. But as it was read, looking upon each separate point as trivial and isolated, and especially hoping that there would be nothing further, or if there should be that at any rate nothing fatal would be brought against him, he hesitated and remained in his place. And then Regulus summoned him, but he did not obey, not out of insolence, for he was already completely broken down, but because he was not accustomed to have orders given to him. Then after he had called him a second and a third time, the consul stretched out his hand towards him and said, "Sejanus, come hither." At this he answered in these very words, "Is it I that you are calling?" [ἐμὲ καλεῖς;]; and when he stood up, Laco came up and stood by him. And at last, when the letter had been read through, all with one voice cried out against him, and reviled him — some because they had suffered wrongs from him, and others out of fear, some trying to conceal their former friendship for him, and others rejoicing at his downfall. But Regulus did not call upon them all to speak, and indeed he did not call upon any one to speak in regard to putting him to death, for he feared that some opposition would be made, and some disturbance excited (for Sejanus had many relatives and friends): but he took the opinion of a certain senator, and, finding that he agreed with him that he should be imprisoned, he led him out of the senate, and with Laco and the other magistrates conducted him to the prison.

11. And now might one witness human weakness, and learn to abjure arrogance. He who that very morning had been attended to the senate-house by great numbers, as being raised above all, was now haled into prison, having fallen far below all; he who before had been deemed worthy of garlands was now put in chains; he who, as a ruler, had been surrounded with guards, was now watched like a runaway slave; he who had been clad in purple was now buffeted in the face; he who had been reverenced, and had received sacrifice like a god, was now led to death. . . . The people also assaulted him and upbraided him with the fate of those whom he had ruined, and taunted him with the failure of his hopes. All his statues they cast down, and broke in pieces, and dragged about as if they were tormenting him in person; and thus he became witness of what he was about to suffer in person. For then he was cast into prison; but not long after, indeed the very same day, the senate, assembling in the temple of Concord, close by the prison, when they saw these actions of the people,

and saw none of the body-guard, voted his death. After the judgment was executed, the body was thrown down the *Scalae Gemoniae*, and the rabble abused it for three entire days, and then cast it into the river.[1] Also his children were put to death by vote of the senate, the girl — who had been betrothed to the son of Claudius — being first deflowered by the executioner, because it was impious to execute a virgin in prison. His wife Apicata[2] was not condemned to death, but when she had been informed that her children were dead, and had seen their bodies on the Gemonian Stairs, she shut herself up in private, wrote out an accusation against Livilla in regard to the death of Drusus (which had been the cause of Apicata's estrangement from her husband, so that they no longer lived together), sent this to Tiberius, and then put herself to death. And when Tiberius had received the document and read what was written in it, he put to death Livilla and all the rest. I have heard indeed that he spared her in consideration of her mother Antonia, and that Antonia on her own account put her to death by starvation.

12. This however took place at a later time: at present there was great excitement in the city. For if the people caught sight of any one who had had influence with Sejanus, and had been made insolent by this, they slaughtered him. And the soldiers, enraged because they were suspected of devotion to Sejanus (the night-guards being regarded as more loyal to Tiberius), plundered and burned through the city, although the chief magistrates undertook to guard the city at the command of Tiberius. The senate too was disturbed, the partisans of Sejanus being greatly terrified through fear of punishment, and those who had brought accusations or given evidence against any persons, beginning to suspect that they had sacrificed them to Sejanus and not to Tiberius. Very few were there who ventured to take courage, as not having been mixed up in these things, and to hope that Tiberius would treat them with mildness. For, as usually happens, all that had occurred they laid to the account of the man who had been put to death, and the emperor they blamed very little or not at all: saying that of most things he had been kept in ignorance, and some things he had been compelled to do unwillingly. This was the way they felt in private: in public they voted, as if they were now freed from tyranny, that no one should put on mourning for Sejanus, and that a statue of Freedom should be set up in the Forum, and that a feast should be celebrated by all the magistrates and priests, — a thing that never happened before, — and that the day on which he was executed should be celebrated

[1] Cf. Seneca, *De Tranq. Animi*, XI. 11: *quo die Seianum senatus deduxerat, populus in frusta divisit. In quem quicquid congeri poterat di hominesque contulerant, ex eo nihil superfuit quod carnifex traheret.*

[2] See IV. 3. 5.

every year with horse-races, and wild-beast fights, by all the four colleges of priests,[1] and also the Augustales (see I. 54. 1). They had pushed him on to destruction by the excess and the novelty of their adulation, and now they voted strange acts of gratitude to the gods. Indeed, it was so well understood that it was by them chiefly that his head had been turned, that they at once voted that it should be expressly forbidden to bestow excessive honors upon any one, or to take oaths by any other than the emperor. And yet they had no sooner voted this, as if by divine inspiration, than they began to flatter Macro and Laco, giving them much wealth and great honors, bestowing upon Laco quæstorian rank, and upon Macro prætorian, authorizing Macro to sit in the theatre with the senators, and to wear the *praetexta* at the votive games. They did not accept the honors, however, for the recent example made them cautious. Neither did Tiberius accept any of the many honors that were offered to him, as for instance that he should now begin to be called 'Father of his Country,'[2] and that his birthday should be celebrated with ten cavalry fights and a banquet of the senate: but he forbade, as he had before, all of these things.

13. This is what happened in the city. But Tiberius was for a while in great apprehension lest Sejanus should get possession of the city and sail to attack him, and he had vessels ready in order to escape if anything of this sort should happen. And, as some say, he had ordered Macro, if there should be any disturbance, to lead Drusus before the senate and people, and proclaim him emperor. But when he learned of the death of Sejanus, he rejoiced, as is natural, but yet he refused to receive the embassy sent to him on this account, although many from the senate and many from the knights and the people had been sent, as on a former occasion; and he did not even admit the consul Regulus to his presence, who had always been his adherent, and had now come, in accordance with his written request, to accompany him to Rome.

14. Such a downfall had Sejanus, the most powerful of all who have held this office before or after him, except Plautianus;[3] and his kinsmen and friends, and all others who had paid court to him, and conferred honors upon him, were put upon their trial. Most of these were convicted on the ground of the very things for which they had before been especially envied, the others condemning them for things which they themselves had formerly voted. And many who had before been tried on certain charges and acquitted, were arrested again and condemned, as if their

[1] The colleges of pontifices, augurs, quindecimviri, and epulones.

[2] See I. 72. 2 n.

[3] He was prætorian præfect under Septimius Severus, and was put to death A.D. 203, after a career of extraordinary insolence.

acquittal had been for his sake. Thus, if there was no other charge against a man, this was enough for his punishment, that he had been a friend of Sejanus, just as if it had not been on account of the friendship of Tiberius that others had paid court to him. Such accusations were brought especially by those who had been most devoted to Sejanus; for since they knew accurately who were like-minded with themselves, they had no trouble in bringing accusations and proofs. . . .

15. Of those who were accused, many appeared in person and spoke in their own defence with great freedom of spirit; but most took their own lives before being condemned. They did this especially in order to escape the disgrace and outrage (for all who were arrested on any such charge, not only knights but also senators, not only men but also women, were crowded into the prison, and after being condemned some were put to death there, and others were hurled from the Tarpeian Rock by the tribunes or consuls, and their bodies tossed into the Forum, and after this thrown into the river), and also in order that their children might inherit their property. For they confiscated only a very small proportion of the property of those who committed suicide before judgment, it being the policy of Tiberius to lead them to self-destruction by this inducement, so that it might not appear that it was he who worked their destruction — as if it were not a much more terrible thing to compel a man to slay himself than to give him over directly to the executioner.

The condemnation of Sejanus is thus described by Juvenal, 10. 56–77: —

Quosdam praecipitat subiecta potentia magnae
Invidiae: mergit longa atque insignis honorum
Pagina. Descendunt statuae restemque sequuntur,
Ipsas deinde rotas bigarum impacta securis
Caedit et immeritis franguntur crura caballis:
Iam strident ignes, iam follibus atque caminis
Ardet adoratum populo caput et crepat ingens
Seianus; deinde ex facie toto orbe secunda
Fiunt urceoli pelves sartago matellae.
Pone domi laurus, duc in Capitolia magnum
Cretatumque bovem: Seianus ducitur unco
Spectandus: gaudent omnes. 'Quae labra, quis illi
Vultus erat! numquam, si quid mihi credis, amavi
Hunc hominem! sed quo cecidit sub crimine? quisnam
Delator? quibus indiciis, quo teste probavit?'
Nil horum: verbosa et grandis epistula venit
A Capreis. — 'Bene habet: nil plus interrogo. — Sed quid
Turba Remi?' Sequitur fortunam ut semper et odit
Damnatos: idem populus, si Nortia Tusco
Favisset, si oppressa foret secura senectus
Principis, hac ipsa Seianum diceret hora
Augustum.

Suetonius gives the following account in his life of Tiberius: —

55. Super veteres amicos ac familiares, viginti sibi e numero principum civitatis depoposcerat, velut consiliarios in negotiis publicis. Horum omnium vix duos aut tres incolumes praestitit; ceteros, alium alia de causa, perculit, inter quos cum plurimorum clade Aelium Seianum, quem ad summam potentiam non tam benevolentia provexerat quam ut esset cuius ministerio ac fraudibus liberos Germanici circumveniret, nepotemque suum ex Druso filio naturalem ad successionem imperii confirmaret. . . .

65. Seianum, res novas molientem,[1] quamvis iam et natalem eius publice celebrari et imagines aureas coli passim videret, vix tandem, et astu magis ac dolo quam principali auctoritate, subvertit. Nam primo, ut a se per speciem honoris dimitteret, collegam sibi assumpsit in quinto consulatu, quem longo intervallo absens ob id ipsum susceperat. Deinde spe adfinitatis ac tribuniciae potestatis deceptum, inopinantem criminatus est pudenda miserandaque oratione: cum inter alia patres conscriptos precaretur, *mitterent alium e consulibus, qui se senem et solum in conspectum eorum cum aliquo militari praesidio perduceret.* Sic quoque diffidens tumultumque metuens, Drusum nepotem, quem vinculis adhuc Romae continebat, solvi, si res posceret, ducemque constitui praeceperat. Aptatis etiam navibus ad quascumque legiones meditabatur fugam, speculabundus ex altissima rupe identidem signa, quae, ne nuntii morarentur, tolli procul, ut quidque factum foret, mandaverat. Verum et oppressa coniuratione Seiani, nihilo securior aut constantior, per novem proximos menses non egressus est villa, quae vocatur Iovis.

[1] Neither Dio nor Juvenal hints at any conspiracy on the part of Sejanus, but they represent his overthrow as caused by jealousy at his excessive greatness and insolence. The conspiracy is, however, mentioned by Josephus (*Ant. Iud.* XVIII. 6, 6), who says that it was revealed to Tiberius by Antonia, the mother of Germanicus. "She had been also the greatest benefactress to Tiberius, when there was a very dangerous plot laid against him by Sejanus, a man who had been her husband's friend, and who had the greatest authority, because he was general of the army, and many members of the senate and many of the freedmen joined with him, and the soldiery were corrupted, and the plot was come to a great height. Now Sejanus had certainly gained his point, had not Antonia's boldness been more wisely conducted than Sejanus' malice; for, when she had discovered his designs against Tiberius, she wrote him an exact account of the whole, and gave the letter to Pallas, the most faithful of her servants, and sent him to Capri to Tiberius, who, when he understood it, slew Sejanus and his confederates."

A confirmation of the conspiracy is afforded by an inscription, fragmentary in character, and which suggests more problems than it solves, given by Mommsen (*Röm. Tribus*, p. 207): *Seiani se*[elerati inc]*itatio et improbae comitiae* [ill]*ae fuerunt in Aventino, ubi* [Sei]*anus cos. factus est.* An inscription of Interamna reads, *Providentiae Ti. Caesaris Augusti nati ad aeternitatem Romani nominis sublato hoste perniciosissimo P. R.*, etc. This may be nothing but the usual adulation: the other inscription points to something formal and official in the development of the conspiracy.

ARGUMENT OF BOOK VI.

A.D. 31; L. Fulcinius Trio, P. Memmius Regulus, Consules Suffecti.

[V. 6–11. These chapters were formerly reckoned with Book V., but, treating of events after the fall of Sejanus, are now universally recognized as belonging to Book VI.

6–8. (Fragmentary.) Punishment of the accomplices of Sejanus. Accusation and suicide of Vitellius. 9. Execution of the children of Sejanus. 10. Insurrection of the false Drusus. 11. Dissensions of the consuls.]

A.D. 32; Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, M. Furius Camillus Arruntius Scribonianus, Coss.

VI. 1. Tiberius visits the suburbs of Rome. 2–4. Propositions and accusations in the senate. 5. Cotta Messalinus. 6. Letter of Tiberius. 7. Condemnations of several persons. 8. Speech of M. Terentius. 9, 10. Accusations. 11. Office of city præfect. 12. The Sibylline Books. 13. Disturbances on account of the price of grain. 14. Condemnations.

A.D. 33; Ser. Sulpicius Galba, L. Cornelius Sulla Felix, Coss.

15. Marriage of the daughters of Germanicus. 16, 17. Monetary crisis. 18. Condemnations. 19. Wholesale executions. 20. Marriage of Gaius Cæsar. 20–22. Fondness of Tiberius for astrology. Chance and fate. 23, 24. Deaths of Asinius Gallus and Drusus, son of Germanicus. 25. Of Agrippina. 26. Of Cocceius Nerva. 27. Of Ælius Lamia and M'. Lepidus. Marriage of Julia, daughter of Drusus.

A.D. 34; Paullus Fabius Persicus, L. Vitellius, Coss.

28. Appearance of the phœnix in Egypt. 29. Voluntary deaths. 30. Punishment of accusers.

A.D. 35; C. Cestius Gallus, M. Servilius Nonianus, Coss.

31–37. Affairs in the East.

31. Embassy of the Parthians to Rome. 32. Tiridates made king of Parthia by Tiberius. 33–35. Conquest of Armenia by Mithridates. 36. Expulsion of Artabanus from Parthia. 37. Rule of Tiridates in Parthia. 38, 39. Deaths of eminent persons.

A.D. 36; Q. Plautius, Sex. Papinius Allenius, Coss.

40. Deaths of Tigranes and other persons. 41. Insurrection in Cappadocia. 42–44. Tiridates expelled from Parthia; Artabanus restored. 45. Great fire in Rome.

A.D. 37; Cn. Acerronius Proculus, C. Petronius Pontius Nigrinus, Coss.

46. Uncertainty of the succession. 47. Accusation of Albucilla and others. 48. Suicide of Arruntius. 49. Of Papinius. 50. Death of Tiberius. 51. His character.

LIBER VI.

. . . Quattuor et quadraginta orationes super ea re habitae, ex quis ob metum paucae, plures assuetudine . . . . . 'mihi pudorem aut Seiano invidiam allaturum censui. Versa est fortuna, et ille quidem, qui collegam et generum asciverat, sibi ignoscit: ceteri, quem per dedecora fovere, cum scelere insectantur. Miserius sit ob amicitiam accusari an amicum accusare, haud discreverim. Non crudelitatem, non clementiam cuiusquam experiar, sed liber et mihi ipsi probatus antibo periculum. Vos obtestor ne memoriam nostri per maerorem quam laeti retineatis, adiciendo me quoque iis qui fine egregio publica mala effugerunt.' Tunc singulos, ut cuique assistere alloqui animus erat, retinens aut dimittens partem diei absumpsit, multoque adhuc coetu et cunctis intrepidum vultum eius spectantibus, cum superesse tempus novissimis crederent, gladio, quem sinu

V 6

V 7

The first six chapters were formerly reckoned with Book V., and still retain their former numbering, for convenience of reference.

V. **6.** This chapter contains a portion of an address made to his friends by one of the adherents of Sejanus, after the overthrow and death of the latter. It appears to have been spoken in his house, when he was on the point of committing suicide.

super ea re: probably the trial of Livia (Livilla).

allaturum: the subject of this infinitive was in the lost passage.

2. **ille**: Tiberius.

collegam: *i.e.* either as consul, or, as Mommsen holds (*Röm. St.* II. 1051), in the proconsular power.

generum: Zonaras states that Sejanus was betrothed to Julia, daughter of Drusus, and widow of Nero (III. 29. 4; IV. 60. 4).

sibi ignoscit: cf. Hor. *Sat.* I. 3. 23, *egomet mi ignosco.*

5. **quam laeti**: Intr. 35 *m.*

adiciendo, etc.: this would be to cherish his memory **laeti.**

7. superesse tempus: *i.e.* that the time had not yet come.

novissimis, *the last act.*

2 abdiderat, incubuit. Neque Caesar ullis criminibus aut probris defunctum insectatus est, cum in Blaesum multa foedaque incusavisset.

V. 8 Relatum inde de P. Vitellio et Pomponio Secundo. Illum indices arguebant claustra aerarii, cui praefectus erat, et militarem pecuniam rebus novis obtulisse; huic a Considio praetura functo obiectabatur Aelii Galli amicitia, qui punito Seiano in hortos Pomponii quasi 2 fidissimum ad subsidium perfugisset. Neque aliud periclitantibus auxilii quam in fratrum constantia fuit, qui 3 vades exstitere. Mox crebris prolationibus spem ac metum iuxta gravatus Vitellius petito per speciem studiorum scalpro levem ictum venis intulit vitamque 4 aegritudine animi finivit. At Pomponius multa morum elegantia et ingenio illustri, dum adversam fortunam aequus tolerat, Tiberio superstes fuit.

V. 9 Placitum posthac ut in reliquos Seiani liberos adverteretur, vanescente quamquam plebis ira ac plerisque 2 per priora supplicia lenitis. Igitur portantur in carce-

8. P. Vitellio: see I. 70. 1 n.

Pomponio Secundo: a tragedian of whom Quintilian says (X. 1. 98): *eorum quos viderim longe princeps Pomponius Secundus, quem senes quidem parum tragicum putabant, eruditione ac nitore praestare confitebantur.*

aerarii: *sc.* **militaris**: I. 78. 2 n.

rebus novis: the conspiracy of Sejanus.

Aelii Galli: this is supposed to have been the eldest son of Sejanus, who had been adopted into the Ælian gens (IV. I. 3 n.), probably by the knight Ælius Gallus (Dio, LIII. 29. 3).

2. **fratrum**: Vitellius had three brothers, Lucius (28. 1), Quintus (II. 48. 3), and Aulus, who was consul the following year as colleague of Cn. Domitius, but appears to have died immediately after taking office (*inierat*), as his name does not stand in the Fasti: *Aulus in consulatu obiit quem cum Domitio Neronis Caesaris patre inierat* (Suet. *Vit.* 2). The brother of Pomponius was named Quintus (18. 2).

vades: their brothers gave surety and kept them in custody.

9. placitum: we are not told whether this was the act of Tiberius or the senate.

reliquos: besides Ælius Gallus.

adverteretur: in this sense (cf. III. 52. 2 n.) followed by *in* with the accusative only here and II. 32. 5.

quamquam: following **vanescente** by anastrophe.

rem, filius imminentium intellegens, puella adeo nescia ut crebro interrogaret quod ob delictum et quo traheretur; neque facturam ultra, et posse se puerili verbere moneri. Tradunt temporis eius auctores, quia triumvirali supplicio adfici virginem inauditum habebatur, a carnifice laqueum iuxta compressam; exim oblisis faucibus id aetatis corpora in Gemonias abiecta. 3

Per idem tempus Asia atque Achaia exterritae sunt V. 10 acri magis quam diuturno rumore, Drusum Germanici filium apud Cycladas insulas, mox in continenti visum. Et erat iuvenis haud dispari aetate, quibusdam Caesaris 2 libertis velut agnitus; per dolumque comitantibus alliciebantur ignari fama nominis et promptis Graecorum animis ad nova et mira. Quippe elapsum custodiae pergere ad paternos exercitus, Aegyptum aut Suriam invasurum fingebant simul credebantque. Iam iuventutis 3 concursu, iam publicis studiis frequentabatur, laetus praesentibus et inanium spe, cum auditum id Poppaeo Sabino; is Macedoniae tum intentus Achaiam quoque curabat. Igitur quo vera seu falsa antiret, Toronaeum 4 Thermaeumque sinum praefestinans, mox Euboeam Aegaei maris insulam et Piraeum Atticae orae, dein

3. **triumvirali supplicio**: death by strangling. The *triumviri capitales* were officers who had charge of the prison and inflicted the death punishment. The incident here given is related also by Suetonius (*Tib.* 61) and other writers (see p. 350), but is reasonably doubted by Merivale and others, as being a mere rumor.

iuxta, *close to;* anastrophe; Intr. 35 *i.*

id aetatis: an expression of horror.

10. Drusum: he was at this time in prison, where he died of hunger the next year (23. 4).

2. **velut**, *as was claimed.*

comitantibus: *i.e.* the freedmen; ablative absolute.

ad paternos exercitus: those formerly commanded by his alleged father.

3. **laetus praesentibus**, *rejoicing in his present success.*

inanium spe: a hope resting upon vain expectations.

Achaiam quoque curabat: see I. 80. 1 n.

4. **antiret**, *get the start of* the story, whether true or false.

Toronaeum Thermaeumque sinum: on the coast of Macedonia.

Corinthiense litus angustiasque Isthmi evadit; marique Ionio Nicopolim Romanam coloniam ingressus, ibi demum cognoscit sollertius interrogatum quisnam foret, dixisse M. Silano genitum, et multis sectatorum dilapsis
5 ascendisse navem tamquam Italiam peteret. Scripsitque haec Tiberio, neque nos originem finemve eius rei ultra comperimus.

V. 11 Exitu anni diu aucta discordia consulum erupit. Nam Trio, facilis capessendis inimicitiis et foro exercitus, ut segnem Regulum ad opprimendos Seiani mi-
2 nistros oblique perstrinxerat: ille, nisi lacesseretur, modestiae retinens, non modo rettudit collegam, sed ut noxium coniurationis ad disquisitionem trahebat.
3 Multisque patrum orantibus ponerent odia in perniciem itura, mansere infensi ac minitantes, donec magistratu abirent.

VI. 1 Cn. Domitius et Camillus Scribonianus consulatum inierant, cum Caesar tramisso quod Capreas et Surrentum interluit freto Campaniam praelegebat, ambiguus an urbem intraret, seu, quia contra destinaverat, speciem
2 venturi simulans. Et saepe in propinqua degressus,

angustias Isthmi, *the narrow isthmus* (Intr. 35 *d*); passing from the Saronic to the Corinthian Gulf.

Nicopolim: see II. 53. 1.

interrogatum: *i.e.* the pretender; subject of **dixisse** and **ascendisse**.

M. Silano: perhaps the one mentioned III. 24. 5.

multis . . . dilapsis: as the result of his confession.

11. consulum: Fulcinius Trio (II. 28. 3) and Memmius Regulus, *consules suffecti*.

Trio: he had been a friend and accomplice of Sejanus, whose confederates he was therefore, in self-defence, all the more zealous to punish.

foro exercitus, *skilled as an advocate*.

Regulum: a "man of determined loyalty."

2. **modestiae**, *self-control*.

coniurationis: of Sejanus.

1. Cn. Domitius: father of the emperor Nero, by Agrippina, daughter of Germanicus; see IV. 75. 1.

Camillus Scribonianus: son of the proconsul of Africa (II. 52. 5).

praelegebat: cf. II. 79. 1.

aditis iuxta Tiberim hortis, saxa rursum et solitudinem maris repetiit, pudore scelerum et libidinum, quibus adeo indomitis exarserat ut more regio pubem ingenuam stupris pollueret. Nec formam tantum et decora cor- 3
pora, sed in his modestam pueritiam, in aliis imagines maiorum incitamentum cupidinis habebat. Tuncque 4
primum ignota antea vocabula reperta sunt sellariorum et spintriarum ex foeditate loci ac multiplici patientia; praepositique servi qui conquirerent pertraherent, dona 5
in promptos, minas adversum abnuentes, et si retinerent propinquus aut parens, vim raptus suaque ipsi libita velut in captos exercebant.

At Romae principio anni, quasi recens cognitis Liviae 2
flagitiis ac non pridem etiam punitis, atroces sententiae dicebantur in effigies quoque ac memoriam eius, et bona Seiani ablata aerario ut in fiscum cogerentur, tamquam referret. Scipiones haec et Silani et Cassii isdem 2
ferme aut paulum immutatis verbis asseveratione multa censebant, cum repente Togonius Gallus, dum ignobilitatem suam magnis nominibus inserit, per deridiculum auditur. Nam principem orabat deligere senatores, ex 3
quis viginti sorte ducti et ferro accincti, quotiens curiam inisset, salutem eius defenderent. Crediderat nimirum 4

2. **hortis**: those bequeathed by Julius Cæsar to the Roman people (II. 41. 1). In this neighborhood Augustus had constructed a naval amphitheatre (*in quo loco nunc nemus est Caesarum. Mon. Anc.* IV. 43). Of this visit Suetonius says (*Tib.* 72): *triremi usque ad proximos naumachiae hortos subvectus, disposita statione per ripas Tiberis, quae obviam prodeuntis submoveret . . . sed prospectis nec aditis urbis moenibus rediit.*

saxa, etc.: *i.e.* of Capri.

2. Liviae flagitiis: see IV. 3. 3. These had been divulged, and Livia punished, after the death of Sejanus; see p. 350.

fiscum: the emperor's privy purse; the *aerarium*, or public treasury, was quite as much under his control, so that it made no difference (**tamquam referret**) in which the funds were placed.

2. **Scipiones**, etc.: members of these noble families, with which the insignificance of Togonius Gallus is contrasted.

epistulae subsidio sibi alterum ex consulibus poscentis,
5 ut tutus a Capreis urbem peteret. Tiberius tamen, ludibria seriis permiscere solitus, egit gratis benevolentiae patrum: sed quos omitti posse, quos deligi? semperne eosdem an subinde alios? et honoribus perfunctos an iuvenes, privatos an e magistratibus? quam deinde speciem fore sumentium in limine curiae gladios? neque
6 sibi vitam tanti, si armis tegenda foret. Haec, adversus Togonium verbis moderans, neque ultra abolitionem
3 sententiae suadere. At Iunium Gallionem, qui censuerat ut praetoriani actis stipendiis ius apiscerentur in quattuordecim ordinibus sedendi, violenter increpuit, velut coram rogitans, quid illi cum militibus, quos neque dicta *nisi* imperatoris neque praemia nisi ab imperatore
2 accipere par esset. Repperisse prorsus quod divus Augustus non providerit: an potius discordiam et seditionem a satellite Seiani quaesitam, qua rudes animos nomine honoris ad corrumpendum militiae morem pro-
3 pelleret? Hoc pretium Gallio meditatae adulationis tulit, statim curia, deinde Italia exactus; et quia incusa-

4. **epistulae**: the *verbosa et grandis epistula* (Juv. 10. 71), in which Tiberius had denounced Sejanus. See p. 348.

poscentis: see pp. 348, 351, 353.

5. **honoribus perfunctos**: those who had held magistracies, while those **e magistratibus** were the actual incumbents.

sumentium . . . gladios: to be armed in the senate was a serious offence; cf. IV. 21. 3.

3. Iunium Gallionem: a celebrated rhetorician and an intimate friend of M. Seneca, who calls him one of the four best declaimers of the time, adding: *hi quotiens conflixissent, penes Latronem gloria fuisset, penes Gallionem palma* (*Contr.* X. 13). Quintilian says: *remissius et pro suo ingenio pater Gallio* (IX. 2. 91).

actis stipendiis: see I. 17. 3 n.

quatuordecem ordinibus: the fourteen rows of benches assigned to the *equites* at the theatre. The proposition would have the effect of placing the past members of the prætorian guard on an equality with the equestrian order, as was the rule with *centuriones primipilares* (II. 11. 2 n).

quos neque, etc.: it will be remembered that the emperor had, by virtue of his proconsular power, sole authority over the army (Intr. 19); moreover, these were his special body-guard.

batur facile toleraturus exsilium delecta Lesbo, insula nobili et amoena, retrahitur in urbem custoditurque domibus magistratuum.

Isdem litteris Caesar Sextium Paconianum praetorium perculit magno patrum gaudio, audacem malefi- 4
cum, omnium secreta rimantem delectumque ab Seiano cuius ope dolus Gaio Caesari pararetur. Quod post- 5
quam patefactum, prorupere concepta pridem odia, et summum supplicium decernebatur, ni professus indicium foret. Ut vero Latinium Latiarem ingressus est, ac- 4
cusator ac reus iuxta invisi gratissimum spectaculum praebebantur. Latiaris, ut rettuli, praecipuus olim circumveniendi Titii Sabini et tunc luendae poenae primus fuit. Inter quae Haterius Agrippa consules anni prioris 2
invasit, cur mutua accusatione intenta nunc silerent: metum prorsus et noxae conscientiam pro foedere haberi; at non patribus reticenda quae audivissent. Regulus manere tempus ultionis, seque coram principe 3
exsecuturum; Trio aemulationem inter collegas et si qua discordes iecissent melius oblitterari respondit. Urgente Agrippa Sanquinius Maximus e consularibus 4
oravit senatum ne curas imperatoris conquisitis insuper acerbitatibus augerent: sufficere ipsum statuendis remediis. Sic Regulo salus et Trioni dilatio exitii quaesita. Haterius invisior fuit, quia somno aut libidinosis vigiliis 5

3. **domibus magistratuum**: a not uncommon form of imprisonment; see Cic. *in Cat.* I. 8. 19.

5. **quod**, etc.: it would seem that the emperor's letter first brought this act of treachery to the knowledge of the senators.

summum supplicium, etc.: he was nevertheless thrown into prison, where he was put to death three years afterwards; see 39. 1.

professus . . . foret: *i.e.* turned state's evidence.

4. ut rettuli: see IV. 68. 2.

2. **Haterius Agrippa**: see II. 51. 2 n.

mutua accusatione: see V. 11. 1.

non patribus reticenda: the senate should not pass over such charges in silence.

4. **dilatio exitii**: Trio put himself to death, A.D. 35 (38. 2).

marcidus et ob segnitiam quamvis crudelem principem non metuens illustribus viris perniciem inter ganeam ac stupra meditabatur.

5 Exim Cotta Messalinus, saevissimae cuiusque sententiae auctor eoque inveterata invidia, ubi primum facultas data, arguitur pleraque *in* C. Caesarem quasi incertae virilitatis, et cum die natali Augustae inter sacerdotes epularetur, novendialem eam cenam dixisse; querensque de potentia M'. Lepidi ac L. Arruntii, cum quibus ob rem pecuniariam disceptabat, addidisse: 'Illos qui-
2 dem senatus, me autem tuebitur Tiberiolus meus.' Quae cuncta a primoribus civitatis revincebatur, iisque instantibus ad imperatorem provocavit. Nec multo post litterae adferuntur, quibus in modum defensionis, repetito inter se atque Cottam amicitiae principio crebrisque eius officiis commemoratis, ne verba prave detorta neu convivalium fabularum simplicitas in crimen duceretur postulavit.

6 Insigne visum est earum Caesaris litterarum initium; nam his verbis exorsus est: 'Quid scribam vobis, patres conscripti, aut quo modo scribam aut quid omnino non scribam hoc tempore, di me deaeque peius perdant
2 quam perire me cotidie sentio, si scio.' Adeo facinora

5. **quamvis crudelem**: his sluggish nature was insensible to fear.

5. Cotta Messalinus: see II. 32. 2.

incertae: see App. I.

die natali Augustae: Jan. 30.

novendialem, *funeral feast*, celebrated on the ninth day after death. The allusion has been variously interpreted; the simplest explanation is to refer it to the gloom which prevailed in this reign of terror. Nipperdey's explanation is that a banquet on the birthday of a deceased person who had not been deified was nothing but a funeral feast.

M'. Lepidi ac L. Arruntii: see I. 13. 1 and 2 n.

2. **quae cuncta**: construed with **revincebatur**.

revincebatur: note the force of the imperfect — *he was on the point of being condemned*. Cf. *aberant*, I. 23. 3 n.

simplicitas, *freedom of speech*.

6. quid scribam, etc.: these words, reported also by Suetonius

atque flagitia sua ipsi quoque in supplicium verterant. Neque frustra praestantissimus sapientiae firmare solitus est, si recludantur tyrannorum mentes, posse aspici laniatus et ictus, quando ut corpora verberibus, ita saevitia libidine malis consultis animus dilaceretur. Quippe Tiberium non fortuna, non solitudines protege- 3
bant quin tormenta pectoris suasque ipse poenas fateretur. Tum facta patribus potestate statuendi de C. 7
Caeciliano senatore, qui plurima adversum Cottam prompserat, placitum eandem poenam irrogari quam in Aruseium et Sanquinium, accusatores L. Arruntii: quo non aliud honorificentius Cottae evenit, qui nobilis quidem, sed egens ob luxum, per flagitia infamis, sanctissimis Arruntii artibus dignitate ultionis aequabatur.

Q. Servaeus posthac et Minucius Thermus inducti, 2
Servaeus praetura functus et quondam Germanici comes, Minucius equestri loco, modeste habita Seiani amicitia; unde illis maior miseratio. Contra Tiberius 3
praecipuos ad scelera increpans admonuit C. Cestium patrem dicere senatui quae sibi scripsisset, suscepitque Cestius accusationem. Quod maxime exitiabile tulere 4
illa tempora, cum primores senatus infimas etiam delationes exercerent, alii propalam, multi per occultum; neque discerneres alienos a coniunctis, amicos ab igno-

(*Tib.* 67), are certainly no confession of guilt, but may express the weariness of an old man to whom life was no longer anything but a burden and a disappointment.

2. **frustra** = *sine causa*, a common meaning in Tacitus; see I. 30. 3; III. 33. 2; III. 58. 1, etc.

praestantissimus sapientiae: Socrates; the allusion is to a passage in Plato's *Gorgias* (80).

7. accusatores L. Arruntii: this event was probably related in the lost portion of the fifth book. This Sanquinius is not the consular mentioned 4. 4.

2. **Q. Servaeus**: see II. 56. 5.

inducti: *i.e.* for trial.

modeste, *without ostentation;* a purely private friendship.

3. **C. Cestium**: see III. 36. 2. The son is probably the one mentioned XV. 25. 5.

sibi: Tiberius.

accusationem, *the formal indictment;* see II. 28. 3 n.

tis, quid repens aut vetustate obscurum: perinde in foro, in convivio, quaqua de re locuti incusabantur, ut quis praevenire et reum destinare properat, pars ad subsidium sui, plures infecti quasi valetudine et contactu.
5 Sed Minucius et Servaeus damnati indicibus accessere. Tractique sunt in casum eundem Iulius Africanus e Santonis Gallica civitate, Seius Quadratus: originem
6 non repperi. Neque sum ignarus a plerisque scriptoribus omissa multorum pericula et poenas, dum copia fatiscunt aut, quae ipsis nimia et maesta fuerant, ne pari taedio lecturos adficerent verentur: nobis pleraque digna cognitu obvenere, quamquam ab aliis incelebrata.

8 Nam ea tempestate, qua Seiani amicitiam ceteri falso exuerant, ausus est eques Romanus M. Terentius, ob id reus, amplecti, ad hunc modum apud senatum ordiendo:
2 'Fortunae quidem meae fortasse minus expediat agnoscere crimen quam abnuere: sed utcumque casura res est, fatebor et fuisse me Seiano amicum, et ut essem
3 expetisse, et postquam adeptus eram laetatum. Videram collegam patris regendis praetoriis cohortibus, mox
4 urbis et militiae munia simul obeuntem. Illius propinqui et adfines honoribus augebantur; ut quisque Seiano intimus, ita ad Caesaris amicitiam validus: contra quibus infensus esset, metu ac sordibus conflictabantur.

4. **repens** = *recens;* a frequent use of the word in Tacitus.

ad subsidium sui, *in self-defence.*

valetudine et contactu, *contagion;* a hendiadys.

5. **indicibus accessere**: like Paconianus (3. 5).

Iulius Africanus: probably father of the distinguished orator of Nero's time (Quint. x. 1. 118).

Santonis: the modern *Saintonge*, on the Bay of Biscay.

originem: *i.e.* of Seius.

8. **nam**: here used to introduce an example.

exuerant, *had disclaimed.*

3. **collegam patris**: see I. 24. 3.

urbis . . . munia: not as *praefectus urbis* (this was Lucius Piso, 10. 5), but as the emperor's confidential adviser.

Nec quemquam exemplo assumo; cunctos, qui novis- 5
simi consilii expertes fuimus, meo unius discrimine
defendam. Non enim Seianum Vulsiniensem, sed 6
Claudiae et Iuliae domus partem, quas adfinitate occu-
paverat, tuum, Caesar, generum, tui consulatus socium,
tua officia in re publica capessentem colebamus. Non 7
est nostrum aestimare quem supra ceteros et quibus de
causis extollas; tibi summum rerum iudicium di dedere,
nobis obsequii gloria relicta est. Spectamus porro quae 8
coram habentur, cui ex te opes honores, quis plurima
iuvandi nocendive potentia, quae Seiano fuisse nemo
negaverit. Abditos principis sensus, et si quid occultius 9
parat, exquirere illicitum anceps: nec ideo assequare.
Ne, patres conscripti, ultimum Seiani diem, sed sedecim 10
annos cogitaveritis. Etiam Satrium atque Pomponium
venerabamur; libertis quoque ac ianitoribus eius note-
scere pro magnifico accipiebatur. Quid ergo? indi- 11
stincta haec defensio et promisca dabitur? immo iustis
terminis dividatur. Insidiae in rem publicam, consilia
caedis adversum imperatorem puniantur: de amicitia et
officiis idem finis et te, Caesar, et nos absolverit.' Con- 9
stantia orationis, et quia repertus erat qui efferret quae,
omnes animo agitabant, eo usque potuere ut accusa-

5. **quemquam**: *i.e.* by name.
novissimi consilii: his plot against the emperor.

6. **tuum**, etc.: see V. 6. 2.
tua officia capessentem: the affairs of state had been left practically in his hands.

8. **coram**, *in public*, as opposed to **abditos sensus**.

9. **ideo**: *i.e.* by searching (**exquirere**).
assequare: indefinite subject, *one would attain his object.*

10. **sedecim annos**: from the accession of Tiberius, A.D. 14, to the fall of Sejanus, A.D. 31; somewhat more than sixteen years.
Satrium: the accuser of Cremutius Cordus (IV. 34. 2): of this Pomponius nothing is known.

11. **dabitur**: *i.e.* to all friends of Sejanus.
finis: *i.e.* in time, — justifying those who broke off friendship with Sejanus when he fell from favor.

9. **efferret**: see III. 41. 3 n.

tores eius, additis quae ante deliquerant, exsilio aut morte multarentur.

2 Secutae dehinc Tiberii litterae in Sex. Vistilium praetorium, quem Druso fratri percarum in cohortem suam 3 transtulerat. Causa offensionis Vistilio fuit, seu composuerat quaedam in Gaium Caesarem ut impudicum, 4 sive ficto habita fides. Atque ob id convictu principis prohibitus cum senili manu ferrum temptavisset, obligat venas; precatusque per codicillos, immiti rescripto venas 5 resolvit. Acervatim ex eo Annius Pollio, Appius Silanus Scauro Mamerco simul ac Sabino Calvisio maiestatis postulantur, et Vinicianus Pollioni patri adiciebatur, 6 clari genus et quidam summis honoribus. Contremuerantque patres (nam quotus quisque adfinitatis aut amicitiae tot illustrium virorum expers erat?), ni Celsus urbanae cohortis tribunus, tum inter indices, Appium et 7 Calvisium discrimini exemisset. Caesar Pollionis ac Viniciani Scaurique causam, ut ipse cum senatu nosceret, distulit, datis quibusdam in Scaurum tristibus notis.

2. **Vistilium**: perhaps father of Vistilia (II. 85. 2).

cohortem suam: *i.e.* of friends — those that he had taken with him to Capri.

ficto: *i.e.* the story; dative.

3. **fuit seu**, etc.: for the construction, cf. I. 79. 5.

habita fides: cf. II. 12. 2.

4. **convictu prohibitus**: cf. II. 70. 3; III. 12. 4.

5. **Annius Pollio**: consul suffectus, A.D. 20.

App. Silanus: consul, A.D. 28 (IV. 68. 1).

Scauro: see I. 13. 4.

simul: see IV. 55. 3 n.

Sabino Calvisio: consul, A.D. 26 (IV. 46. 1).

Vinicianus: son of Annius Pollio, afterwards proposed as a successor to Caligula; he revolted against Claudius, and put himself to death, A.D. 42.

genus: Intr. 35 *s.*

quidam summis honoribus: all of these, with the possible exception of Vinicianus, were consulars. Pfitzner suggests that **et** is equivalent to *and in addition to these*. Nipperdey suggests **atque idem** for **et quidam**, which seems preferable. It is probably a carelessness of expression.

6. **contremuerant**: cf. *impleverat*, IV. 9. 1 n.

urbanae cohortis: see I. 8. 3 n.

7. **tristibus notis**: for the cause of offence, see I. 13. 4; for his fate, 29. 7.

Ne feminae quidem exsortes periculi. Quia occu- 10
pandae rei publicae argui non poterant, ob lacrimas
incusabantur; necataque est anus Vitia, Fufii Gemini
mater, quod filii necem flevisset. Haec apud senatum: 2
nec secus apud principem Vescularius Flaccus ac Iulius
Marinus ad mortem aguntur, e vetustissimis familia-
rium, Rhodum secuti et apud Capreas individui, Vescu-
larius insidiarum in Libonem internuntius; Marino
participe Seianus Curtium Atticum oppresserat. Quo
laetius acceptum sua exempla in consultores reci-
disse.

Per idem tempus L. Piso pontifex, rarum in tanta 3
claritudine, fato obiit, nullius servilis sententiae sponte
auctor, et quotiens necessitas ingrueret, sapienter mo-
derans. Patrem ei censorium fuisse memoravi; aetas 4
ad octogesimum annum processit; decus triumphale in
Thraecia meruerat. Sed praecipua ex eo gloria, quod 5
praefectus urbi recens continuam potestatem et insolen-
tia parendi graviorem mire temperavit. Namque antea, 11
profectis domo regibus ac mox magistratibus, ne urbs
sine imperio foret, in tempus deligebatur qui ius red-
deret ac subitis mederetur; feruntque ab Romulo Den-

10. occupandae rei publicae: the throne could not be occupied by a woman.

Vitia: this name occurs here only.

Fufii Gemini: consul, A.D. 29 (V. 1. 1); for his death, see p. 345.

2. **haec apud senatum**, etc.: for the criminal jurisdiction of the senate and of the emperor, see III. 10. 3 n. In case of collision, the imperial jurisdiction took precedence of the senatorial, this again of the *quaestiones* (Momm. *Röm. St.* II. 902).

Vescularius Flaccus: see II. 28. 1.

Marino participe, etc.: of this occurrence nothing is known.

3. **L. Piso**: probably father of the two Pisos to whom Horace's *Ars Poetica* is addressed; the passage referred to (**memoravi**) must have been in the fifth book.

5. **recens continuam**, *recently made permanent.*

11. regibus et mox magistratibus: *i.e.* in the times of the kings, and afterwards of the republic.

ius redderet: one of the most important functions of the kings, and afterwards of the consuls.

subitis, *emergencies.*

trem Romulium, post ab Tullo Hostilio Numam Marcium et ab Tarquinio Superbo Spurium Lucretium impositos.
2 Dein consules mandabant; duratque simulacrum quotiens ob ferias Latinas praeficitur qui consulare munus
3 usurpet. Ceterum Augustus bellis civilibus Cilnium Maecenatem equestris ordinis cunctis apud Romam atque Italiam praeposuit; mox rerum potitus ob magnitudinem populi ac tarda legum auxilia sumpsit e consularibus qui coerceret servitia et quod civium audacia
4 turbidum nisi vim metuat. Primusque Messalla Corvinus eam potestatem et paucos intra dies finem accepit,
5 quasi nescius exercendi; tum Taurus Statilius, quam-
6 quam provecta aetate, egregie toleravit; dein Piso viginti per annos pariter probatus, publico funere ex decreto senatus celebratus est.

12 Relatum inde ad patres a Quintiliano tribuno plebei

Numam Marcium: son-in-law of Numa Pompilius, and father of Ancus Marcius.

Spurium Lucretium: father of the ill-fated Lucretia, and consul in the first year of the republic. The three here given are probably only the most noted of the *praefecti urbi* under the monarchy.

2. **mandabant**: *i.e.* the same functions on the same occasions.

simulacrum: see note, IV. 36. 1.

ferias Latinas: see IV. 36. 1.

3. **Augustus . . . praeposuit**: this was B.C. 36; but Mæcenas did not bear the title of *praefectus urbis*: its powers he shared with Agrippa.

equestris ordinis: see III. 30. 4 n.

atque Italiam: the city of Rome now embraced politically the whole of Italy.

rerum potitus: after the battle of Actium, B.C. 31.

tarda legum auxilia: the slowness of procedure in the courts.

nisi metuat: a general condition, qualifying **turbidum**.

4. **Messalla Corvinus**: a distinguished orator and soldier, as well as patron of literature; see III. 34. 2.

quasi nescius exercendi: according to St. Jerome's version of Eusebius' Chronicle (B.C. 25), Messala abdicated on the sixth day, declaring his office *incivilem potestatem*.

5. **tum**, *afterwards*; it was nine years later (B.C. 16), on occasion of the absence of Augustus from Rome. It was originally the essence of the office that it was only exercised on special occasions, and Mommsen (*Röm. St.* II. 982) assigns this as the reason why this officer is not mentioned among those taking the oath to the new emperor (I. 7. 3).

6. **viginti**: see App. I.

de libro Sibullae, quem Caninius Gallus quindecimvirum recipi inter ceteros eiusdem vatis et ea de re senatus consultum postulaverat. Quo per discessionem facto misit litteras Caesar, modice tribunum increpans ignarum antiqui moris ob iuventam. Gallo exprobrabat 2 quod scientiae caerimoniarumque vetus incerto auctore, ante sententiam collegii, non, ut adsolet, lecto per magistros aestimatoque carmine, apud infrequentem senatum egisset. Simul commonefecit, quia multa vana sub 3 nomine celebri vulgabantur, sanxisse Augustum, quem intra diem ad praetorem urbanum deferrentur neque habere privatim liceret. Quod a maioribus quoque de- 4 cretum erat post exustum sociali bello Capitolium, quaesitis Samo, Ilio, Erythris, per Africam etiam ac Siciliam et Italicas colonias carminibus Sibullae, una seu plures fuere, datoque sacerdotibus negotio, quantum humana

12. de libro Sibullae: a new and probably spurious document.

Caninius Gallus: he is known by inscriptions to have been president of the *Fratres Arvales*, A.D. 36.

quindecimvirum: partitive genitive; see I. 76. 2 n.

postulaverat: *i.e.* the tribune, who had the *ius referendi*, or power of convening the senate, had done this at the request of Gallus, in order to obtain validity for his act.

per discessionem: *i.e.* by going apart into the lobbies. This was the regular way of voting; its mention appears to show that the vote was taken without discussion; cf. III. 69. 9.

2. **scientiae, caerimoniarum**: cf. *vetus operis* (I. 20. 2).

per magistros: the college of *Quindecimviri* had five *magistri* as presiding officers. Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung*, III. 366.

infrequentem: there seems at this time to have been no fixed quorum of the senate: before the time of Augustus it was necessary that four hundred senators should be present (that is, about two-thirds of the whole number), in order to transact business. Augustus relaxed this rule. Dio, LIV. 35.

3. **deferrentur**: Suetonius (*Oct.* 31) says of this: *supra duo milia [fatidicorum librorum] contracta undique cremavit, ac solos retinuit Sibyllinos, hos quoque dilectu habito; condiditque duobus forulis auratis sub Palatini Apollinis basi.*

4. **sociali bello**: an error; it was during the first civil war, B.C. 83.

Samo, etc.: (ablatives of place whence): each of these towns claimed the glory of a Sibyl. It was from Erythrae, a town of Asia Minor, that the Sibyl came who sold the books to King Tarquin.

ope potuissent, vera discernere. Igitur tunc quoque notioni quindecimvirum is liber subicitur.

13 Isdem consulibus gravitate annonae iuxta seditionem ventum, multaque et plures per dies in theatro licentius
2 efflagitata quam solitum adversum imperatorem. Quis commotus incusavit magistratus patresque quod non publica auctoritate populum coercuissent, addiditque quibus ex provinciis et quanto maiorem quam Augustus
3 rei frumentariae copiam advectaret. Ita castigandae plebi compositum senatus consultum prisca severitate,
4 neque segnius consules edixere. Silentium ipsius non civile, ut crediderat, sed in superbiam accipiebatur.

14 Fine anni Geminius, Celsus, Pompeius, equites Romani, cecidere coniurationis crimine; ex quis Geminius prodigentia opum ac mollitia vitae amicus Seiano, nihil
2 ad serium. Et Iulius Celsus tribunus in vinclis laxatam catenam et circumdatam in diversum tendens suam ipse
3 cervicem perfregit. At Rubrio Fabato, tamquam desperatis rebus Romanis Parthorum ad misericordiam
4 fugeret, custodes additi. Sane is repertus apud fretum Siciliae retractusque per centurionem nullas probabiles

5. **is liber**: the book in question.

13. in theatro: the theatre instead of the public assembly was now the usual place for the expression of popular desires; cf. *Hist.* I. 72.

2. **addidit**: for Tiberius' care of the corn supply, see III. 54. 8.

quam Augustus: Augustus bought every year from Egypt 20,000,000 *modii* of corn = about five million bushels (Aur. Vict. *Ep.* I. 6).

3. **neque segnius**: senate and consuls exercised their respective powers of ordinance (*senatus consultum*) and proclamation (*edictum*).

4. **silentium ipsius**: *i.e.* that he reproved the people through the mouths of the senate and magistrates; this was ascribed to arrogance, rather than the observance of constitutional forms.

14. nihil ad serium: no danger could have been feared from such a trifler.

2. **Iulius Celsus**: see 9. 6; not the Celsus mentioned above.

circumdatam: *sc. cervici.*

3. **Parthorum**: to them alone could he escape from the empire.

4. **nullas probabiles causas**: he was probably a senator, as the senators were forbidden by Augus-

causas longinquae peregrinationis adferebat: mansit tamen incolumis, oblivione magis quam clementia.

Ser. Galba L. Sulla consulibus diu quaesito quos neptibus suis maritos destinaret Caesar, postquam instabat virginum aetas, L. Cassium, M. Vinicium legit. Vinicio oppidanum genus: Calibus ortus, patre atque avo consularibus, cetera equestri familia erat, mitis ingenio et comptae facundiae. Cassius plebeii Romae generis, verum antiqui honoratique, et severa patris disciplina eductus facilitate saepius quam industria commendabatur. Huic Drusillam, Vinicio Iuliam Germanico genitas coniungit superque ea re senatui scribit, levi cum honore iuvenum. Dein redditis absentiae causis admodum vagis flexit ad graviora et offensiones ob rem publicam coeptas, utque Macro praefectus tribunorumque et centurionum pauci secum introirent, quotiens curiam ingrederetur, petivit. Factoque large et sine

15 2 3 4 5 6

tus to leave Italy without permission of the emperor.

15. Ser. Galba: the same who was emperor, A.D. 68. His name was originally Servius, the common prænomen of the Sulpician gens; he had at this time exchanged it for Lucius, but took again his original name as emperor. (Suet. *Galba*, 4.)

L. Sulla: his cognomen was Felix, which shows that he was probably descended from the dictator.

neptibus suis: the daughters of Germanicus; Drusilla, sixteen, and Julia, fifteen years of age.

L. Cassium: his surname, Longinus, was that of the distinguished Cassii of the last two centuries of the republic; he was put to death by Caligula.

2. **oppidanum**: as we say, *provincial*, he was from the *oppidum* Cales in Campania. It was to Vinicius that Velleius Paterculus addressed his history. He was afterwards poisoned by order of the empress Messalina.

cetera equestri familia: the aristocracy of the municipal towns enjoyed equestrian rank in the capital.

3. **antiqui honoratique**: *i.e.* he belonged to the plebeian nobility, like Metellus, Lucullus, and Catulus.

4. **iuvenum**: both were already of consular rank, but a man was a *iuvenis* until forty-five.

5. **flexit**: intransitive; cf. I. 34. 5.

offensiones: see III. 54. 11; IV. 38. 1.

Macro: he had succeeded Sejanus as prætorian præfect (p. 348).

6. **large**, *in broad terms*.

praescriptione generis aut numeri senatus consulto ne tecta quidem urbis, adeo publicum consilium numquam adiit, deviis plerumque itineribus ambiens patriam et declinans.

16 Interea magna vis accusatorum in eos irrupit qui pecunias faenore auctitabant adversum legem dictatoris Caesaris, qua de modo credendi possidendique intra Italiam cavetur, omissam olim, quia privato usui bonum
2 publicum postponitur. Sane vetus urbi faenebre malum et seditionum discordiarumque creberrima causa, eoque cohibebatur antiquis quoque et minus corruptis moribus.
3 Nam primo duodecim tabulis sanctum ne quis unciario faenore amplius exerceret, cum antea ex libidine locu-

adeo numquam = *nedum umquam*.

publicum consilium: an old name for the senate, derived from its original functions as a counselling body. Cf. Cic. *de Rep.* II. 8. 14; [*Romulus*] *in regium consilium delegerat principes, qui appellati sunt propter caritatem patres.*

16. magna vis accusatorum: it appears from a passage in Dio Cassius (LVIII. 21) that this was done at the instigation of the emperor, whose habit it was to insist upon a rigid enforcement of the laws; as he had shown himself (III. 53, 54) to have a keen appreciation of the social and economical evils of the time, we may suppose that his enforcement of this law was grounded in considerations of public policy. The result, however, was very unfortunate.

adversum legem dictatoris Caesaris: we have no knowledge of any usury laws, or laws regulating the rate of interest, of Julius Cæsar. Dio, however (XLI. 38), mentions a law of his forbidding any person to possess (κεκτῆσθαι), more than 15,000 drachmas [= *denarii*] in gold or silver, and we may infer with some probability that that is the law referred to. The description is too vague to warrant us in any positive conclusions; but we may infer that if it prohibited keeping on hand more than a certain amount of cash, it may have regulated the investment of the balance. It is referred to in the other passage of Dio (LVIII. 21) as a law περὶ τῶν συμβολαίων, which may very well apply to such loans (**de modo credendi possidendique**).

omissam olim, *which had long ago become obsolete.*

2. **vetus urbi**: *i.e.* common in old times. Livy's history mentions many instances of distress and disturbance arising from the exaction of usury, and the harsh enforcement of the laws of debt.

3. **unciario faenore**: the view of Niebuhr is now generally adopted, that this was an *uncia* for an *as*; *i.e.* one-twelfth of the principal, or eight and one-third per cent, for the year. Niebuhr further assumes, which is not so certain, that this

pletium agitaretur; dein rogatione tribunicia ad semuncias redactum, postremo vetita versura. Multisque 4
plebis scitis obviam itum fraudibus, quae totiens repressae miras per artes rursum oriebantur. Sed tum 5
Gracchus praetor, cui ea quaestio evenerat, multitudine periclitantium subactus rettulit ad senatum, trepidique patres (neque enim quisquam tali culpa vacuus) veniam a principe petivere; et concedente annus in posterum sexque menses dati, quis secundum iussa legis rationes familiares quisque componerent. Hinc inopia rei num- 17
mariae, commoto simul omnium aere alieno, et quia tot damnatis bonisque eorum divenditis signatum argentum fisco vel aerario attinebatur. Ad hoc senatus praescrip- 2

rate was for the old year of ten months, which would be ten per cent for the year of twelve months. By the law presently referred to, it was reduced to half this rate.

rogatione tribunicia: this was B.C. 347.

vetita versura: probably by the Genucian Law, B.C. 342, *ne faenerare liceret* (Liv. VII. 42. 1). *Versura* is not equivalent to *usura* (*interest*), but means rather the making of a loan — borrowing from one person to pay a debt to another. What was prohibited therefore was not the taking interest at all, but the trade of money-lending (*faenerare*). In the present case, at any rate, it is evident that the law did not forbid interest, for in the next chapter it is said that the hundred million sesterces advanced by the emperor were as a favor loaned without interest (**sine usuris**), from which it follows that it would have been lawful to exact interest.

4. **fraudibus**: *e.g.* just after the Second Punic War, loans were made in the name of *socii*, or citizens of allied towns (Liv. XXXV. 7).

5. **tum**, *on the present occasion.*

ea quaestio: the court which had cognizance of this offence.

trepidi patres: in violating this law the senators likewise offended against the public sentiment which forbade them to engage in trade.

concedente: Intr. 35 *o.*

secundum, etc.: *i.e.* arrange their business so as to conform to the law.

17. rei nummariae, *cash* — there being no money but coin, *nummus;* cf. *rei frumentariae*, 13. 2.

commoto: *i.e.* being called in; this made an enormous demand for ready money, while the extensive confiscations had locked up large sums in the treasury.

2. **ad hoc**, *to meet this emergency*, — an unusual meaning of this phrase, but supported by the expression of Suetonius who (*Tib.* 48), in describing the measures now taken, adds: *nec res expediretur;* from which we understand that the measure aimed to relieve from embarrassments, but failed, as we see further on to have been the case.

serat duas quisque faenoris partes in agris per Italiam collocaret. Sed creditores in solidum appellabant, nec
3 decorum appellatis minuere fidem. Ita primo concursatio et preces, dein strepere practoris tribunal, eaque quae remedio quaesita, venditio et emptio, in contrarium mutari, quia faeneratores omnem pecuniam mercandis
4 agris condiderant; copiam vendendi secuta vilitate, quanto quis obaeratior, aegrius distrahebant, multique fortunis provolvebantur. Eversio rei familiaris dignitatem ac famam praeceps dabat, donec tulit opem Caesar disposito per mensas milies sestertio factaque mutuandi

Suetonius further tells us that this measure also was initiated by the emperor; see next note. It would seem that in granting the eighteen months' respite he at the same time recommended this measure for immediate relief.

duas quisque, etc.: this measure, hard to understand as here described, is made clear by Suetonius, whose description of the transaction is as follows: *cum per senatus consultum sanxisset ut faeneratores duas patrimonii partes in solo collocarent, debitores totidem aeris alieni statim solverent, nec res expediretur.* He uses the word *patrimonium* (estate) inexactly, where Tacitus uses *faenus* (principal). His statement — that the debtors were to pay two-thirds, and the creditors to invest it in land — must be understood to mean that the creditors were to take land in payment. Trajan likewise (Plin. *Epp.* VI. 19. 4) ordered candidates *patrimonii tertiam partem conferre in ea quae solo continerentur.*

in solidum, *in full.*

decorum: it was no legal obligation, but to refuse to pay would impair their credit. Or possibly the adjustment described above was recommended rather than prescribed.

3. **concursatio**: *i.e.* to the creditors.

strepere, *to resound* with lawsuits.

venditio et emptio: reciprocal terms expressing the two sides of the same act — *purchase and sale* of property.

faeneratores . . . condiderant: the capitalists did not purchase land at once, but kept the money on hand (**condiderant**) for the purpose of buying, as favorable opportunities should offer. By this the distress of the debtors was enhanced, because the large capitalists held off in order to buy cheap.

condiderant: most editions place a full stop after this word, and a semicolon after **provolvebantur**; but it is evident that the passage **copiam . . . provolvebantur** is a part of the explanation of **in contrarium mutari**, as following **quia**.

4. **distrahebant**, *sell in small lots;* because the market was glutted.

per mensas: the amount of about $5,000,000 was deposited for the purpose of loans for three years without interest, but on the security

copia sine usuris per triennium, si debitor populo in duplum praediis cavisset. Sic refecta fides, et paulatim privati quoque creditores reperti. Neque emptio agrorum exercita ad formam senatus consulti, acribus, ut ferme talia, initiis, incurioso fine.

Dein redeunt priores metus postulato maiestatis Considio Proculo, qui nullo pavore diem natalem celebrans raptus in curiam pariterque damnatus interfectusque est. Sorori eius Sanciae aqua atque igni interdictum accusante Q. Pomponio. Is moribus inquies haec et huiusce modi a se factitari praetendebat, ut parta apud principem gratia periculis Pomponii Secundi fratris mederetur. Etiam in Pompeiam Macrinam exsilium statuitur, cuius maritum Argolicum, socerum Laconem e primoribus Achaeorum Caesar adflixerat. Pater quoque illustris eques Romanus ac frater praetorius, cum damnatio instaret, se ipsi interfecere. Datum erat cri-

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to the state of double the value in real estate. Dio says that this loan was made ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν βουλευτῶν, and Furneaux suggests that the reference is to "special public banks."

5. **privati creditores**: as soon as the panic was over, money was as usual plentiful enough.

incurioso fine: the slack execution of the law that often follows a vigorous beginning.

For a fuller discussion of this affair, see paper by the editor in the *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, Vol. XVIII. (1887), p. 5.

18. Considio Proculo: see V. 8. 1.

pariter, *immediately*. This summary execution was contrary to the *senatus consultum* given in III. 51. 3.

3. **Argolicum . . . Laconem**: these are considered to be personal cognomina.

4. **pater quoque**: the name of Pompeia Macrina shows that in all probability her father was son of Pompeius Macer, who was appointed chief librarian by Augustus (*cui ordinandas bibliothecas delegaverat*, Suet. *Iul.* 56), and who was himself son of Theophanes.

illustris eques: the term *illustres*, applied to the knights, had no technical meaning, but is used by Tacitus to designate those who by official position (cf. *equestris nobilitas*, *Agr.* 4), or birth (in a senatorial family), or perhaps senatorial fortune, enjoyed a rank intermediate between the senators and the common *equites* (Momm. *Röm. St.* III. 56. 3); cf. II. 59. 4 n.; IV. 58. 1 n.

mini, quod Theophanen Mytilenaeum proavum eorum Cn. Magnus inter intimos habuisset, quodque defuncto Theophani caelestes honores Graeca adulatio tribuerat.
19 Post quos Sex. Marius Hispaniarum ditissimus defertur incestasse filiam et saxo Tarpeio deicitur. Ac ne dubium haberetur magnitudinem pecuniae malo vertisse, aurarias *argentarias*que eius, quamquam publicarentur, sibimet Tiberius seposuit.

2 Irritatusque suppliciis cunctos, qui carcere attinebantur accusati societatis cum Seiano, necari iubet. Iacuit
3 immensa strages, omnis sexus, omnis aetas, illustres ig-
4 nobiles, dispersi aut aggerati. Neque propinquis aut amicis assistere illacrimare ne visere quidem diutius dabatur, sed circumiecti custodes et in maerorem cuiusque intenti corpora putrefacta assectabantur, dum in Tiberim traherentur, ubi fluitantia aut ripis appulsa non
5 cremare quisquam, non contingere. Interciderat sortis humanae commercium vi metus, quantumque saevitia glisceret, miseratio arcebatur.

20 Sub idem tempus Gaius Caesar, discedenti Capreas

Theophanen: see Cicero, *pro Archia*, 10. 24: *noster hic Magnus, qui cum virtute fortunam adaequavit, nonne Theophanem Mytilenaeum, scriptorem rerum suarum, in contione militum civitate donavit? Magnus*, it will be remembered, was the name given to Pompey by Sulla. A person who thus received citizenship took the gentile name of the one who bestowed it upon him (cf. III. 40. 1 n); hence the name Pompeius Macer.

proavum: this term applies of course only to Pompeia and her brother, — the father was grandson of Theophanes.

19. saxo Tarpeio: see II. 32. 5 n.

vertisse: see II. 36. 2 n.

aurarias, etc.: the mines of Spain were famed for productiveness. See Plin. *N. H.* xxxiii. 4(21).

quamquam, etc.: although made public property, they were transferred to the privy purse (*fiscus*).

2. **irritatus**, *his appetite whetted.*

cunctos: Stahr shows that this is incorrect, by referring to the case of Paconianus (3. 4), — thrown in prison on this charge, but (39. 1) not executed until three years later, — a very meagre extenuation of the horrors of the scene.

3. **immensa strages**: the number is given by Suetonius (*Tib.* 61) as twenty in one day. The expression of Tacitus may be exaggerated, but the reality was bad enough.

avo comes, Claudiam, M. Silani filiam, coniugio accepit, immanem animum subdola modestia tegens, non damnatione matris, non exitio fratrum rupta voce; qualem diem Tiberius induisset, pari habitu, haud multum distantibus verbis. Unde mox scitum Passieni oratoris 2
dictum percrebruit, neque meliorem umquam servum neque deteriorem dominum fuisse.

Non omiserim praesagium Tiberii de Servio Galba 3
tum consule; quem accitum et diversis sermonibus pertemptatum postremo Graecis verbis in hanc sententiam allocutus *est:* 'Et tu, Galba, quandoque degustabis imperium,' seram ac brevem potentiam significans, scientia Chaldaeorum artis, cuius apiscendae otium apud Rhodum, magistrum Thrasullum habuit, peritiam eius hoc modo expertus. Quotiens super tali negotio consulta- **21**
ret, edita domus parte ac liberti unius conscientia utebatur. Is litterarum ignarus, corpore valido, per avia 2
ac derupta (nam saxis domus imminet) praeibat eum cuius artem experiri Tiberius statuisset, et regredientem, si vanitatis aut fraudum suspicio incesserat, in subiectum mare praecipitabat, ne index arcani exsisteret. Igitur Thrasullus isdem rupibus inductus post- 3
quam percontantem commoverat, imperium ipsi et futura sollerter patefaciens, interrogatur an suam quoque

20. M. Silani: see III. 24. 5; 57. 2; V. 10. 4.

exitio fratrum: Nero had been put to death, A.D. 30, in the island Pontia. Drusus was still confined in the Palatium (23. 4).

diem, *mood, bearing for the day.*

2. Passieni: husband of Caligula's sister Agrippina, by whom he was poisoned. Cf. Seneca, *N. Q.* IV. *Praef.* 6, *Crispus Passienus, quo ego nil novi subtilius in omnibus rebus.* His father, too, was an orator, ranking in the age of Augustus next to Pollio and Messalla.

3. **quandoque:** he was made emperor after the death of Nero, A.D. 68, but reigned only eight months.

Chaldaeorum: see II. 27. 2 n.

apud Rhodum: see I. 4. 4 n.

21. 3. imperium: the incident occurred, it will be remembered, at Rhodes, where Tiberius was living in disgrace, and with little prospect of rising to the imperial dignity.

genitalem horam comperisset, quem tum annum, qualem
4 diem haberet. Ille positus siderum ac spatia dimensus haerere primo, dein pavescere, et quantum introspiceret, magis ac magis trepidus admirationis et metus, postremo exclamat ambiguum sibi ac prope ultimum discrimen
5 instare. Tum complexus cum Tiberius praescium periculorum et incolumem fore gratatur, quaeque dixerat oracli vice accipiens inter intimos amicorum tenet.

22 Sed mihi haec ac talia audienti in incerto iudicium est, fatone res mortalium et necessitate immutabili an
2 forte volvantur. Quippe sapientissimos veterum quique sectas eorum aemulantur diversos reperies, ac multis insitam opinionem non initia nostri, non finem, non denique homines dis curae; ideo creberrime tristia in bonos,
3 laeta apud deteriores esse. Contra alii fatum quidem congruere rebus putant, sed non e vagis stellis, verum apud principia et nexus naturalium causarum; ac tamen electionem vitae nobis relinquunt, quam ubi elegeris,
4 certum imminentium ordinem. Neque mala vel bona, quae vulgus putet: multos, qui conflictari adversis videantur, beatos, at plerosque quamquam magnas per opes miserrimos, si illi gravem fortunam constanter to-
5 lerent, hi prospera inconsulte utantur. Ceterum plurimis mortalium non eximitur quin primo cuiusque ortu ventura destinentur, sed quaedam secus quam dicta sint

genitalem horam, *horoscope*.

4. **quantum ... magis**: Intr. 35 *m*.

trepidus admirationis, etc., *divided between*, etc.; cf. *ambiguus pudoris ac metus*, II. 40. 2.

22. 2. **sapientissimos**, etc.: the founders of the several schools of philosophy.

multis: the Epicureans.

initia nostri: the idea of personality strongly emphasized by the objective genitive, as if it were *the things that begin us*, or *give us a beginning*.

3. **alii**: the Stoics.

vagis stellis, *planets*.

5. **plurimis mortalium**, etc.: *i.e.* in contrast with the Epicureans and Stoics: they *are not freed from the belief that*, etc.; the infinitives **cadere**, etc., depend upon this implied idea of belief.

cadere fallaciis ignara dicentium: ita corrumpi fidem artis, cuius clara documenta et antiqua aetas et nostra tulerit. Quippe a filio eiusdem Thrasulli praedictum 6
Neronis imperium in tempore memorabitur, ne nunc incepto longius abierim.

Isdem consulibus Asinii Galli mors vulgatur, quem 23
egestate cibi peremptum haud dubium, sponte vel necessitate incertum habebatur. Consultusque Caesar an 2
sepeliri sineret, non erubuit permittere ultroque incusare casus qui reum abstulissent antequam coram convinceretur: scilicet medio triennio defuerat tempus subeundi 3
iudicium consulari seni, tot consularium parenti.

Drusus deinde exstinguitur, cum se miserandis ali- 4
mentis, mandendo e cubili tomento, nonum ad diem detinuisset. Tradidere quidam praescriptum fuisse 5
Macroni, si arma ab Seiano temptarentur, extractum custodiae iuvenem (nam in Palatio attinebatur) ducem populo imponere. Mox, quia rumor incedebat fore ut 6
nuru ac nepoti conciliaretur Caesar, saevitiam quam paenitentiam maluit. Quin et invectus in defunctum 24
probra corporis, exitiabilem in suos, infensum rei publicae animum obiecit recitarique factorum dictorumque

6. **praedictum**, etc.: see XIV. 9: when Agrippina (the younger) consulted as to her son Nero, *responderunt Chaldaei fore ut imperaret matremque occideret: atque illa 'occidat' inquit 'dum imperet.'*

23. Asinii Galli: I. 12. 2; he had been arrested, A.D. 30, and kept in close confinement, with only enough food to keep him alive; see pp. 343, 344.

2. **non erubuit**: not having been convicted, Gallus had a right to burial (29. 2); the consent was therefore only a show of magnanimity.

coram: *i.e.* on his return to Rome.

3. **tot consularium**: he had had three sons of consular rank, — C. Asinius Pollio (IV. 1. 1), M. Asinius Agrippa (IV. 34. 1, 61. 1), and Ser. Asinius Celer; Asinius Saloninus (III. 75. 1) was also his son.

4. **Drusus**: see IV. 60. 6.

5. **praescriptum fuisse**, etc.: on the occasion of the overthrow of Sejanus through Macro, when there was reason to fear that Sejanus would be too strong to be removed from power (see pp. 351, 353).

6. **nuru ac nepoti**: Agrippina and Drusus.

eius descripta per dies iussit, quo non aliud atrocius
2 visum: astitisse tot per annos qui vultum, gemitus occultum etiam murmur exciperent, et potuisse avum audire legere in publicum promere vix fides, nisi quod Attii centurionis et Didymi liberti epistulae servorum nomina praeferebant, ut quis egredientem cubiculo Dru-
3 sum pulsaverat exterruerat. Etiam sua verba centurio saevitiae plena, tamquam egregium, vocesque deficientis adiecerat, quis primo [alienationem mentis simulans] quasi per dementiam funesta Tiberio, mox, ubi exspes vitae fuit, meditatas compositasque diras imprecabatur, ut, quem ad modum nurum filiumque fratris et nepotes domumque omnem caedibus complevisset, ita poenas
4 nomini generique maiorum et posteris exsolveret. Obturbabant quidem patres specie detestandi; sed penetrabat pavor et admiratio, callidum olim et tegendis sceleribus obscurum huc confidentiae venisse ut tamquam dimotis parietibus ostenderet nepotem sub verbere centurionis, inter servorum ictus extrema vitae alimenta frustra orantem.

25 Nondum is dolor exoleverat cum de Agrippina auditum, quam interfecto Seiano spe sustentatam provixisse reor, et postquam nihil de saevitia remittebatur, voluntate exstinctam, nisi si negatis alimentis assimulatus est
2 finis qui videretur sponte sumptus. Enimvero Tiberius foedissimis criminationibus exarsit, impudicitiam

24. descripta per dies: *i.e.* in the form of a diary.

2. **nisi quod**: the evidence was too strong to be doubted.

3. **alienationem mentis simulans**: held by most to be a marginal gloss; his utterances are more likely to have been a violent passion akin to frenzy (**quasi per dementiam**) than a pretence of madness.

complevisset: a zeugma; understand *interfecisset* with **nurum**, etc. Agrippina, however, was not yet dead.

4. **obturbabant**, *interrupted*, in the reading. Cf. III. 34. 1.

callidum: *i.e.* Tiberius.

tegendis sceleribus: Intr. 35 *f.*

25. auditum: used absolutely, — *news was heard*

arguens et Asinium Gallum adulterum, eiusque morte
ad taedium vitae compulsam. Sed Agrippina aequi im- 3
patiens, dominandi avida, virilibus curis feminarum vitia
exuerat. Eodem die defunctam quo biennio ante Seia- 4
nus poenas luisset, memoriaeque id prodendum addidit
Caesar iactavitque quod non laqueo strangulata neque
in Gemonias proiecta foret. Actae ob id grates decre- 5
tumque ut quintum decimum kal. Novembris, utrius-
que necis die, per omnis annos donum Iovi sacraretur.

Haud multo post Cocceius Nerva, continuus principis, **26**
omnis divini humanique iuris sciens, integro statu, cor-
pore illaeso, moriendi consilium cepit. Quod ut Tibe- 2
rio cognitum, assidere, causas requirere, addere preces,
fateri postremo grave conscientiae, grave famae suae, si
proximus amicorum nullis moriendi rationibus vitam
fugeret. Aversatus sermonem Nerva abstinentiam cibi 3
coniunxit. Ferebant gnari cogitationum eius, quanto
propius mala rei publicae viseret, ira et metu, dum inte-
ger, dum intemptatus, honestum finem voluisse. Cete- 4
rum Agrippinae pernicies, quod vix credibile, Plancinam
traxit. Nupta olim Cn. Pisoni et palam laeta morte
Germanici, cum Piso caderet, precibus Augustae nec
minus inimicitiis Agrippinae defensa erat. Ut odium 5

3. **aequi**, *equality of station.*

exuerat, *had kept herself free from;* lit., *had put off;* cf. *Agr.* 9, *tristitiam et arrogantiam et avaritiam exuerat.* The metaphor is a favorite one with Tacitus; see *e.g.* I. 35. 5; II. 72. 1; III. 7. 1; IV. 72. 1.

5. **quintum decimum**: *sc.* **ante diem**; the date of occurrence, with which phrase **die** is in apposition (October 18).

26. Cocceius Nerva: IV. 58. 1.

continuus: as a substantive, *intimate friend.* Andresen makes the plausible suggestion that **comes** should be read in place of **omnis**.

integro statu: there was no sign of danger or disapprobation.

3. **coniunxit**, *continued.*

quanto propius, etc.: Dio (LVIII. 21) assigns as a reason for his death his apprehensions from the emperor's enforcement of the usury law (16 and 17); this would require a change in the order of events.

4. **Plancinae**: II. 43. 5.

precibus Augustae: III. 17. 8.

et gratia desiere, ius valuit ; petitaque criminibus haud ignotis sua manu sera magis quam immerita supplicia persolvit.

27 Tot luctibus funesta civitate pars maeroris fuit quod Iulia Drusi filia, quondam Neronis uxor, denupsit in domum Rubellii Blandi, cuius avum Tiburtem equitem 2 Romanum plerique meminerant. Extremo anni mors Aelii Lamiae funere censorio celebrata, qui administrandae Suriae imagine tandem exsolutus urbi praefuerat. Genus illi decorum, vivida senectus ; et non 3 permissa provincia dignationem addiderat. Exim Flacco Pomponio Suriae pro praetore defuncto recitantur Caesaris litterae, quis incusabat egregium quemque et regendis exercitibus idoneum abnuere id munus, seque ea necessitudine ad preces cogi, per quas consularium aliqui capessere provincias adigerentur, oblitus Arruntium, ne in Hispaniam pergeret, decimum iam annum attineri. 4 Obiit eodem anno et M'. Lepidus, de cuius moderatione 5 atque sapientia in prioribus libris satis collocavi. Neque nobilitas diutius demonstranda est : quippe Aemilium genus fecundum bonorum civium, et qui eadem familia corruptis moribus, illustri tamen fortuna egere.

28 Paulo Fabio L. Vitellio consulibus post longum saeculorum ambitum avis phoenix in Aegyptum venit prae-

27. Neronis uxor: III. 29. 4.
Rubellii Blandi: see III. 23. 2.
Tiburtem, *of Tibur*, a municipal town of Latium, now *Tivoli*.

2. **Aelii Lamiae**: see IV. 13. 5; having been appointed to the government of the province, he was not allowed to depart to it, out of suspicion, as was supposed; hence **dignationem addiderat**. See I. 80. 4. So with Arruntius (3). Lamia was made præfect of the city after the death of Piso (10. 3).

3. **Flacco Pomponio**: II. 32. 3.
4. **in prioribus libris**: see especially I. 13. 2, and IV. 20. 4.

5. **egere**: this may refer to the triumvir Lepidus, and his father, the consul of B.C. 78.

28. Paulo Fabio: perhaps the one called by Juvenal (8. 14) *cupidus, vanus*, and *mollis ;* by Seneca (*De Ben.* IV. 30), *impudicus*.

L. Vitellio: father of the emperor Vitellius; see 32. 6.

avis phoenix: according to

buitque materiem doctissimis indigenarum et Graecorum
multa super eo miraculo disserendi. De quibus con- 2
gruunt, et plura ambigua sed cognitu non absurda,
promere libet. Sacrum Soli id animal, et ore ac di- 3
stinctu pinnarum a ceteris avibus diversum consentiunt
qui formam eius effinxere; de numero annorum varia
traduntur. Maxime vulgatum quingentorum spatium: 4
sunt qui asseverent mille quadringentos sexaginta unum
interici, prioresque alios tres Sesoside primum, post
Amaside dominantibus, dein Ptolemaeo, qui ex Mace-
donibus tertius regnavit, in civitatem, cui Heliopolis
nomen, advolavisse, multo ceterarum volucrum comitatu
novam faciem mirantium. Sed antiquitas quidem ob- 5
scura; inter Ptolemaeum ac Tiberium minus ducenti
quinquaginta anni fuerunt. Unde nonnulli falsum hunc 6
phoenicem neque Arabum e terris credidere, nihilque
usurpavisse ex his quae vetus memoria firmavit: con- 7
fecto quippe annorum numero, ubi mors propinquet, suis
in terris struere nidum eique vim genitalem adfundere,

Pliny (*N. H.* X. 2. 5) and Dio Cassius (LVIII. 27), it was two years later. Pliny says that it was brought to Rome, A. U. C. 800 (A.D. 47), and placed in the *comitium*, but adds, *quem falsum esse nemo dubitaret.* In the same chapter he describes the phœnix as follows: *aquilae narratur magnitudine, auri fulgore circa colla, cetero purpureus, caeruleam roseis caudam pinnis distinguentibus, cristis fauces, caputque plumeo apice honestante.*

4. **mille quadringentos sexaginta unum**: the Phœnix period is here confused with the Sothis period, or Great Egyptian year, in which the sidereal year is brought into correspondence with the calendar year; the numbers, as given below, do not at all correspond with this.

alios tres, etc.: see App. I.

Sesoside = *Sesostride: i.e.* Rameses II., the most famous king of Egypt, of the 19th dynasty, about the middle of the 14th century B.C.; Amasis, of the 26th dynasty, reigned B.C. 569–526; Ptolemy III. Euergetes, 247–222.

Heliopolis: a city of Lower Egypt, identified with *On* of the Scriptures.

5. **antiquitas obscura**: the earlier examples afford no conclusion **de numero annorum.**

minus ducenti quinquaginta anni: from the death of Ptolemy to the accession of Tiberius, 236 years; to the year of the appearance of the phœnix, 256 years.

6. **ex his**: explained by **confecto**, etc., which follows.

ex qua fetum oriri; et primam adulto curam sepeliendi patris, neque id temere, sed sublato murrae pondere temptatoque per longum iter, ubi par oneri, par meatui sit, subire patrium corpus inque Solis aram perferre at-
8 que adolere. Haec incerta et fabulosis aucta: ceterum aspici aliquando in Aegypto eam volucrem non ambigitur.

29 At Romae caede continua Pomponius Labeo, quem praefuisse Moesiae rettuli, per abruptas venas sangui-
2 nem effudit; aemulataque est coniunx Paxaea. Nam promptas eius modi mortes metus carnificis faciebat, et quia damnati publicatis bonis sepultura prohibebantur, eorum qui de se statuebant humabantur corpora, mane-
3 bant testamenta, pretium festinandi. Sed Caesar missis ad senatum litteris disseruit morem fuisse maioribus, quotiens dirimerent amicitias, interdicere domo eumque finem gratiae ponere: id se repetivisse in Labeone, atque illum, quia male administratae provinciae aliorumque criminum urgebatur, culpam invidia velavisse, frustra conterrita uxore, quam etsi nocentem periculi tamen
4 expertem fuisse. Mamercus dein Scaurus rursum postulatur, insignis nobilitate et orandis causis, vita probro-
5 sus. Nihil hunc amicitia Seiani, sed labefecit haud minus validum ad exitia Macronis odium, qui easdem

7. **murrae pondere**: *i.e.* of equal weight to his father's body.

in Solis aram: at Heliopolis, the phœnix being sacred to the sun.

29. caede continua: and yet no cases are mentioned except Pomponius and his wife, Scaurus and his wife, Servilius, Cornelius, and Ruso; of these, two committed suicide, while three were banished.

Pomponius Labeo: IV. 47. 1.

2. **eius modi**: *i.e.* by suicide.

3. **quotiens**, etc.: cf. III. 24. 5.

repetivisse, *revived*; *i.e.* this obsolete practice.

invidia: *i.e.* which his death would excite against Tiberius.

periculi expertem: because he had intended to pardon her.

4. **rursum**: see 9. 5.

vita probrosus: see III. 66. 3.

5. **easdem artes**: *i.e.* as Sejanus.

artes occultius exercebat; detuleratque argumentum tragoediae a Scauro scriptae, additis versibus qui in Tiberium flecterentur: verum ab Servilio et Cornelio 6
accusatoribus adulterium Liviae, magorum sacra obiectabantur. Scaurus, ut dignum veteribus Aemiliis, dam- 7
nationem anteiit, hortante Sextia uxore, quae incitamentum mortis et particeps fuit.

Ac tamen accusatores, si facultas incideret, poenis 30
adficiebantur, ut Servilius Corneliusque perdito Scauro famosi, quia pecuniam a Vario Ligure omittendae delationis ceperant, in insulas interdicto igni atque aqua demoti sunt. Et Abudius Ruso functus aedilitate, dum 2
Lentulo Gaetulico, sub quo legioni praefuerat, periculum facessit, quod is Seiani filium generum destinasset, ultro damnatur atque urbe exigitur. Gaetulicus ea 3
tempestate superioris Germaniae legiones curabat, mirumque amorem assecutus erat, effusae clementiae, modicus severitate et proximo quoque exercitui per L. Apronium socerum non ingratus. Unde fama constans 4
ausum mittere ad Caesarem litteras, adfinitatem sibi cum Seiano haud sponte, sed consilio Tiberii coeptam; perinde se quam Tiberium falli potuisse, neque errorem eundem illi sine fraude, aliis exitio habendum. Sibi 5
fidem integram et, si nullis insidiis peteretur, mansu-

tragoediae: the tragedy was entitled *Atreus*, and in it he had introduced a verse from Euripides (*Phoen.* 393), exhorting to endurance of the folly of rulers. Tiberius, asserting that the poet had made of him an Atreus, said, "I will make of him an Ajax," — referring to the self-inflicted death of Ajax. Dio, LVIII. 24. Cf. Suet. *Tib.* 61.

6. **Liviae**: Livilla, the widow of Drusus.

magorum sacra, *magic rites;* with the object of ascertaining when Tiberius would die.

30. Vario Ligure: IV. 42. 3.

omittendae delationis: Intr. 35 *n.*

in insulas . . . demoti: deportation; see IV. 31. 5 n.

2. **Lentulo Gaetulico**: consul, A.D. 26 (IV. 46. 1).

3. **L. Apronium**: see IV. 73. 1.

4. **illi**: Tiberius.

ram; successorem non aliter quam indicium mortis
6 accepturum. Firmarent velut foedus, quo princeps ceterarum rerum poteretur, ipse provinciam retineret.
7 Haec, mira quamquam, fidem ex eo trahebant quod unus omnium Seiani adfinium incolumis multaque gratia mansit, reputante Tiberio publicum sibi odium, extremam aetatem magisque fama quam vi stare res suas.

31 C. Cestio M. Servilio consulibus nobiles Parthi in ur-
2 bem venere, ignaro rege Artabano. Is metu Germanici fidus Romanis, aequabilis in suos, mox superbiam in nos, saevitiam in populares sumpsit, fretus bellis quae secunda adversum circumiectas nationes exercuerat, et senectutem Tiberii ut inermem despiciens avidusque Armeniae, cui defuncto rege Artaxia Arsacen liberorum suorum veterrimum imposuit, addita contumelia et missis qui gazam a Vonone relictam in Suria Ciliciaque reposcerent; simul veteres Persarum ac Macedonum terminos, seque invasurum possessa primum Cyro et post Alexandro per vaniloquentiam ac minas iaciebat.
3 Sed Parthis mittendi secretos nuntios validissimus auctor fuit Sinnaces, insigni familia ac perinde opibus, et

5. **successorem**: *i.e.* removal from his command.

7. **incolumis . . . mansit**: he was put to death by Caligula five years afterwards.

31. C. Cestio: see 7. 3, and III. 36. 2.

M. Servilio: his surname was Nonianus, and he was a historian of merit. *Clari vir ingenii et sententiis creber, sed minus pressus quam historiae auctoritas postulat;* Quint. X. 1. 102; cf. Plin. *Epp.* I. 13. 3.

Artabano: see II. 3. 1.

2. **mox**: when no longer restrained by this fear.

senectutem Tiberii, etc.: there was a letter of his to Tiberius, *parricidia et caedes et ignaviam et luxuriam obicientis, monentisque ut voluntaria morte maximo iustissimoque civium odio quamprimum satisfaceret.* (Suet. *Tib.* 66.)

Artaxia: see II. 56. 3.

missis: *sc.* to Tiberius.

Vonone: see II. 58 and 68.

veteres, etc.: he regarded himself as the successor of Cyrus and Alexander.

per . . . iaciebat, *talked loudly about;* governs both **terminos** and the clause **se . . . Alexandro.**

proximus huic Abdus ademptae virilitatis. Non despectum id apud barbaros ultroque potentiam habet. Ii 4
ascitis et aliis primoribus, quia neminem gentis Arsacidarum summae rei imponere poterant, interfectis ab Artabano plerisque aut nondum adultis, Phraaten regis Phraatis filium Roma poscebant: nomine tantum et auctore opus, ut sponte Caesaris ut genus Arsacis ripam apud Euphratis cerneretur.

Cupitum id Tiberio. Ornat Phraaten accingitque pa- **32**
ternum ad fastigium, destinata retinens, consiliis et astu
res externas moliri, arma procul habere. Interea cog- 2
nitis insidiis Artabanus tardari metu, modo cupidine
vindictae inardescere. Et barbaris cunctatio servilis, 3
statim exsequi regium videtur; valuit tamen utilitas, ut
Abdum specie amicitiae vocatum ad epulas lento veneno
illigaret, Sinnacen dissimulatione ac donis, simul per
negotia moraretur. Et Phraates apud Suriam dum 4
omisso cultu Romano, cui per tot annos insueverat, instituta Parthorum insumit, patriis moribus impar morbo
absumptus est. Sed non Tiberius omisit incepta; Tiri- 5
datem sanguinis eiusdem aemulum Artabano, recipe-

4. **Arsacidarum**: II. 1. 1 n.

Phraaten: Phraates V., a brother of Vonones, who had been in like manner invited from Rome (II. 1 and 2). His rival Artabanus seems to have been only distantly related to the royal family (*Arsacidarum e sanguine*, II. 3. 1).

nomine: as being an Arsacid.

auctore: the authority of Rome.

ut . . . ut: this repetition emphasizes the authority of Cæsar and that of Arsaces. App. I.

32. destinata, *his policy;* see II. 65. 1.

2. **modo**: answering to *modo* understood before **tardari**.

3. **utilitas**: the advantage of caution (**cunctatio**).

illigaret: *i.e.* the drug dulled his faculties, and rendered him inactive, probably killing him by slow degrees.

4. **dum**: causal; see III. 19. 3 n.

instituta Parthorum: see the reproaches against Vonones (II. 2. 5); these Phraates tried to avoid.

impar: physically incapable.

5. **sanguinis eiusdem**: *i.e.* a descendant of Phraates IV.; Artabanus was apparently a nephew of the deceased Phraates V. (*Phraatis avi*, 37. 6). See Rawlinson, *Sixth Oriental Monarchy*, p. 231.

randaeque Armeniae Hiberum Mithridaten deligit conciliatque fratri Pharasmani, qui gentile imperium obtinebat; et cunctis quae apud Orientem parabantur
6 L. Vitellium praefecit. Eo de homine haud sum ignarus sinistram in urbe famam, pleraque foeda memorari,
7 ceterum regendis provinciis prisca virtute egit. Unde regressus et formidine Gai Caesaris, familiaritate Claudii turpe in servitium mutatus exemplar apud posteros adulatorii dedecoris habetur, cesseruntque prima postremis, et bona iuventae senectus flagitiosa oblitteravit.

33 At ex regulis prior Mithridates Pharasmanem perpulit dolo et vi conatus suos iuvare, repertique corruptores
2 ministros Arsacis multo auro ad scelus cogunt; simul Hiberi magnis copiis Armeniam irrumpunt et urbe Artaxata potiuntur. Quae postquam Artabano cognita, filium Oroden ultorem parat; dat Parthorum copias,
3 mittit qui auxilia mercede facerent: contra Pharasmanes adiungere Albanos, accipere Sarmatas, quorum sceptuchi utrimque donis acceptis more gentico diversa induere.
4 Sed Hiberi locorum potentes Caspia via Sarmatam in

gentile: *i.e.* over the Iberians.

L. Vitellium: the consul of the previous year (28. 1); his commission was similar to that of Germanicus (II. 43. 2).

7. **exemplar**, etc.: *miri in adulando ingenii, primus C. Caesarem adorare ut deum instituit, cum reversus ex Syria non aliter adire ausus esset quam capite velato circumvertensque se, deinde procumbens.* Suet. *Vit.* 2.

cesserunt: *i.e.* were obscured by.

33. ad scelus: *i.e.* the murder of their master.

2. **Artaxata**: II. 56. 3.

Parthorum: see App. I.

facerent: in the sense of *levy*.

3. Albanos: see II. 68. 1; they were east of the Iberians, upon the Caspian Sea. In the military operations which follow, the Iberians commanded the passes of the Caucasus, which gave free passage to their Sarmatian allies, while those Sarmatians who came as auxiliaries to the Parthians were obliged to try the dangerous passage along the Caspian, between the sea and the Albanian Mountains.

Sarmatas: this Slavonic people was composed of numerous petty tribes, governed by patriarchal chiefs (**sceptuchi**), who took different sides in the contest (**diversa induere**).

4. **Caspia via**: properly *portae Caucasiae*, the modern pass of

Armenios raptim effundunt. At qui Parthis adven- 5
tabant facile arcebantur, cum alios incessus hostis
clausisset, unum reliquum mare inter et extremos
Albanorum montes aestas impediret, quia flatibus
etesiarum implentur vada; hibernus auster revolvit fluc-
tus pulsoque introrsus freto brevia litorum nudantur.
Interim Oroden sociorum inopem auctus auxilio Pharas- 34
manes vocare ad pugnam et detrectantem incessere,
adequitare castris, infensare pabula; ac saepe *in* modum
obsidii stationibus cingebat, donec Parthi contumeliarum
insolentes circumsisterent regem, poscerent proelium.
Atque illis sola in equite vis: Pharasmanes et pedite 2
valebat. Nam Hiberi Albanique saltuosos locos inco-
lentes duritiae patientiaeque magis insuevere; feruntque 3
se Thessalis ortos, qua tempestate Iaso post avectam
Medeam genitosque ex ea liberos inanem mox regiam
Aeetae vacuosque Colchos repetivit. Multaque de 4
nomine eius et oraclum Phrixi celebrant; nec quisquam

Dariel. The *Caspia via* was properly along the shores of the Caspian Sea (5); the confusion of the two passes is mentioned by Pliny (*N. H.* VI. 11. 30) as a common error.

5. **hostis**: the Iberians.

flatibus etesiarum: these were periodical north winds, which blew in July and August, driving the sea with such force upon the shore, as to prevent the passage, or make it very difficult; in the winter, on the other hand, the road is practicable (**hibernus**, etc.); cf. Q. Curtius, VI. 4. 19, *a septentrione ingens in litus mare incumbit longeque agit fluctus.*

34. auxilio: the Sarmatians.

infensare pabula, *lays waste the foraging ground.*

insolentes, *unaccustomed;* cf. Cic. *Att.* II. 21. 3, *insolens infamiae.*

2. **sola in equite vis**: the special military force of these Eastern nations.

et pedite: his army being partly recruited from the mountain regions of the north, which were unsuited to cavalry.

3. **Thessalis ortos**: a good illustration of the wild popular ethnologies of ancient times; these nations, between the Aryan Armenians on the south, and the Turanian Scythians on the north, were of uncertain race. Kiepert, *Lehrbuch der alten Geographie*, p. 73.

vacuos, *without a master;* cf. II. 3. 2.

4. **de nomine eius**, *after his name; i.e.* named after him; cf. I. 15. 3; the legend of Jason had many associations in this region.

Phrixi: Strabo (XI. 498) men-

ariete sacrificaverit, credito vexisse Phrixum, sive id animal seu navis insigne fuit.

Ceterum derecta utrimque acie Parthus imperium Orientis, claritudinem Arsacidarum, contraque ignobilem Hiberum mercennario milite disserebat; Pharasmanes integros semet a Parthico dominatu, quanto maiora peterent, plus decoris victores aut, si terga darent, flagi- 6 tii atque periculi laturos; simul horridam suorum aciem, picta auro Medorum agmina, hinc viros, inde praedam 35 ostendere. Enimvero apud Sarmatas non una vox ducis: se quisque stimulant ne pugnam per sagittas 2 sinerent: impetu et comminus praeveniendum. Variae hinc bellantium species, cum Parthus sequi vel fugere pari arte suetus distraheret turmas, spatium ictibus quaereret, Sarmatae omisso arcu, quo brevius valent, contis gladiisque ruerent; modo equestris proelii more frontis et tergi vices, aliquando ut conserta acie corpori- 3 bus et pulsu armorum pellerent pellerentur. Iamque et Albani Hiberique prensare detrudere ancipitem pugnam hostibus facere, quos super eques et propioribus 4 vulneribus pedites adflictabant. Inter quae Pharas-

tions a temple, Φρίξου ἵδρυμα, καὶ μαντεῖον ἐκείνου, ὅπου κριὸς οὐ θύεται.

5. **mercennario milite**: the Scythians; explains **ignobilem**.

6. **horridam**, *rugged.*

Medorum: there is some contempt expressed in this word, the effeminate Medes having been brought into subjection by the rude Parthian mountaineers. The Romans often used the terms *Medi* and *Persae* for the Parthians; *e.g.* Hor. *Od.* I. 2. 51, and elsewhere.

35. ne . . . sinerent: since the Parthians excelled as archers, while the Sarmatians fought better **comminus**: see below.

2. **fugere**: the skill of the Parthian bowmen in retreat is well known; cf. Hor. *Od.* II. 13. 17, (*perhorrescit*) *miles sagittas et celerem fugam | Parthi;* Verg. *Georg.* III. 31, *fidentem fuga Parthum versisque sagittis.*

distraheret, *opened.*

brevius: *i.e.* their bows carry less far.

modo, aliquando: as the advantage was with the Parthians or the Sarmatians.

frontis et tergi vices, *alternate advance and retreat.*

3. **super** = *desuper;* the Parthians had been unhorsed (**detrudere**).

manes Orodesque, dum strenuis adsunt aut dubitantibus subveniunt, conspicui eoque gnari, clamore telis equis concurrunt, instantius Pharasmanes; nam vulnus per galeam adegit. Nec iterare valuit, praelatus equo et fortissimis satellitum protegentibus saucium; fama tamen occisi falso credita exterruit Parthos victoriamque concessere.

Mox Artabanus tota mole regni ultum iit. Peritia **36** locorum ab Hiberis melius pugnatum; nec ideo abscedebat, ni contractis legionibus Vitellius et subdito rumore, tamquam Mesopotamiam invasurus, metum Romani belli fecisset. Tum omissa Armenia versaeque Artabani res, illiciente Vitellio desererent regem saevum in pace et adversis proeliorum exitiosum. Igitur Sinnaces, quem antea infensum memoravi, patrem Abdagaesen aliosque occultos consilii et tunc continuis cladibus promptiores ad defectionem trahit, adfluentibus paulatim qui, metu magis quam benevolentia subiecti, repertis auctoribus sustulerant animum. Nec iam aliud Artabano reliquum quam si qui externorum corpori custodes aderant, suis quisque sedibus extorres, quis neque boni intellectus neque mali cura, sed mercede aluntur ministri sceleribus. His adsumptis in longinqua et contermina Scythiae fugam maturavit, spe auxilii, quia

4. **gnari**, *recognizing one another*.

5. **praelatus** = *praeterlatus*; cf. *praevehitur*, II. 6. 5.

saucium: *i.e.* Orodes.

36. mox: here probably begin the events of the year 36; see 38. 1.

tamquam invasurus: equivalent to an accusative with infinitive (Intr. 35 *j*).

Mesopotamiam: south of Armenia, between the rivers Tigris and Euphrates (37. 4); its invasion was a menace to the Parthian power.

3. **antea**: see 31. 3.

occultos consilii: *i.e.* secretly conspiring; cf. IV. 7. 2 n. Intr. 35 *e*.

subiecti, *retaining their allegiance*.

auctoribus, *leaders*, in their disaffection.

4. **aluntur**: present tense, describing general characteristics.

5. **Scythiae**: Turkestan.

Hyrcanis Carmaniisque per adfinitatem innexus erat; atque interim posse Parthos absentium aequos, praesentibus mobiles, ad paenitentiam mutari.

37 At Vitellius profugo Artabano et flexis ad novum regem popularium animis, hortatus Tiridaten parata capessere, robur legionum sociorumque ripam ad Eu-
2 phratis ducit. Sacrificantibus, cum hic more Romano suovetaurilia daret, ille equum placando amni adornasset, nuntiavere accolae Euphraten nulla imbrium vi sponte et immensum attolli, simul albentibus spumis in modum diadematis sinuare orbes, auspicium prosperi
3 transgressus. Quidam callidius interpretabantur, initia conatus secunda neque diuturna, quia eorum quae terra caelove portenderentur certior fides, fluminum instabilis
4 natura simul ostenderet omina raperetque. Sed ponte navibus effecto tramissoque exercitu primus Ornospades multis equitum milibus in castra venit, exsul quondam et Tiberio, cum Delmaticum bellum conficeret, haud inglorius auxiliator eoque civitate Romana donatus, mox repetita amicitia regis multo apud eum honore, praefec-

Hyrcanis Carmaniisque: the Hyrcanians were southeast of the Caspian Sea, west of the original home of the Parthians; the Carmanians south, upon the Persian Gulf.

per adfinitatem: he had been called to the throne from this region (II. 3. 1).

aequos, *favorably disposed*. — The genitive after **aequos** and the dative after **mobiles** are alike irregular.

37. parata: the power which was ready for him.

legionum sociorumque: cf. I. 49. 6 n.

2. **hic, ille**: Vitellius, Tiridates.

suovetaurilia: the sacrifice of a swine, a sheep, and a bull; of old time the special offering to Mars, used especially in lustrations.

placando amni: an adorned horse was a favorite sacrifice of the Persians.

sinuare orbes, *forming circles* in the shape of a *diadema*, which was a white ribbon passed about the head, as a symbol of sovereignty.

auspicium: cf. *causam*, I. 27. 1 n.

3. **raperet**, *snatch away* — render void.

4. **Delmaticum bellum**: A.D. 6 to 9 (I. 25. 3 n.).

regis: Artabanus.

tus campis qui Euphrate et Tigre inclutis amnibus circumflui Mesopotamiae nomen acceperunt. Neque multo 5
post Sinnaces auget copias, et columen partium Abdagaeses gazam et paratus regios adicit. Vitellius os- 6
tentasse Romana arma satis ratus monet Tiridaten primoresque, hunc, Phraatis avi et altoris Caesaris, quae utrobique pulchra, meminerit, illos, obsequium in regem, reverentiam in nos, decus quisque suum et fidem retinerent. Exim cum legionibus in Suriam remeavit.

Quae duabus aestatibus gesta coniunxi, quo requie- 38
sceret animus a domesticis malis; non enim Tiberium, quamquam triennio post caedem Seiani, quae ceteros mollire solent, tempus preces satias mitigabant, quin incerta vel abolita pro gravissimis et recentibus puniret. Eo metu Fulcinius Trio, ingruentis accusatores haud 2
perpessus, supremis tabulis multa et atrocia in Macronem ac praecipuos libertorum Caesaris composuit, ipsi fluxam senio mentem et continuo abscessu velut exsilium obiectando. Quae ab heredibus occultata recitari Tibe- 3
rius iussit, patientiam libertatis alienae ostentans et contemptor suae infamiae, an scelerum Seiani diu nescius mox quoquo modo dicta vulgari malebat verita-

circumfluī: a poetical word, used by Tacitus only here.

6. **quae**, etc.: a more particular definition of **Phraatis . . . Caesaris**.

utrobique, *in reference to each*.

38. triennio: Sejanus had been executed Oct. 18, A.D. 31 (25. 5).

quae: relates to **tempus preces satias**.

2. **Fulcinius Trio**: cf. 4. 4.

supremis tabulis: it was a custom of the time to say in the will what one had not dared to say while living. That this custom existed in the time of Augustus, is shown by Suetonius (*Oct.* 56): *ne de inhibenda testamentorum licentia quicquam constitueretur intercessit.* Tiberius, it would seem from this passage, also declined to interfere with the freedom of testamentary opinion.

libertorum: cf. IV. 6. 7 n.

fluxam senio: see Intr. 14.

abscessu: ablative of cause,—it might be called exile for this reason.

3. **an malebat**, etc.: Intr. 35 *r*.

tisque, cui adulatio officit, per probra saltem gnarus fieri.

4 Isdem diebus Granius Marcianus senator, a C. Graccho maiestatis postulatus, vim vitae suae attulit, Tariusque Gratianus praetura functus lege eadem extremum
39 ad supplicium damnatus. Nec dispares Trebellieni Rufi et Sextii Paconiani exitus: nam Trebellienus sua manu cecidit, Paconianus in carcere ob carmina illic in princi-
2 pem factitata strangulatus est. Haec Tiberius non mari, ut olim, divisus neque per longinquos nuntios accipiebat, sed urbem iuxta, eodem ut die vel noctis interiectu litteris consulum rescriberet, quasi aspiciens undantem per domos sanguinem aut manus carnificum.
3 Fine anni Poppaeus Sabinus concessit vita, modicus originis, principum amicitia consulatum ac triumphale decus adeptus maximisque provinciis per quattuor et viginti annos impositus, nullam ob eximiam artem, sed quod pâr negotiis neque supra erat.

40 Q. Plautius Sex. Papinius consules sequuntur. Eo anno neque quod L. Aruseius * * * morte adfecti forent, assuetudine malorum ut atrox advertebatur, sed exterruit quod Vibulenus Agrippa eques Romanus, cum perorassent accusatores, in ipsa curia depromptum sinu venenum hausit, prolapsusque ac moribundus festinatis

saltem: *i.e.* if there was no other way.

4. **C. Graccho**: see IV. 13. 3.

39. Trebellieni Rufi: II. 67. 4. **Sex. Paconiani**: 3. 4.

2. **litteris**: *i.e.* in which the consuls announced the execution of the sentences.

3. **Poppaeus Sabinus**: see I. 80. 1; IV. 46. 1.

artem, *qualities*.

neque supra: *i.e.* so as to excite the suspicion and jealousy of the prince.

40. L. Aruseius: probably another clause with a second **neque quod** and other names have dropped out here, although the manuscript shows no gap.

assuetudine malorum: qualifies the whole negative clause.

festinatis, etc.: thus he failed to secure the advantages of suicide (29. 2).

lictorum manibus in carcerem raptus est, faucesque iam exanimis laqueo vexatae. Ne Tigranes quidem, Armenia quondam potitus ac tunc reus, nomine regio supplicia civium effugit. At C. Galba consularis et duo Blaesi voluntario exitu cecidere, Galba tristibus Caesaris litteris provinciam sortiri prohibitus; Blaesis sacerdotia, integra eorum domo destinata, convulsa distulerat, tunc ut vacua contulit in alios, quod signum mortis intellexere et exsecuti sunt. Et Aemilia Lepida, quam iuveni Druso nuptam rettuli, crebris criminibus maritum insectata, quamquam intestabilis, tamen impunita agebat, dum superfuit pater Lepidus: post a delatoribus corripitur ob servum adulterum, nec dubitabatur de flagitio: ergo omissa defensione finem vitae sibi posuit. 2 3 4

Per idem tempus Clitarum natio Cappadoci Archelao subiecta, quia nostrum in modum deferre census pati **41**

2. **Tigranes** (fourth of the name): see II. 4. 2 n.; of him Josephus says (XVIII. 5. 4): *Τιγράνης μὲν βασιλεύων Ἀρμενίας κατηγοριῶν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης γενομένων ἄπαις ἐτελεύτα.* His father Alexander was son of Herod, king of Judea, and his mother was daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia (II. 42. 2).

3. **C. Galba**: consul A.D. 22 (III. 52. 1), brother of the emperor Galba.

duo Blaesi: cousins of Sejanus, sons of Iunius Blæsus (I. 16. 2; III. 35. 1).

provinciam sortiri: as the oldest consular; see III. 32. 1 n.; Suetonius (*Galba*, 3) says: *prohibitus a Tiberio sortiri anno suo proconsulatum.*

convulsa: *sc.* **domo**; *i.e.* by the fall of Sejanus.

4. **quam . . . rettuli**: probably in the lost passage of the fifth book. This Drusus was the son of Germanicus (23. 4); Lepida is probably daughter of Marcus Lepidus (III. 32. 2), whose death must have occurred in this year (**dum superfuit**, etc.). An interesting inscription refers to her: *Pudens M. Lepidi [ibertus] grammaticus. Procurator eram Lepidae moresque regebam: dum vixi, mansit Caesaris illa nurus.* (*C. I. L.*, V. 2. 592.)

41. Clitarum: *agrestium Cilicum nationes, quibus Clitarum cognomentum* (XII. 55); they inhabited the mountainous regions of Western Cilicia — *Cilicia Trachea.*

Archelao: a successor (son or grandson) of the elder Archelaus (II. 42. 2). He continued to rule this petty tribe after his ancestral kingdom of Cappadocia had been made a Roman province.

nostrum in modum: *i.e.* as if

tributa adigebatur, in iuga Tauri montis abscessit locorumque ingenio sese contra imbelles regis copias tutabatur, donec M. Trebellius legatus, a Vitellio praeside Suriae cum quattuor milibus legionariorum et delectis auxiliis missus, duos collis, quos barbari insederant (minori Cadra, alteri Davara nomen est), operibus circumdedit et erumpere ausos ferro, ceteros siti ad deditionem coegit.

2 At Tiridates volentibus Parthis Nicephorium et Anthemusiada ceterasque urbes, quae Macedonibus sitae Graeca vocabula usurpant, Halumque et Artemitam Parthica oppida recepit, certantibus gaudio qui Artabanum Scythas inter eductum ob saevitiam exsecrati come
42 Tiridatis ingenium Romanas per artes sperabant. Plurimum adulationis Seleucenses induere, civitas potens, saepta muris neque in barbarum corrupta, sed conditoris Seleuci retinens. Trecenti opibus aut sapientia delecti
2 ut senatus, sua populo vis. Et quotiens concordes agunt, spernitur Parthus: ubi dissensere, dum sibi quis-

they belonged regularly to a Roman province. The provincials were required to furnish periodical returns of their property, probably every five years. Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverw.* II. 236.

ingenio = *natura*.

praeside: this title, used here as equivalent to *legatus*, was applied in the fourth century to the greater part of the provincial governors; cf. *praesidente*, I. 16. 2.

2. **Tiridates**: the new king of Parthia (32. 5).

Nicephorium, etc.: these Greek towns on the left bank of the Euphrates, near Edessa, would come first in his route; Artemita and probably Halus were beyond the Tigris.

sitae, *founded*; cf. III. 38. 6.

Scythas inter: see 36. 5; II. 3. 1.

artes, *training*.

42. Seleucenses: Seleucia, on the right bank of the Tigris, was built by Seleucus Nicator as his capital; the Parthians had substituted for it Ctesiphon, opposite it, on the left bank of the river. The inhabitants of the Greek city especially welcomed a ruler educated under civilizing influences.

Seleuci: *i.e.* of his institutions. For the genitive, cf. II. 38. 9; V. 11. 2.

trecenti . . . vis: a Greek city by its constitution, with senate and popular assembly. The oriental cities were merely places of collective residence and trade, with no corporate or political character.

2. **ubi dissensere**, etc.: it seems

que contra aemulos subsidium vocant, accitus in partem adversum omnes valescit. Id nuper acciderat Artabano 3
regnante, qui plebem primoribus tradidit ex suo usu; nam populi imperium iuxta libertatem, paucorum dominatio regiae libidini propior est. Tum adventantem 4
Tiridaten extollunt veterum regum honoribus et quos recens aetas largius invenit; simul probra in Artabanum fundebant, materna origine Arsaciden, cetera degenerem.

Tiridates rem Seleucensem populo permittit. Mox 5
consultans quonam die sollemnia regni capesseret, litteras Phraatis et Hieronis, qui validissimas praefecturas obtinebant, accipit, brevem moram precantium. Placi- 6
tumque opperiri viros praepollentis, atque interim Ctesiphon sedes imperii petita; sed ubi diem ex die prolatabant, multis coram et approbantibus Surena patrio more Tiridaten insigni regio evinxit. Ac si sta- 43
tim interiora ceterasque nationes petivisset, oppressa cunctantium dubitatio et omnes in unum cedebant: assidendo castellum, in quod pecuniam et paelices Artabanus contulerat, dedit spatium exuendi pacta. Nam 2
Phraates et Hiero et si qui alii delectum capiendo dia-

that the Greeks carried with them into the East their fatal defect,—incapacity for united action, and a partisanship stronger than patriotism.

accitus, etc.: called in to aid one party, he is stronger than all.

3. **plebem primoribus tradidit**: as the Spartans did in the cities of Greece. This policy was reversed by Tiridates.

ex suo usu, *in accordance with his advantage* (or *policy*).

iuxta, *akin to*.

4. **cetera**: *i.e.* on his father's side.

5. **sollemnia regni**: the coronation.

praefecturas, *satrapies*, or provincial governments.

6. **diem ex die**: cf. Caes. *B. G.* I. 16.

coram: best taken as an adverb, and connected by **et** to **approbantibus**.

Surena: not a personal name, but the title of the hereditary office of commander-in-chief, next in dignity to that of the king.

evinxit: cf. XV. 2. 5, *diademate caput Tiridatis evinxit*.

43. oppressa (*sc.* **erat**): see IV. 9. 1 n.

cedebant, *were on the point of yielding*.

demati diem haud concelebraverant, pars metu, quidam invidia in Abdagaesen, qui tum aula et novo rege potie-
3 batur, ad Artabanum vertere; isque in Hyrcanis repertus est, illuvie obsitus et alimenta arcu expediens. Ac primo tamquam dolus pararetur territus, ubi data fides reddendae dominationi venisse, allevatur animum et
4 quae repentina mutatio exquirit. Tum Hiero pueritiam Tiridatis increpat, neque penes Arsaciden imperium, sed inane nomen apud imbellem externa mollitia, vim in Abdagaesis domo.

44 Sensit vetus regnandi falsos in amore odia non fingere. Nec ultra moratus quam dum Scytharum auxilia conciret, pergit properus et praeveniens inimicorum astus, amicorum paenitentiam; neque exuerat paedorem,
2 ut vulgum miseratione adverteret. Non fraus, non preces, nihil omissum quo ambiguos illiceret, prompti
3 firmarentur. Iamque multa manu propinqua Seleuciae adventabat, cum Tiridates simul fama atque ipso Artabano percussus distrahi consiliis, iret contra an bellum
4 cunctatione tractaret. Quibus proelium et festinati casus placebant, disiectos et longinquitate itineris fessos ne animo quidem satis ad obsequium coaluisse disserunt, proditores nuper hostesque eius quem rursum foveant.
5 Verum Abdagaeses regrediendum in Mesopotamiam censebat, ut amne obiecto, Armeniis interim Elymaeis-

2. **metu**: from having incurred his displeasure.

4. **vim**: the substance of power.

44. vetus regnandi: cf. *vetus operis*, I. 20. 2 n.

in amore: towards himself.

odia: of Tiridates.

adverteret: see II. 17. 2 n.

3. **cum distrahi**: Intr. 35 *k*.

ipso Artabano: *i.e.* by his presence in person. The preposition *ab* is not used, because he is not thought of as a conscious agent.

4. **festinati**: agrees with **casus**.

ad obsequium: *i.e.* to Artabanus.

5. **amne**: the Tigris.

Elymaeis: the Elamites, or inhabitants of Susiana, the country east of Chaldea, on the Persian Gulf; they and the Armenians were rather on the flanks than the rear of the enemy.

que et ceteris a tergo excitis, aucti copiis socialibus et
quas dux Romanus misisset fortunam temptarent. Ea 6
sententia valuit, quia plurima auctoritas penes Abdagae-
sen et Tiridates ignavus ad pericula erat. Sed fugae 7
specie discessum; ac principio a gente Arabum facto
ceteri domos abeunt vel in castra Artabani, donec Tiri-
dates cum paucis in Suriam revectus pudore proditionis
omnes exsolvit.

Idem annus gravi igne urbem adficit, deusta parte 45
Circi, quae Aventino contigua, ipsoque Aventino; quod
damnum Caesar ad gloriam vertit exsolutis domuum
et insularum pretiis. Milies sestertium in munificentia 2
ea collocatum, tanto acceptius in vulgum, quanto modi-
cus privatis aedificationibus ne publice quidem nisi duo
opera struxit, templum Augusto et scaenam Pompeiani
theatri; eaque perfecta, contemptu ambitionis an per
senectutem, haud dedicavit. Sed aestimando cuiusque 3
detrimento quattuor prōgeneri Caesaris, Cn. Domitius,

socialibus: their allies on the west, — the Arabians and others, — while those of the north and east should attack the rear.

7. **Arabum**: those of Osroene, north of Syria.

pudore . . . exsolvit: his desertion of his own cause released his followers from all obligation.

45. Circi (*sc.* **Maximi**): the XI. *regio* or ward, in the division of the city by Augustus. It included, besides the valley of the Circus, a portion of the low ground between the Palatine and the Tiber.

Aventino: the XIII. *regio*, including the hill itself (**ipso Aventino**), and extending southwest to the river.

exsolutis, etc.: for a similar instance, see IV. 64. 1.

domuum et insularum: the former were private residences; the latter, blocks, or tenement houses rented by flats or single apartments.

2. **publice**, *in behalf of the state*, — as public works.

duo opera: the temple of Augustus was in a certain sense a personal obligation, due to his adoptive father; for the theatre of Pompey, see III. 72. 4.

perfecta: Suetonius (*Tib.* 47, *Cal.* 21) says these works were completed by Caligula; but the statement of Tacitus, as to one of them at least, appears to be confirmed by a coin of A.D. 34, on which the temple of Augustus is represented.

haud dedicavit: the honor of dedicating a public building was highly valued; cf. Liv. II. 8. 6.

3. **quattuor progeneri**: the husbands of his four granddaughters,

Cassius Longinus, M. Vinicius, Rubellius Blandus delecti additusque nominatione consulum P. Petronius.
4 Et pro ingenio cuiusque quaesiti decretique in principem honores; quos omiserit receperitve in incerto fuit ob propinquum vitae finem.

5 Neque enim multo post supremi Tiberio consules, Cn. Acerronius C. Pontius, magistratum occepere, nimia iam potentia Macronis, qui gratiam Gai Caesaris numquam sibi neglectam acrius in dies fovebat impuleratque post mortem Claudiae, quam nuptam ei rettuli, uxorem suam Enniam imitando amorem iuvenem illicere pactoque matrimonii vincire, nihil abnuentem, dum dominationis apisceretur; nam etsi commotus ingenio simulationum
46 tamen falsa in sinu avi perdidicerat. Gnarum hoc principi, eoque dubitavit de tradenda re publica, primum inter nepotes, quorum Druso genitus sanguine et caritate propior, sed nondum pubertatem ingressus, Germanici filio robur iuventae, vulgi studia, eaque apud avum odii
2 causa. Etiam de Claudio agitanti, quod is composita aetate bonarum artium cupiens erat, imminuta mens eius
3 obstitit. Sin extra domum successor quaereretur, ne

Agrippina (IV. 75. 1), Drusilla and Julia (VI. 15. 1), daughters of Germanicus, and Julia, daughter of Drusus (VI. 27. 1).

P. Petronius: see III. 49. 2.

4. **pro ingenio cuiusque**: *i.e.* the senators, as in IV. 64. 2; this is implied in the word **decreti**.

5. **rettuli**: see 20. 1.

dominationis: the genitive after *apiscor* only here and III. 55. 1 (*rerum adeptus est*). This intrigue would secure him the favor of Macro, and thus gain his support.

commotus, *violent*.

46. Druso genitus: his name was Tiberius (surnamed Gemellus), the only survivor (see IV. 15. 1) of the twins, whose birth is related II. 84. 1. He was now eighteen years old, Gaius (Caligula) twenty-five, Claudius forty-six.

2. **Claudio**: see I. 54. 2 n.

composita, *mature*.

bonarum artium, etc.: Claudius was amiable by disposition, and fond of literature, but of weak mind (**imminuta mens**). Cf. III. 18. 4–7.

3. **extra domum**: the office of emperor was a newly established magistracy, and there was no constitutional reason why it should not

memoria Augusti, ne nomen Caesarum in ludibria et contumelias verterent, metuebat: quippe illi non perinde curae gratia praesentium quam in posteros ambitio. Mox incertus animi, fesso corpore, consilium cui impar erat fato permisit, iactis tamen vocibus per quas intellegeretur providus futurorum; namque Macroni non abdita ambage occidentem ab eo deseri, orientem spectari exprobravit. Et Gaio Caesari, forte orto sermone L. Sullam irridenti, omnia Sullae vitia et nullam eiusdem virtutem habiturum praedixit. Simul crebris cum lacrimis minorem ex nepotibus complexus, truci alterius vultu: 'Occides hunc tu' inquit 'et te alius.' Sed gravescente valetudine nihil e libidinibus omittebat, in patientia firmitudinem simulans solitusque eludere medicorum artes atque eos, qui post tricesimum aetatis annum ad internoscenda corpori suo utilia vel noxia alieni consilii indigerent.

be given to any member of the nobility; it never had any positive hereditary character.

4. **in posteros ambitio**: cf. IV. 38. 1, *meminisse posteros volo*, etc.

6. **occidentem . . . spectari**: a similar remark is attributed by Plutarch to Pompey (*Pomp.* 14) comparing himself to Sulla.

7. **omnia . . . vitia**, etc.: Sulla was cruel and vindictive, but loyal and patriotic, and possessed high genius as a statesman.

8. **minorem ex nepotibus**: Tiberius.

alterius: Caligula; he was offended at the affection shown to his rival.

occides hunc tu, etc.: perhaps a prophecy after the event. Caligula did in fact put Tiberius Gemellus to death this very year, and was himself murdered four years later. Josephus (*Ant. Iud.* XVIII. 6, 9) tells a story how Tiberius undertook to foretell which of the two boys should be his successor, by noting which of them should attend upon him first on a certain morning, and how his attempt to trick the fates, by contriving that it should be his favorite Tiberius, failed. He then puts in the mouth of the old man an earnest and pathetic appeal to Caligula to treat his cousin with kindness; for he would be a support to his house and authority, rather than a rival.

9. **patientia**, *endurance*; depending upon the will.

firmitudinem, *strength* of bodily constitution.

eludere, *make sport of*. Suetonius (*Tib.* 68) says that from his thirtieth year he was *sine adiumento consiliove medicorum*, — a circumstance hardly consistent with his alleged debauchery.

47 Interim Romae futuris etiam post Tiberium caedibus semina iaciebantur. Laelius Balbus Acutiam, P. Vitellii quondam uxorem, maiestatis postulaverat; qua damnata cum praemium accusatori decerneretur, Iunius Otho tribunus plebei intercessit, unde illis odia, mox Othoni 2 exitium. Dein multorum amoribus famosa Albucilla, cui matrimonium cum Satrio Secundo coniurationis indice fuerat, defertur impietatis in principem; conectebantur ut conscii et adulteri eius Cn. Domitius, Vibius 3 Marsus, L. Arruntius. De claritudine Domitii supra memoravi; Marsus quoque vetustis honoribus et illus- 4 tris studiis erat. Sed testium interrogationi, tormentis servorum Macronem praesedisse commentarii ad senatum missi ferebant, nullaeque in eos imperatoris litterae suspicionem dabant, invalido ac fortasse ignaro ficta pleraque ob inimicitias Macronis notas in Arruntium.
48 Igitur Domitius defensionem meditans, Marsus tam- 2 quam inediam destinavisset, produxere vitam; Arruntius, cunctationem et moras suadentibus amicis, non 3 eadem omnibus decora respondit: sibi satis aetatis, neque aliud paenitendum quam quod inter ludibria et pericula anxiam senectam toleravisset, diu Seiano, nunc Macroni, semper alicui potentium invisus, non culpa, sed ut flagitiorum impatiens. Sane paucos ad suprema prin-

47. **Laelius Balbus**: mentioned by Quintilian (X. 1. 24), as Decimus Lælius, among the orators *nobis pueris insignes;* Tacitus (48. 6) calls him *truci eloquentia, promptus adversum insontes.*

P. Vitellii: I. 70. 1; III. 10 ff.

exitium: probably under Caligula. See App. I.

2. **Satrio Secundo**: see IV. 34. 2.

coniurationis: that of Sejanus.

impietatis: see III. 51. 2 n.

Cn. Domitius, etc.: for Domitius, see IV. 75. 1; for Vibius Marsus, II. 74. 1; for L. Arruntius, I. 13. 1 f.

4. **nullae**: the fact that there were none (Intr. 35 *g*).

litterae: cf. III. 44. 3 n.

invalido: *sc. imperatore.*

48. 3. **ludibria et pericula**: *e.g.* he had not been allowed to go to his province (27. 3), and had been before accused (7. 1).

cipis dies posse vitari; quem ad modum evasurum imminentis iuventam? An, cum Tiberius post tantam 4
rerum experientiam vi dominationis convulsus et mutatus sit, Gaium Caesarem vix finita pueritia, ignarum omnium aut pessimis innutritum, meliora capessiturum Macrone duce, qui ut deterior ad opprimendum Seianum delectus plura per scelera rem publicam conflictavisset? Prospectare iam se acrius servitium, eoque fugere simul 5
acta et instantia. Haec vatis in modum dictitans venas resolvit. Documento sequentia erunt bene Arruntium morte usum. Albucilla irrito ictu ab semet vulnerata 6
iussu senatus in carcerem fertur. Stuprorum eius ministri, Carsidius Sacerdos praetorius ut in insulam deportaretur, Pontius Fregellanus amitteret ordinem senatorium, et eaedem poenae in Laelium Balbum decernuntur, id quidem a laetantibus, quia Balbus truci eloquentia habebatur, promptus adversum insontes.

Isdem diebus Sex. Papinius consulari familia repen- **49**
tinum et informem exitum delegit, iacto in praeceps corpore. Causa ad matrem referebatur, quae pridem 2
repudiata assentationibus atque luxu perpulisset iuvenem ad ea quorum effugium non nisi morte inveniret. Igitur accusata in senatu, quamquam genua patris ad- 3
volveretur luctumque communem et magis imbecillum tali super casu feminarum animum aliaque in eundem

imminentis: *sc. principis; i.e.* Caligula. Cf. *imminentis dominos*, I. 4. 3.

4. **cum Tiberius**, etc.: Intr. 14.

5. **acta et instantia**, *the past and the future;* cf. *praeterita et instantia*, IV. 69. 4.

6. **Carsidius**: see IV. 13. 3.
Laelium Balbum: see 47. 1.
laetantibus: *sc. senatoribus.*

49. Sex. Papinius: probably son of the consul of A.D. 36 (40. 1).
iacto: probably from an upper window.
in praeceps, *head-foremost.*

2. **repudiata**: *i.e.* by her husband.

3. **patris**: see App. I.
in eundem dolorem, *in the same pathetic tone;* Intr. 35 *i.*

dolorem maesta et miseranda diu ferret, urbe tamen in decem annos prohibita est, donec minor filius lubricum iuventae exiret.

50 Iam Tiberium corpus, iam vires, nondum dissimulatio deserebat: idem animi rigor; sermone ac vultu intentus quaesita interdum comitate quamvis manifestam
2 defectionem tegebat. Mutatisque saepius locis tandem apud promunturium Miseni consedit in villa, cui L. Lucullus quondam dominus. Illic eum appropinquare
3 supremis tali modo compertum. Erat medicus arte insignis, nomine Charicles, non quidem regere valetudines principis solitus, consilii tamen copiam praebere.
4 Is velut propria ad negotia digrediens et per speciem officii manum complexus pulsum venarum attigit.
5 Neque fefellit; nam Tiberius, incertum an offensus tantoque magis iram premens, instaurari epulas iubet discumbitque ultra solitum, quasi honori abeuntis amici tribueret. Charicles tamen labi spiritum nec ultra
6 biduum duraturum Macroni firmavit. Inde cuncta colloquiis inter praesentes, nuntiis apud legatos et exer-
7 citus festinabantur. Septimum decimum kal. Aprilis interclusa anima creditus est mortalitatem explevisse; et multo gratantum concursu ad capienda imperii primordia Gaius Caesar egrediebatur, cum repente adfertur

ferret: for *proferret* (Intr. 35 *b*).

lubricum iuventae, *the slippery* (critical) *period of youth*; cf. Sen. *Contr.* II. 6. 4, *lubricum tempus sine infamia transiit.*

50. 2. **Miseni**: the headland beyond Baiae, in sight from Capri.

L. **Lucullus**: the commander in the war against Mithridates, B.C. 74–67; he was notorious for his luxury, and his villa was equipped in the most ostentatious style. It had been built by Marius. This is the place assigned for a residence by Odoacer to the deposed emperor Romulus Augustulus.

4. **manum complexus**: Suetonius (*Tib.* 72) says that Charicles, on leaving the banquet, seized his hand *osculandi causa*, when the emperor, suspecting the trick, bade him resume his place at the table.

6. **colloquiis**: *i.e.* deliberations as to the future.

redire Tiberio vocem ac visus vocarique qui recreandae defectioni cibum adferrent. Pavor hinc in omnes, et 8
ceteri passim dispergi, se quisque maestum aut nescium fingere; Caesar in silentium fixus a summa spe novissima exspectabat. Macro intrepidus opprimi senem 9
iniectu multae vestis iubet discedique ab limine. Sic Tiberius finivit octavo et septuagesimo aetatis anno.

Pater ei Nero et utrimque origo gentis Claudiae, 51
quamquam mater in Liviam et mox Iuliam familiam adoptionibus transierit. Casus prima ab infantia an- 2
cipites: nam proscriptum patrem exsul secutus, ubi domum Augusti privignus introiit, multis aemulis conflictatus est, dum Marcellus et Agrippa, mox Gaius Luciusque Caesares viguere; etiam frater eius Drusus prosperiore civium amore erat. Sed maxime in lubrico 3
egit accepta in matrimonium Iulia, impudicitiam uxoris tolerans aut declinans Dein Rhodo regressus vacuos 4

9. **opprimi senem**: Suetonius (*Tib.* 73) gives several accounts of his death. *Sunt qui putent venenum ei a Gaio datum lentum atque tabificum; alii, in remissione fortuitae febris cibum desideranti negatum; nonnulli, pulvinum iectum, cum extractum sibi deficienti anulum mox resipiscens requisisset. Seneca eum scribit, intellecta defectione, exemptum anulum, quasi alicui traditurum, parumper tenuisse; dein rursus aptasse digito et compressa sinistra manu iacuisse diu immobilem; subito, vocatis ministris ac nemine respondente, consurrexisse, nec procul a lectulo deficientibus viribus concidisse.* Cf. Dio's account (LVIII. 28), and Aurelius Victor, *Ep.* 2, *insidiis Caligulae extinctus est.*

finivit: Intr. 35 *t*; cf. *vitam finivisset*, I. 9. 1.

aetatis anno: cf. Suet. *Tib.* 5, *natus est Romae in Palatio* XVI. *Kal. Dec. M. Aemilio Lepido iterum L. Munatio Planco consulibus, per bellum Philippense.*

51. pater ei, etc.: see for the adoption of Livia's father, V. 1. 1.

familiam = *gentem*, a very common usage.

2. **proscriptum patrem**: B.C. 40. Tiberius was at this time about two years old; at the time of the marriage of his mother to Octavius, B.C. 38, he was four years old.

multis aemulis: see I. 3.

Drusus: see I. 33. 3 n.

3. **maxime . . . egit**, *he stood on most slippery ground.*

accepta . . . Iulia: see I. 53. 2.

4. **vacuos**: *sc. liberis;* Marcellus, Gaius, and Lucius were all dead, Agrippa Postumus was unfit to be his rival.

principis penates duodecim annis, mox rei Romanae
5 arbitrium tribus ferme et viginti obtinuit. Morum quoque tempora illi diversa: egregium vita famaque, quoad privatus vel in imperiis sub Augusto fuit; occultum ac subdolum fingendis virtutibus, donec Germanicus ac
6 Drusus superfuere; idem inter bona malaque mixtus incolumi matre; intestabilis saevitia, sed obtectis libidinibus, dum Seianum dilexit timuitve: postremo in scelera simul ac dedecora prorupit, postquam remoto pudore et metu suo tantum ingenio utebatur.

5. **morum quoque**, etc.: for a discussion of the character of Tiberius and of the attitude of Tacitus towards him, see Intr. 6–14.

egregium, occultum, subdolum: *sc. tempus;* the epithets being applied to the successive periods or phases of character instead of to the man himself. This form of description extends to **superfuere**, and with **idem** Tiberius himself becomes the subject.

in imperiis: in his several military commands, also as the colleague of Augustus.

6. **incolumi matre**: cf. V. 3, 1.

APPENDIX.

I. TEXTUAL NOTES.

BOOK I.

4. 4. **aliquid**: this is the manuscript reading, changed by most editors to *aliud*. There are two objections to it: from its connection we should expect *quidquam*, and it is also somewhat irregular (but quite in the style of Tacitus) to have it followed by *quam* (some such word as *potius* being understood). But the distinction between *aliquis* and *quisquam* was somewhat obscured in the later writers, just as the corresponding words *some* and *any* are constantly confused by foreigners. A good example is Tac. *Dial.* 34; *ubi nemo impune stulte aliquid aut contrarie dicit, where no one without detection says anything foolish or inconsistent.* Dräger (*Hist. Syntax*, I². 91) cites two examples from Lactantius, where the two words are used as identical: IV. 3. 8, *nec tamen moveat quemquam;* II. 8. 37, *nec tamen commoveat aliquem.* There are even instances of this confusion in the classical period (Cæs. *B. C.* III. 71, *sine ullo vulnere;* III. 73, *sine aliquo vulnere*). See Madvig on Cic. *de Fin.* II. 27. 87.

8. 3. **urbanis quingenos**: supplied from Suet. *Oct.* 101 and Dio, LVI. 32. It is more probable that the omission was due to a scribe's oversight than that Tacitus was ignorant of the fact or, knowing it, failed to state it.

4. **insignes**: in the manuscript this word is followed by *visi* [*sc. sunt*], and some editors insert *qui* as its subject, before **insignes**. The reading here given is supported by 77. 5, *multa decernuntur, ex quis maxime insignia ne*, etc.

10. 4. **Vedii Pollionis**: this is Mommsen's reading. The manuscript reads *nuberetque tedii et vedii pollionis:* but nothing is known of any Tedius to whom this would apply, and the similarity of the names makes it easy to suspect an error.

28. 2. **quae pergerent**: most editors change to *qua*, on the ground that *pergo* cannot govern the accusative, except one of cognate meaning, as *pergere iter*. Bötticher (*Lex. Tac.* p. 10) suggests that *pergo*, like *porrigo, arrigo*, etc., from *rego*, may properly retain the regimen of the simple verb; or **quae** may depend on an implied *agere*; cf. Plaut. *Men.* 752, *pariter hoc atque alias res soles.* At any rate the objection does not seem to justify altering the manuscript reading.

31. 1. **tracturis**: the manuscript reading is *tracturus;* but if this were retained, as it must agree with **Germanicus, vi sua** would be inappropriate, as it would be by the force of the legions, not his own, that he would act.

34. 1. **seque** *et* **proximos**: the manuscript reading is *seque proximos*, for which this is the simplest emendation. Some editions read *Sequanos;* but the Sequani belonged to Belgica, and it is not likely that one Belgian state would have been specified without some special reason.

35. 3. **promptos**: the manuscript reads *promptas*, and some editions insert *res;* the emendation here given is simpler and more probable. Cf. IV. 59. 5 n.

36. 3. **concedentur**: many editors change to *concederentur*, understanding *erat* with **in ancipiti.** But although the indirect form is dropped with **suscipi,** the thought in **periculosa . . . res publica** is still that of Germanicus and his friends; from their point of view **concedentur** is correct, and the verb to be supplied with the three subjects is *est.*

59. 6. **sacerdotium hominum**: some editors, following F. A. Wolf, correct **hominum** to *Romanum.*

70. 7. **Visurgin**: this, the manuscript reading, is impossible, and some editors have made up the word *Unsingin*, as a probable Latin form for *Hunse*, a river in Groningen. Very likely Tacitus did not give the name of the river at all.

77. 5. **spectarentur**: Halm, after Wölfflin, reads *sectarentur*, which reading has the advantage of not requiring a change of subject; the prohibition of private performances is a very probable one.

BOOK II.

8. 2. **subvexit** *aut* **transposuit**: the manuscript reading is defective, and various emendations have been proposed. Of these the insertion of *aut* appears the least violent; but it is not improbable that **subvexit** is a gloss.

4. **Angrivariorum**: many editions change to *Ampsivariorum* (a nation upon the Ems, — the *Ems-farers*), and make the same change in 22. 3 and 24. 5, on the assumption that the camp mentioned was the first after crossing that river. The interpretation here given (that of Knoke), that the camp is upon the Weser, makes a change of the text unnecessary. Knoke, however, as in many other instances, undertakes to describe the line of march with more particularity of detail than our information warrants.

9. 3. **permissum**: the manuscript reading is *permissu*, and Nipperdey supplies the words *imperatoris deducitur a Stertinio.* But it is easier to suppose the dropping out of a single letter **m**; moreover, the reading here given appears more in keeping with the style of Tacitus than the other.

23. 3. **tumidis**: some editors change to *umidis;* but the strength of the winds is not so likely to be ascribed to the moisture of the country, as to its mountainous character.

57. 4. **apertis**: the manuscript reading is *opertis;* but it is plain from what follows that the hostility was not concealed.

BOOK III.

2. 1. **munera fungerentur**: Tacitus regularly uses *munia* for *functions* or *duties*, and *munera* for *gifts;* also *fungor* with the ablative. Most editors, therefore, change to *munia;* but Pfitzner regards these words as quoted from the edict of Tiberius (**addito ut**), who appears to have affected an archaic style (cf. IV. 38. 1 n.).

3. 3. **Augusta**: some editors change to *Augustae;* if the ablative is retained, it must be explained as a peculiar use of the instrumental ablative, as, *by the example of*, etc.

5. 6. **praepositam**: most editors change to *propositam*, on the ground that *praepono* would describe a waxen effigy in presence of the real body, placed upon the couch to be burned; while here the body had been burned already. But we have seen that Tacitus does not keep very close to the facts in this passage; and, as this term applies to the funeral of Augustus (Dio, LVI. 34), we may suppose that the people grumbled because the same honor was not bestowed upon Germanicus, not considering that it was impossible.

43. 1. **et nobilissimam**: the manuscript reading is *nobilissimarum*, omitting **et**. The reading here given, that of Lipsius, is much nearest the ms. of all the emendations proposed, and satisfies the meaning sufficiently. Sacrovir got the young men into his power, in order to have a hold upon their parents. The interchange of *et* and **ut** (below) is plausible; but this would imply that his only object in seizing the town was to get possession of these hostages. By the reading here given, **subolem** is coupled with **caput**, implying that his object was twofold, — to hold the capital and to obtain the hostages.

46. 4. **evincite**: many editors, taking this with the meaning *prove* (cf. Hor. *Sat.* II. 3. 250), insert *esse*. But it is more natural to take it as used by Livy (X. 17. 10), in the sense of *subdue*.

51. 3. **decimum**: this word, wanting in the manuscript, is supplied from Suetonius, *Tib.* 75: *cum senatus consulto cautum esset ut poena damnatorum in decimum semper diem differretur*.

58. 2. **duo et septuaginta annis**: this is the manuscript reading. The real interval was seventy-five full years, and most editors change to *quinque*, etc. Merula was made consul on the forced abdication of Cinna, B.C. 87, and when Cinna returned in triumph the same year, put himself to death. From this time the office remained vacant until it was

revived by Augustus, B.C. 11, its duties being meanwhile performed by the pontiffs. It is possible that Tacitus carelessly confounded the death of Cinna (B.C. 84) with his abdication (B.C. 87). At any rate the mistake is as likely, as Pfitzner argues, to have been made by Tacitus himself as by his transcribers.

62. 1. **proximi hos Magnetes**: the manuscript reading is *proximo spagnetes*.

68. 3. **alia**: most editors change to *Atia*, on the guess that the mother of Silanus may have been of the same family as that of Augustus.

70. 4. **egregium publice locum**: this reading is suggested by Prof. C. L. Smith (*Harvard Studies*, Vol. I. p. 107) for *egregium publicum* of the manuscript. Professor Smith argues that **bonas domi artes** must refer to private character, and the other phrase of course to professional eminence; that **egregium** cannot be regarded as a substantive like *bonum* in the phrase *bonum publicum;* nor, if it could be taken as a substantive, could it be applied to Capito's distinction as a jurist, but must signify something belonging to the state (**publicum**). The word **publice** forms a suitable antithesis to **domi**, and the reading *publicum* would be an easy blunder of some copyist.

BOOK IV.

1. 2. **ierit**: the manuscript reading is *perit*.

20. 6. **proinde**: most editions read *perinde;* but Nipperdey shows that there is ample authority for *proinde* with a comparative particle.

27. 2. **calles evenerat**: this is the manuscript reading, changed by Lipsius to *Cales*, etc., on the hypothesis that this ancient Campanian town may have been the headquarters of one of the four *quaestores classici* instituted by Augustus, as Ostia certainly was one; but nothing is known of any province of *Cales*, while it is a familiar fact that *silvae callesque* were the provinces assigned by the senate to Cæsar and his colleague (Suet. *Iul.* 19).

33. 4. **Romanasne**: in the manuscript the enclitic is *ve*, which cannot properly stand in a double question.

46. 1. **incultu**: this word is found in Sallust and Livy, but is changed by most editors to *sine cultu*, on account of the harshness of the expression.

50. 2. **tantum his**: the manuscript reading is *quamvis*.

69. 6. **tegens**: the manuscript reading is *egens*, which may be interpreted as *helpless, distrustful*. Other readings that have been proposed are *reticens, se tegens, et tegens*.

BOOK V.

4. 2. **domus Germanici exitium paenitentiae esse seni**: the manuscript reads *germanicis titium paenitentiae senis*. The correction to **Germanici exitium** is easy; it seems necessary to insert **esse**; for **domus**,

it is plain that the speaker could not have had in mind the death of Germanicus, but the ruin of his family.

BOOK VI.

2. 6. **suadere**: the MS. has *suaderet*, which many editors retain, inserting *ut* after **neque**. **suadere** is historical infinitive.

5. 1. **incertae**: the manuscript reading is *incerta;* with this change the meaning is perfectly plain; but some editors change to *incestae*, or read *Gaiam* for *Gaium*, in order to make the affront more cutting.

11. 6. **viginti**: this is by some editors altered to *quindecim*, because a story told by Suetonius (*Tib.* 42) and Pliny (*N. H.* XIV. 22. 145) ascribes his appointment to Tiberius. But Mommsen points out that Tiberius was censor, and received the tribunician power, A.D. 13. At any rate this story is a very insufficient reason for altering the text.

28. 4. **alios tres Sesoside**: this is Halm's reading for the MS. *aliter esse sosi de.* Rhenanus proposed *alites.*

31. 4. **ut . . . ut**: some editors change the first **ut** to *et;* some omit the second **ut.**

33. 2. **Parthorum**: the manuscript reads *Parthorumque;* some editors join *que* with **dat**; others read *Medorum Parthorumque*, on account of the mention of Medes (34. 6). But in this passage, *Medorum* is evidently used as a general expression of contempt for the effeminate Oriental troops; cf. 34. 6 n.

47. 1. **exitium**: this reading of Nipperdey, for the MS. *exilium*, which he rejected as inconsistent with **futuris caedibus**, above, has been generally adopted.

49. 3. **patris**: this word is by most editors emended to *patrum;* but as Pfitzner points out, the word **communem** is best explained by supposing it to be either her own father, or the father of her son — her divorced husband.

II. INDEX OF PROPER NAMES.

Abdagaeses: Parthian leader, VI. 36. 3; 37. 5; 43. 2, 4; 44. 5.

Abdus: eunuch, VI. 31. 3; 32. 3.

Abudius Ruso: banished, VI. 30. 2.

Cn. Acerronius: consul, A.D. 37, VI. 45. 5.

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